THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

IN ITS OWN RIGHT: NATIVE CANADIAN ART TODAY

by

SANDRA K. STORM

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "In Its Own Right: Native Canadian Art Today", submitted by Sandra Karen Storm in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of the Arts.

Supervisor, Dr. D.G. Hatt Department of Anthropology

Dr. H.W. Konrad

Department of Anthropology

Dr. J-G. Goulet

Director, Native Center

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None of the native languages of North America seem to contain a word that can be regarded as synonymous with the Western concept of art, which is usually seen as something separable from the rest of daily life. It might therefore be possible to argue that no art in the Western sense was produced by the aboriginal inhabitants of North America. Judging from the number of books devoted to, of museums exhibiting, and of dealers offering for sale items of "North American Indian Art", however, we cannot simply let the matter rest there.

Feest 1980

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to present a coherent justification for Native Canadian art as an academic discipline and to determine what the constituents of such a field might be. In brief, this thesis attempts to envision a field which does not yet exist as such, for the purpose of helping it to come into existence.

It is argued that increasing pressures at the Native-white sociopolitical interface, particularly in the areas of museum repatriation and
mainstream marketing, have brought the study of Native Canadian art to
a critical point of emergence in its own right. Up to now, the study of
Native Canadian art has been inhibited by the very fact that it was
spread over three academic disciplines (anthropology, art history and
Native studies), each of which has claimed Native art as its subject
matter, but none of which have ever given it high priority.

This thesis therefore takes an interdisciplinary approach toward the identification and critical analysis of the definition and treatment of Native art in the combined fields of anthropology, fine arts and art history, and Native studies, and seeks, as a first priority, a means of communicating among these disciplines. Anthropology, fine arts and art history, and Native studies clearly have their unique contribution to make to the study of Native art. But at the same time each presents its own particular set of internal contradictions.

The goal is to establish a new level of dialogue that incorporates these contradictions that have historical uses, and at the same time transcends the strictures of the past towards new dialectical forms of

reasoning. The principal *problematique* is to remain continually aware of the problems of sustaining a dialogue among these disciplines, each of which tends toward conceptual closure within its existing disciplinary boundaries.

I will endeavor to demonstrate the distinct views of Native art when viewed through the "lens" of each of the disciplines; further, provide a clarification of the historical context and continuum leading to the emergence of contemporary Native art; and finally, discuss the potential for the future study of Native Canadian art. What I hope will result from this study is a way of talking about Native Canadian art that cogently translates current problems in the field.

Introduction

This thesis represents an argument and rationale for the establishment of Native Canadian art studies degree programs in Canadian universities. This argument will rest on the premise that, in spite of persisting disagreement within academia and the art world as to a definition of Native art, there unquestionably exists a bona fide tradition of Native art, and that upon this tradition a body of scholarly inquiry is emerging. Indeed, the "establishment" of the discipline is as much a question of recognizing what already exists as of calling for something new. The resolution of these differences will require the understanding that a single definition of Native art is no more applicable than is a single definition of anthropology, or of art.

The academic study of Native art, as we know it in universities today, has arisen out of three main fields: anthropology, fine arts and art history, and Native studies. Each of these disciplines has valid perspectives to offer and contributions to make in the study of Native art history and Native fine arts. But at the same time, each imposes certain frames of interpretation from the outside. Moreover, incompatibilities between their various perspectives contribute to making Native art a divided field, one whose divisions inhibit inquiry and discovery.

Outside of the academic setting, but partially overlapping with it in places, there exists a network of government and private organizations, collectors, critics, authors, and, most importantly, Native artists and art historians, which constitutes the real field of Native art. After more than two centuries of providing the ground for the non-Native academic study

of, and capitalization upon Native art, the Native artists themselves, increasingly university-educated, are finally emerging as central figures in articulating the Native perspective. Rejecting the imposed, non-Native stereotypes of the ethnographic "informants" or "primitive artists" of anthropology and art history, contemporary Native artists are challenging the old views of Native art, and are establishing themselves, in both the contemporary mainstream art world and academia, as artists and aesthetic theoreticians in their own right.

Although there have been over two hundred years of non-Native interest in Native art, the study of Native Canadian art is in its infancy. There are several reasons for this. First, and most significantly, the Native people themselves have only recently begun to transcend the strictures of Western-European domination so as to be able to comment independently on their socio-political position, philosophy, culture and aesthetics. Native academicians are currently represented by their first generation, and will just be moving into the second generation by the year 2000. It is not surprising then that the mainstream literature representing the Native approach to Native art studies is limited in comparison to the vast storehouses of anthropological and art-historical writings. Art-historical research on Native art, though considerably less extensive than its anthropological counterpart, nevertheless far outweighs the literature thus far produced from the fledgling Native studies departments. This imbalance is not being offset, as yet, in formal academic studies of Native art utilizing the traditional Native sources, since the status of oral literature as historical document, and of visual imagery as archival record -- though currently advocated by several

notable non-Native scholars -- are still not universally accepted as valid historical methods.

A second impediment to the research and study of Native art is encountered in the attempt to access materials written specifically on Native Canadian art. Most historical studies and contemporary reviews are embedded within U.S. publications which often do not differentiate between the art of peoples that exist on both sides of the border. While there is obviously considerable scope for close collaboration between Canadian and American scholars, differences in the social and legal setting, and historical experiences make it imperative that differences in the development of Native art in Canada and the United States be recognized as well. The apparent unity of the contents of categories like "culture area" or "tribe" is increasingly being recognized as an analytical construct, one which conceals important legal and political differences in the treatment of the same people in the two countries. Colonial, military, political and social policy towards Native groups has tended to vary systematically between the United States and Canada. These differing programs of "advancement" or "enculturation", have in the past, and continue in the present, to exert influence on the fate and lifestyles of the Native people in ways specific to the policies of each country. This ultimately has had significant ramifications in terms of the production of Native art in Canada in contrast to the U.S. Much of this latter information is still held only the minds of Native historians. Consequently, until more is written from the Native perspective, it remains a difficult task to present an in-depth comparative analysis of

the treatment of Native art by anthropology, art history and Native studies.

It is possible to get some sense of the orientation of each of the three contributing disciplines if we look through each respective "lens" at a selected form of Native art. The purpose in doing so, of course, is to allow the disciplines to speak for themselves. It is important to listen closely to the terminology, gestalt, and methodology that distinguishes each discipline's approach. And it is even more important to observe the "image" we are given of a specific art form by each one.

Deciding which particular art form would be the most efficacious for this purpose requires a number of considerations to be taken into account in order to ensure a fair and equitable representation, and to prevent any "skewing" of the comparative format. Considering that there is no term in any Native language in North America meaning "art" in the Western-European art-for-art's-sake sense, but rather references to "something made well", we can already glimpse something of the dilemma that has resulted in the each of the three disciplines, anthropology, art history and Native studies "talking past" one another.

Would a traditional Native art form be more appropriate than a contemporary Native art form? Would it make a difference to use pottery, of which there is the most prolific ethnological base and which might therefore provide the most complete picture of the developmental continuum of an art form? Pottery is also recognized as art in non-Native terms both historically and contemporarily, unlike tipi-liners, as an example, which are culture specific and, in Western-European terms, not considered art. It is apparent that any terms we use are inevitably

"loaded" from one cultural perspective or another. The choice of an art object for purposes of demonstration then, thus carries with it implicit signals to anthropologists, art historians, and Native studies experts as to the sort of judgment that therefore must be brought to bear concerning its status as art. This is good, since the objective here will not be to interpret the art form itself, but rather to perceive the effect of the particular "lens": anthropology, art history and Native studies, on our interpretation of the art form we are viewing.

In chapter one I will begin by attempting to provide a view through the "lens" of each of the three disciplines in order to demonstrate to the reader the historical perspectives definitive of anthropology, art history and Native studies in their approach to Native art. The object of this exercise is to assist the reader to become sensitized to the underlying philosophy and method of the three fields, to serve as a triad of dialectics out of which a new and genuinely interdisciplinary perspective may emerge. I will then proceed, in the second section, with an examination and explication of what I refer to as the Native aesthetic. I should point out that, given that the single most salient characteristic of the Native aesthetic is the recognition in both theory and praxis of the culturally integrated (a concept I shall expand upon in this section) nature of art, the examination of Native art studies within this inter-disciplinary framework will most closely approximate the Native perspective. Finally, in the third section, I will discuss the transition of the Native aesthetic from traditional to contemporary Native art. This will serve to identify important questions raised as a result of the socio-political changes in

the context within which Native artists now function that will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Chapter two will address the problems encountered in working towards an academic definition of Native art, focusing on the historical emergence and dynamics of the field of contemporary art by artists of Native heritage (including Métis). In the first section of this chapter I will treat the question of art vs. craft as discussed in two theoretical models from the Native or "emic" (a term I will clarify in this section) perspective. In the second section I will give a brief review of the historical development of the three emerging contemporary "schools" of Native Canadian art (other than Inuit) from pre-contact to present times. The final section of this chapter will trace the evolution and structure of the Native Canadian art market with the view, first of all, to clarifying current problems in the field, and second, to demonstrating the underlying need for a unified academic forum. The intention of this chapter is to provide the reader with a range of information and sense of process that give foundation to the existence of a Native aesthetic, and, hence, evidence of the viability of Native Canadian art studies as an academic discipline.

Chapter three will go on to describe an overview of the loosely structured network that comprises Native art studies in Canada today. In the first section I will examine the main problems encountered by those instructors presently attempting to offer Native Canadian art courses in a university setting. As well, I will provide some historical background specific to the dynamics of the fields of anthropology, art history and Native studies that have contributed to the difficulty in

sustaining an interdisciplinary dialogue among the three disciplines. In the second section I will proceed to identify, in more detail, types of resources available within the network in general, and the three abovenamed academic disciplines in particular, that have potential for future development of Native art studies programs. The concluding section of this chapter will set out basic recommendations relevant to directing the network's resources towards the formalization of Native Canadian art studies within our universities.

The term Native will be used here to mean persons of Indian (including Métis) ancestry. While Inuit art constitutes a major contribution to the body of aboriginal art in Canada, such an extensive topic would require space beyond the limitations of this thesis. I would suggest however, that a similar treatment of Inuit art is needed.

CHAPTER 1

Historical Perspectives

When approaching exotic or non-Western arts, as anthropologist Clifford Geertz once said, we are confronted immediately by a haunting riddle: how can other peoples' imaginative creations be so completely their own and yet speak so eloquently to us?

Ames

Imagine a design in your mind. Step into its centre. Move with the pattern as it dreams you beyond the boundaries of your perception.

Listen to the colours singing you awake. See the images dancing you free into the light, becoming real. Feel the fabric of these ancient dreams rest upon your shoulders, surrounding you with their power.

Remember, as you stand protected by their robe of warmth, the strong and gentle hands of the ancestors who wove your life.

Painted Robes: Comparative Perspectives

Such are the painted robes, variations of which can be found all across Canada. From the beautiful Montagnais-Naskapi caribou robes painted in designs of intricate double-curve motifs (Weber 1983), to the elegant Plains elk and buffalo robes incised and painted in traditionally encoded cultural texts (Hail 1980). But perhaps the most well-known, and certainly the most fully documented anthropologically, are the remarkable ceremonial robes of the Northwest Coast (Halpin 1987).

Two types of robes, or "blankets" as they are now popularly referred to, were made and worn for ceremonial purposes. The "Chilkat"

blanket was woven from mountain goat wool, cedar bark or other vegetable fibres effecting designs through the incorporation of dyed fibres. According to MacDonald (MacDonald, in Jensen and Sargent 1986: 1), the Chilkat woven blankets:

... replicated housefronts, but they changed the dimensions of meaning by reversing them (the Chilkat blanket is an upside-down housefront) and changing the frame of reference from the social (the painted housefront) to the personal (articles of clothing).

The second type of traditional Northwest Coast blanket, the *guiss* gan m'ala, or "button" blanket as it is commonly referred to, was originally made from tanned skins such as moose and sea otter. Dentalium shells and abalone disks were appliqued to create crest designs. During the early marine trade with Europeans, cloth and pearl buttons were acquired and adapted to the construction of these traditional robes, eventually evolving into the present day "button" blanket. Jensen and Sargent (1986: 3) state:

The traditional crest-style button blanket is the sister of the totem pole and, like the totem pole, proclaims hereditary rights, obligations, and powers.

Franz Boas, in his early anthropological research of Northwest Coast culture in the late 1800s documented the Chilkat blanket. Boas' attempt at a formal analysis of the design elements was included in his seminal 1927 monograph, *Primitive Art.* With a sense of detail and organization that was characteristic of all of his work, Boas undertook an interpretation of the Chilkat blanket based on the formal principles of style, representation, and symbolism understood within Western-

European aesthetics. Qualifying his approach to, and usage of, "art" Boas stated:

It is essential to bear in mind the twofold source of artistic effect, the one based on form alone, the other on ideas associated with form . . . the art of man, the world over, among primitive tribes as well as among civilized nations, contains both elements, the purely formal and the significant.

(Boas 1955: 13)

Boas does not give a single comprehensive treatment of the Chilkat blanket in ethnographic and aesthetic detail, but makes reference to it in each of his categories of analysis. However, an excerpt from Boas' description of Northwest Coast symbolism, discussing meaning within design, will serve our purpose of providing an example of a view through the anthropological "lens".

In the art of the North Pacific coast a definite totemic meaning is given to conventional figures. There is no general agreement as to their significance, but to many forms is assigned a meaning according to the totemic affiliation of the owner for whom it thus attains a value based on its meaning. Explanations of a blanket design obtained by G.T. Emmons and John R. Swanton, may serve as an example. According to Emmons the design represents a whale diving, in the lateral fields are ravens sitting. The head with nostrils and mouth is shown below. The central face represents the body, the inverted eyes along the upper border, the tail. According to Swanton the design represents a wolf with young. The head is shown below. The hind legs and hip-joints are represented by the two large inverted eyes and the adjoining ornament along the upper border. The two dark segments just above the eyes are explained as the feet. The face in the middle of the design represents, as usual, the body of the animal. the small eye designs, with adjoining ear and wing-feathers, in the middle on each side of the body are interpreted as forelegs and feet. The designs in the lateral panels are explained as young wolves sitting.

It seems likely that wherever varied interpretations of the same form, or of closely allied forms occur within the same social unit, conditions of this kind prevail.

We have no information whatever that would enable us to decide whether the ideas expressed are entirely incoherent. It is conceivable that there may be associations that are unknown to us and that create a greater unity than appears on the surface. I am under the impression that connected with the interpretation there exists a certain emotional tone that may be weak, but that is, nevertheless, not negligible in the esthetic effect of the whole object.

(Boas 1955: 108-109)

The following statement could fairly be taken to represent the comparative art-historical contribution to our understanding of the Chilkat blanket. Writing on the balancing of design in Native art (1986: 113-114), Wolfgang Haberland says:

A good example is the Chilkat blanket . . . the main design is in the middle and centers on the back of the wearer (Emmons 1907; Boas 1927: 212-216). It is important that, here again, the main design is on the back, on that part of the garment which shows the least movement and where the motif can be distinguished even when the wearer moves. This principle has been kept alive on the Northwest Coast even to the present, though many other elements have changed: for the last hundred years, blankets have been made from imported cloth, mostly in the form of European-made woolen trade blankets, which are ornamented with mother-of-pearl buttons. The designs have changed, too, not so much in content as in style. Today, they are more naturalistic, easier to "read" than the old Chilkat blankets. Nevertheless, the composition is still centered in the middle of the blanket and, when worn, on the back of the owner.

Looking at the Chilkat blanket through this "lens" we begin to perceive that Boas' seemingly two dimensional "static" arrangement of design elements has a third dimension, a person inside of it, and in addition, the blanket now appears to be moving!

Dempsey Bob, an artist of Tahtlan/Tlingit ancestry, teaches the art and traditions of the Northwest Coast blankets and their designs. He says:

Our people say, when we wear our blankets, we show our face. We show who we are and where we come from. When we dance, we share part of our history with our people. It's more than just what you see when you look at a blanket. To us, it has so much meaning. The blankets become very personal.

(Dempsey Bob, in Jenson and Sargent 1986: 6)

An elaboration on the nature of the "personal" meaning encoded within the design elements of the blanket, as just described by Dempsey Bob, was given by Albert Tait in an interview in 1986 (Tait, in Jensen and Sargent 1986: 59), discussing the "button" blanket.

My father said that recently, I believe he meant since the white man came among us, they made their ayukws [individual family crests] of cloth and placed them on the blue-black blankets, the gwiis gan m'ala. These are the ceremonial robes they use when the deceased goes up, they say. They tell this about the button blanket: for each House, the blanket holds the trapline, the hunting grounds, the berry-picking places. These a chief's gwiis gan m'ala covers. This was the law in the past, and it is the law today. Nothing has changed. A chief does not lay claim to another's grounds. In the summer, those that had no fishing grounds were invited to live alongside the chiefs family and prepare enough food for the winter. Our father said that all these laws are on the gwiis gan m'ala. The figures on the gwiis gan m'ala are not just a design. As does the totem pole, the gwiis gan m'ala holds the laws of the Indian people.

Through the Native "lens" we not only perceive that there is now a "fourth dimension" (Manuel and Posluns 1974) to the blanket, but we can sense that this dimension requires more from the viewer than mere "seeing". Without benefit of acculturation, the viewer is nevertheless able, through an act of imagination, to step into the centre of the

blanket's design, thus closing the "aesthetic distance" (see page 22) that exists between objectively "seeing" and subjectively recognizing, *a priori* (Dufrenne 1973: 539-556), the blanket as representative of self, family, clan, and ancestry. It is at this moment when the viewer, who is now surrounded by the view, which is the blanket, which is in turn the complete "fabric" of the individual's personal history within the context of the history of his or her people from the time of creation, becomes, and thereby apprehends the "fourth dimension". Actualizing the function of the blanket has the reciprocal effect of actualizing the cultural self of the individual. Through the act of imagining this relationship with the blanket, the viewer is afforded a glimpse of the Native or "emic" (a term I will discuss further in Chapter 2) perspective.

Understanding this relationship between personal psyche, myth and history, as Lévi-Strauss (1967) has shown, does not, however, preclude analysis of the aesthetic qualities of the designs as consciously deliberated by the artists. Though philosophically and functionally distinct from the fourth-dimensional view, two-dimensional and three-dimensional viewing (as previously described) had in the past, as today, important roles in design construct and analysis as well (Holm 1965). Northwest Coast artist and author Bill Holm (1965: 8) observes of traditional Northwest Coast artists, creators of the blankets that carried the traditions, that:

It soon becomes apparent that the artists in the area stretching roughly from Bella Coola to Yakutat Bay had a highly developed system of art principles that guided their creative activity and went far beyond the system of conventional animal representation described in the literature, most notably in the works of Franz Boas (1897: 123-76; 1927: 183-298).

So, layer by layer, it is possible to discern the "grammatical construct" of the blanket, so to speak. Yet a further step towards "reading" the blanket would involve learning the "language" of each of its four dimensions: principles of construction, design, ceremonial dance, and myth. Up to this point in our attempt to find a "way of seeing" (Alsop 1982, Langer 1960), and thus understanding, the meaning of the blanket we have been, both from the artist's perspective (Maritain 1955) and the Native perspective (Amiotte 1986), engaging in theory. As mentioned in the introduction, the single most distinguishing feature of the Native approach to art is the "integrated" nature of art within the culture, the necessity for a union of theory and praxis. In Native terms "something made well" has that capacity to "bind together" (from the Latin religare - whence also our term religion), that is, establish a sense of "relatedness" (see pages 18-20) for the individual with their culture. This spiritual potency inherent within art is recognized in the Western-European aesthetic as an attribute of good or "fine" art (Kandinsky 1964, Panofsky 1955).

Within the Native aesthetic it is, precisely, out of the artist's unique personal integration of these above-stated four dimensions of perceived reality of the blanket that the epiphany, the moment of "fine art" emerges (Dufrenne 1973) as the blanket "comes alive" within the personal "act of creation" (Koestler 1964). Tradition then, within Native art, as exemplified by the robes of the Northwest Coast, emerges not out of mere replication of material form and function. Rather, it emerges out of the synthesis of the individual artist's response to the four aspects of the robe's creation: as the maker of the blanket, as the owner of the

designs responsible for its laws (as discussed on page 12), as the dancer showing his or her face, sharing part of his or her history with the people (as described on page 12), and as part of the re-enactment of tribal myth. As Amiotte (1985: 3) says of the Sioux:

It is this, the "inner spirit" or the vital heart-mind-soul complex as a metaphor for the supposed higher instincts: intellectual, spiritual, aesthetic, judgement-moving, questing-for-meaning domain of our humanness, that the arts and humanities are concerned with and which the Sioux, in their understanding of it choose to perpetuate through their own cultural traditions, including the visual arts.

In their book, *Robes of Power*, Jensen and Sargent (1986: 82) ask the question, "How does a person learn to read the 'eye art' language?" Northwest Coast artist, Dempsey Bob's response gets to the core of the Native aesthetic. "In order to interpret the designs, you have to know the stories - family histories, yourself, your people, and nature" (Jensen and Sargent 1986: 82).

The Native Aesthetic

Once we perceive and accept the holistic approach of traditional Native thinking regarding art, we can begin to treat one of the crucial points of differentiation between the Western-European aesthetic and the Native aesthetic which lies in their respective conceptualizations and treatments of the creative process itself.

Before we begin exploring this topic further, it is important to point out that while it may be a "leap" for some to consider the existence of a "pan-Indian" aesthetic (and certainly I am not suggesting that full generalization is admissible, much less possible, see Hultkrantz 1987:

27) as Toelken states in his essay, Seeing with the Native Eye (1976: 10):

... one must start somewhere in an attempt to cope with the vast conceptual gulf which lies between Anglos in general and natives in general, for it is a chasm which has not often been bridged.

Although diverse in terms of their traditional cultures -- ranging from nomadic hunters to sedentary farmers -- Native Canadians can reasonably be discussed "in general". For, diverse as their traditional cultures might have been, certain basic spiritual concepts and social forms were very widespread in aboriginal North America (Radin 1957, Hultkrantz 1987, Eliade 1964). Moreover, for nearly three centuries now, Native peoples in Canada have been subject to a single national government which has treated aboriginal peoples using a more or less systematic policy and set of administrative structures (Frideres 1988, Gartrell 1986). As a culturally and racially distinct underclass in Canadian society, the world views of Native peoples, have developed as a result of common experiences vis-à-vis the European society which has dominated them, and, for the last thirty or so years of intense communication in pan-Indian forums, this world view has increasingly grown together.

The act of creation, in the Western European art tradition, as discussed by such Euro-American aestheticians as Koestler, Heidegger, Maritain, Dufrenne, Alsop, and Read, focuses on the individual and the work they produce in terms of accomplishment, charisma, personal power and profit. However, it is recognized that the continuity of the cultural fabric is lost when artists, valued for these qualities, are also made vulnerable to exploitation within the established system of patronage. They can be used for power, prestige and the gain of others

in exchange for financial and market security. Western-European art history is built on accounts of artists who lived under this double edged sword (Alsop 1982, Read 1953). The stereotypical Western-European image of the artist is that of an outcast, different from the average person, and in communion with the muses, and therefore, presumably gilt with some residue of the spiritual experience garnered through the act of creation (Kandinsky 1964). Further, the artist is perceived as being psychologically isolated (Maritain 1955), and standing apart from the human community of practical necessary concerns that make the world go around.

In order to understand the traditional role of the Native artist and their art it is necessary to remove this Western European lens, to intentionally create a suspension of our own belief, an *epoché* (Dufrenne 1973: 540), and to see with the eyes of the Native philosopher. The following quotation from Toelken on the non-Native versus the Native perception of reality is a good caution at this point, since it is not always easy to set aside our cultural bias with the deliberate intent of experiencing, at the very least, a different way of seeing. Toelken (1976: 24) says:

What the different cultures are taught to see, and how they see it, are thus worlds apart (although not, I think, mutually exclusive). One culture looks for a meaning in the visible, one looks for meaning beyond the visible. The "cues" are different because the referents and the connotations are different. Add to this basic incongruency the fact that the patterning of one is based on planning, manipulation, predictability, competition, and power, while the other is based in reciprocation, "flowering", response to situation, and cooperation - and who would be surprised to find that the actual symbols and meanings of the two religious

modes will be perceived and expressed in quite contrastive forms? We must seek to understand the metaphor of the native [North] American, and we must be willing to witness to the validity of its sacred function. . . . Before we can see, we must learn how to look.

When we do look at the Native aesthetic, we see that it emerges out of a tradition of ethics that holds the relationship between the individual and their community to be the very source of spiritual and cultural continuity. The act of creation in all its manifestations, from birth, seasonal renewal, conferring of a new name, receipt of a vision by which to undertake a new life, to the visual expression of these processes of renewal in art, all contain an element of the sacred. It is the spiritual power within the creative process that is the focus in Native philosophy, rather than the individual who manifests a material expression of that power or "art" (Amiotte 1986). A statement of faith recapitulating this philosophical position, and uttered upon conclusion of any personal or community event acknowledging renewal, that is common to North American Native languages, but as discussed by Brown in relation to the Sioux, translates as "we are all related" (Brown 1976: 32).

In consonance with the principle of "relatedness", the Native ethic is also markedly egalitarian. Therefore, no one individual, no matter how powerful or skilled in a particular area, whether hunting, healing or art, is considered as being any greater, nor any less than any other member of the community (Amiotte 1986). In fact, the more skilled the individual and the more recognized they become, the greater is their responsibility to employ that skill for the benefit of all the people. Individual prowess, while prized by the community, is not considered cause for personal gain, but rather is viewed as part of a reciprocal relationship having its

origins in the "spiritual" health of the community as expressed in the values of the people (Amiotte 1986). Thus a skilled individual perceives their gift to be not so much the result of an achievement, but rather a reflection of the whole community in its relationship with the cosmos (Coe 1977).

A central metaphor in Native philosophy and ritual depicts the creative process as an act of "bringing alive" or "empowering". Creation stories, rituals of personal renewal, such as the vision quest, and community renewal as expressed in the Potlatch and Sundance, are intended to bring the people into proper alignment and relationship with the universe, both on a microcosmic and macrocosmic level. Amiotte, describing this philosophical orientation to art among the Sioux, says:

... it is crucial to understanding the Sioux world view and perspective which gives rise to the mythology from which issues the sacred beliefs which are exemplified in ritual and ceremony for which symbols and symbolic objects are made and used to further illustrate and exemplify the sacred principles. Extending the concept of ascribing meaning to the design elements; design principles and certain media, we are potentially able to read these when they appear in a composition on either a sacred or secular form and eventually realize that the indigenous arts of the Sioux are actually an aesthetically pleasing way of communicating what the maker believes about his or her place in the order of a Dakota or Lakota universe and his relationship to it.

(Amiotte 1985: 4)

"Dreaming" the images - bringing them into the world through design - the traditional Native artists form an integral part of the cycle of renewing the ties of the people with their cosmological, spiritual, philosophical, and social relationships. Their personal translations of the symbolic mythic language find validation within their community as their works of art constitute the visible embodiment of the ritual fabric of the people. In accomplishing this, the art is understood as "something done well".

Native Art In Transition

It is evident then, that the Native aesthetic is a "lived" art, inseparable from its social context (as previous discussion suggests), animated with meaning that can not be analytically demonstrated solely through the "lens" of either standard anthropology or art history. Consequently, in order to fully appreciate traditional works of Native art, it is necessary to view them from within their own context (Haselberger 1961: 351). Certainly the point is not whether these objects are determined to be "fine" art or not, just to fit into Western-European aesthetic sensibilities. They are born out of, and hence best understood within, their own aesthetic context (Hauser 1959: 119-276), though this may not congruent with that of Western-European art.

Haberland, discussing the validity of the theory of "universal aesthetics" as a concept originally, "posited by anthropologists concerned with the art of non-literate peoples" (1986: 109), comments:

The designer of the Chilkat blanket or other paraphernalia of the Northwest Coast took into account the wishes of his customer, but composed the final object according to tradition and his own aesthetic ideas. This was one reason why different people saw different emblems in the designs, as Boas (1927: 212-216) has shown. The same was obviously true for the traditional protective designs - as opposed to later scenic designs - on shields and tipi covers among the Plains Indian.

Contemporary Native artists who have written on aesthetics in Native art (Amiotte 1985, Jensen and Sargent 1986, Holm and Reid 1976, St. Pierre 1984) corroborate Haberland's assessment up to this point. However, Haberland goes on to make a very general assertion that, "the complete symbolism was known only to the painter or, if he painted his images for another person, the owner" (1986: 108). This is an area that still engenders controversy and causes difficulty in sustaining the "dialogue" among anthropologists, art historians and Native art studies specialists.

Certainly, if we are to give credence to the Native perspective, it is clear that, although "personal" power and interpretation had a significant role in determining design, style, and symbolism, as well as the overall aesthetic effect, the visual "language" of the art was a parallel text illuminating the oral literature of the people (as Amiotte and Jensen have previously described). This is not to say that certain designs were not indeed painted for specific purposes, or that, in order for their power to remain efficacious, the full meaning within these designs might not be disclosed by the owner, personal shields on the Plains being a prime example.

In terms of the concept of art-for-art's-sake, while not a significantly isolated aspect of traditional Native art, it did characterize Native art in the sense that innovation in design, and delight in the manipulation of form and colour are evident in it. As Sturtevant (1986: 31) observes:

Indian artists must always have been experimenters and innovators - trying new materials, new forms and designs, new functions - and also learner, not only from their elders and contemporaries, but also from neighboring societies whose styles they knew from observation and from acquisitions by gift, trade, or capture. This is not merely a logical assumption - there is much archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence for innovation and diffusion.

However, Native historical, social, cultural and aesthetic contexts have undergone a series of changes since contact times which have had a direct and lasting impact on the direction and nature of Native art. What does this mean for contemporary Native artists who are working in the fine arts and attempting to integrate two radically distinct world views within a single aesthetic statement?

As Pulitzer-Prize-winning Kiowa author, N. Scott Momaday, in his essay, "Native American Attitudes to the Environment" (1976: 80, 84), remarks:

... we all are, I suppose, at the most fundamental level what we imagine ourselves to be. And this is certainly true of the American Indian. If you want a definition, you would not go, I hope, to the stereotype which has burdened the American Indian for many years. He is not that befeathered spectacle who is always chasing John Wayne across the silver screen. Rather, he is someone who thinks of himself in a particular way and his idea comprehends his relationship to the physical world, among other things. And it is that act of the imagination, that moral act of the imagination, which I think constitutes his understanding of the physical world.

... In his mind, nature is not something apart from him. He conceives of it, rather, as an element in which he exists. He has existence within that element, much in the same way we think of having existence with the element of air. It would be unimaginable for him to think of it in the way the nineteenth century "nature poets" thought of looking at nature and writing about it. They employed a kind of "esthetic distance", as it is sometimes called. This idea would be alien to the Indian.

What place do the traditional rituals that allow for "seeing in a sacred manner" have in a modern context? Many Native artists, by their own admission, are "bi-cultural". What do they mean? Is it possible that the mainstream art world's perception of Native art as relics of the past, only properly displayed within museums is a one dimensional view? Are Native artists creating contemporary works within both their traditional cultural contexts, and the art-for-art's-sake market?

Speaking from the Native perspective, St. Pierre (1984: 17) states:

Contrary to popular beliefs it is the integration of continuity of philosophical outlook or world view, combined with technological change, that makes today's traditional art among such Peoples as the Lakota valid extensions of their artistic heritage.

The following chapter will focus on that part of the continuum of the traditional Native aesthetic that is presently emerging in works of contemporary fine art by Native artists. Particular attention will be given to historical processes of acculturation that have defined the transition of Native arts in Canada from pre-contact to the present time. Two models for the study of Native art from the Native perspective will be examined. An overview of the three emerging "schools" of contemporary Native Canadian art will be presented, and finally, the question of what the market for Native art might be will be discussed.

CHAPTER 2

Contemporary Dynamics

The day when Indian art could be dismissed as unartistic and provincial is over. It is beginning to receive world-wide attention, after centuries of neglect and much prejudice. The artistic evaluation of this art is still in its infancy, but we are just beginning to come to grips with some of its most important aspects.

Coe

What is Native art? Virtually every study in the literature on this topic, in anthropology, in art history and in Native studies, begins with this question. The fact that these disciplines continue to generate controversy over the very definition of Native art is an indication of the difficulty they have in confronting this subject matter. Interestingly, the three most contentious areas remain exactly the same today as they stood at the turn of the century when Boas laid down the first systematized anthropological research into this subject (Boas 1955). They are: (1) the use of "primitive" in application to Native art, (2) the viability of the concept of "art" in Native art studies, and (3) the remission of any reference to a Native theoretical perspective. Concerning this last issue, even in publications as recent as Wade's 1986, Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution, statements such as the following continue to validate omission of the Native perspective through some seemingly excusable default:

If we cannot appeal directly to Indian classifications, terminology, and understandings to identify traditional Indian art, it might nevertheless be possible to formulate a definition of art that would permit assigning objects to this category either on the basis of their inherent characteristics, or according to their functions and meanings within their society of origin.

(Sturtevant, in Wade 1986: 23)

Just as Boas summarily dismissed well-known Haida carver, Charlie Edenshaw's interpretation of a traditional bent box design as "entirely fanciful" (Boas 1955: 275, Duff 1976: 34), Sturtevant here seems to be ruling out the possibility of Native artists having formal knowledge of their art history, traditions, symbolism or aesthetics.

While academic attitudes have exerted their influence on the public perception of Native art, it is necessary to recognize the enormous influence of the Canadian socio-political system as well. According to Tom Hill (1988), Seneca artist and museum director at the Woodland Indian Cultural Education Centre in Brantford, Ontario, the federal government's treatment of Native peoples in Canada, has not only influenced public attitudes towards Canadian Native peoples and their arts, but has, in fact, had a large role in shaping the very emergence of "Indian" art as it is generally understood in Canada today. However, there is, according to Hill (1988: 20-27), a "New Art" emerging, which is a contemporary expression of artists of Native ancestry, and while this "New Art" is Native Canadian, it cannot be fairly represented in the mainstream art market as the stereotypical "Indian" art of former times.

Though there is no firm agreement on a definition of or approach to the study of Native art, there is an emerging consensus as to the reasons for the disparity of perspectives between Native and European art. Two main areas of historical impact are generally acknowledged (Amiotte 1985, Hill 1988, Patterson 1973, Wade 1986).

First, both the evolution and study of contemporary Native art are inextricably enmeshed within the socio-political history of contact and post-contact times. Tom Hill, in his introduction to the book, *Norval Morrisseau and the Image Makers*, describes how the cumulative "program" of enculturation comprised of such events as the formation of the Department of Indian Affairs, the removal of Native children to church and government-run boarding schools, the expropriation of Native art objects through the implementation of what has come to be called the Potlatch Law, the later fabrication of government-controlled Indian art markets, the assimilationist position of the White Paper, and the recent emergence of Native artists' collectives and lobby groups (see Appendix I), have all had their influence on the status of the Native and thus upon the production, nature and identity of Native art. Hill (1988: 27) states:

What is clear is that some Indian artists will continue to produce work reflecting the realities of their human condition, which happens to be Indian. Is it this sense of "Indian consciousness," which permeates even the most modern canvases, that inhibits Indian art's credibility for an art gallery, relegating the work to an anthropological museum? If so, the Indian artist is not going to give up his perception of his community just to gain entrance to the art establishment.

Second, the problem for the Native artist has not been ameliorated by academic attempts to answer the question "what is Native art?", which, until recently, have tended to reduce Native art to either anthropological or art-historical interpretations, both Western-European based (Vastokas 1987). Out of anthropology and art history, two fundamental premises concerning Native art emerged, which, though by now outmoded in their respective disciplines, continue to live on the

more popular literature, in museum catalogues and in art books. The first assumes that Native culture has been and continues to be a "static" culture (Brasser 1976). The second holds that artistic expression within Native culture is "primitive", and involves more the replication of technical and traditional craft practices than creative and imaginative expression, hence it is not "fine" art (as discussed by Philips 1988). A result of such historical thinking is the tendency to perceive and to treat fine art by today's Native artists as merely "contemporary ethnography" (Interview with Cardinal-Schubert, November 12, 1987). What this means in practice, quite simply, is that recognized works of fine art produced by Native artists in Canada today are more likely to be hung in the Museum of Civilization rather than the National Gallery (Young Man 1988 b).

Since the 1970s, departments of Native Studies have begun to take their place within a scattering of Canadian universities and five of them currently offer courses in Native art history (see Appendix II). The academic formalization of a Native perspective synthesizing traditional Native art concepts with aesthetic traditions coming out of the Native Studies programmes is not only beginning to nudge anthropologists and art historians towards a more sensitive understanding of contemporary Native art, but is generating pressure against the current "museum vs. gallery" mentality as well. By this I mean treating Native art as "contemporary ethnography" best displayed in a museum setting (ultimately the National Museum of Civilization in Ottawa), as opposed to the treatment of works of art by Native artists as representative of "fine" art to be acquired by and shown in art galleries, up to and including the

National Gallery of Canada (Ames, Harrison and Nicks 1988: 47-58).

But more influential by far than the university departments in changing old attitudes and in laying the groundwork for a new recognition of Native art as an autonomous field have been the Native artists themselves, a number of whom are presently in artadministration positions in government and educational institutions (General 1987).

Any consideration of the question today, "what is Native art?", should begin by recognizing the non-static and "autonomous" (Anderson 1979: 155) nature of Native art. It should also examine the historical innovations in Native art forms, styles, media and technique, resulting from Western-European contact and subjugation that reflect the transition by Native artists from a culturally integrated aesthetic to the more individualistic aesthetic characteristic of the contemporary mainstream context. To do this effectively it is necessary to consider the Native perception of Native art history and aesthetic traditions.

Art or Craft?

Two important theoretical models for the study of Native art have been proposed in the literature by Native artist-educators for the analysis of Native Canadian art. Arthur Amiotte, an Oglala Sioux from South Dakota, describes the Sioux "emic" perspective (U.S. and Canadian) while Tom Hill, a Seneca from Brantford, Ontario outlines a general "Native Canadian" art theory.

As the term "emic" does not have a consistent meaning across the social sciences, its use here necessitates some clarification "emic" and

"etic" have their origins in the linguistic terms "phonemic" and "phonetic". Kenneth Pike, in his essay, "Towards a Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior", first used the term "emic" to denote a unit within the context of light particle and wave theory in order to underline the isolation of specific events of human behavior (represented by particles) within the context of behavior events in a series (represented by waves). Pike asserted that:

... when people react to human behavior in their own culture they react to it as if it were a sequence of separate particles of activity; the actor in such activity and the native perceiver of this activity both tend to ignore or to be unaware of the transition states between the waves of activity. For this reason, a purely physical analysis of human behavior may analyze it as comprised of waves, but a cultural analysis of human behavior must treat is as comprised of particles, discrete behavioral entities.

(Pike 1964: 55)

It is possible to adapt Pike's use of "emic" to describe the Native artist (the self-observing particle) within the context (wave) of Native art history. Or alternatively, the Native aesthetic as the "eme" within the context of Native culture. Amiotte reflects this usage in his essay on the Sioux perception of Sioux aesthetics and art history, when he describes the enculturated individual as having an "emic" perspective on his or her culture.

Emic pertains to perspective and valuing of a culture by someone enculturated within that culture. Etic pertains to perspective, observations and valuing of a culture by someone outside of or not of that culture.

(Amiotte 1985: 2)

Since the intention here is to focus on, clarify, and in some cases "translate", the Native perspective of Native contemporary art, it is

Amiotte's application of the concept of "emic" that will be used here.

In his paper "American Indian Visual Arts: The Case of the Dakota-Lakota of South Dakota and the Northern Plains", Amiotte proposes four major divisions of Sioux art history consisting of: (1) Preand Post-contact Indigenous Arts or Traditional Tribal Arts, (2) Traditional Transitional Tribal Arts, (3) Emerging Non-traditional Fine Art and, (4) Contemporary or Modern Sioux Fine Art. Amiotte (1985: 12) says:

The intention of the Sioux in their appraisal of their arts is not to place any one of the four categories, even though they too have preferences, above another as one having superiority, but to recognize them all having their place in the cultural arts continuum we know today as the Arts of the Sioux.

Hill's more general model for a theory of Native art history (1988: 11) divides Native art into three categories: (1) Ceremonial, (2) Crafted, and (3) New Art.

Amiotte's "Pre and Post-contact Indigenous Arts or Tribal Arts" and Hill's "Ceremonial Arts" both refer to those art objects whose form and function, both in the past *and* in modern times, embody traditional principles and values of the culture for use *within* the specific cultural context, thus ensuring a continuation of the society's ideals.

Hill uses the term "crafted" to encompass all those Native arts produced as a result of the process of Western-European acculturation, including trade items, souvenirs, curios and handicrafts. He describes this category of Native art as essentially a response to a white market with little or no function within the Native culture itself (Hill 1988: 14). While Amiotte (1985: 6), identifies much the same category of objects under his category, "Traditional Transitional Tribal Arts", he does not

restrict his definition to those art objects produced for a white market, but recognizes that many such items may have functions within tribal cultures as well, citing such items as starquilts and glass-beadwork as examples.

Hill's category, "New Art", is a broad-ranging category that includes all Native-produced art in a fine arts medium. Amiotte, however, divides contemporary Native fine arts into two distinct groups. First there are those art forms produced as "purely aesthetic forms without any utilitarian or Lakota [Sioux] cultural traditional context" (1988: 12). These he refers to as the "Emerging Non-traditional Fine Arts". Quite separate from the preceding category, he identifies those works of fine art by artists that are, "biologically and culturally in their world view, of Sioux heritage and consciously acknowledge it and its influence on their art" (Amiotte 1985: 2). These he defines as "Contemporary or Modern Sioux Fine Art".

Amiotte is very careful to emphasize the fact that his model is based on Sioux arts, the interpretations therefore, being "emic" with specific reference to the Sioux, and not necessarily definitive of Native art history in general. Hill's more general model of Native Canadian art is intended to provide a background to the emergence of the Woodland school (see pages 43-46). He has not as yet, however, written anything further in reference to its potential application to studies of the Northwest Coast or Canadian Plains schools.

However, both writers confirm the necessity to address the two key issues stated previously: the historical impact of socio-political events on the development of Native art, and the persistence of a uniquely "Native"

aesthetic within all eras from pre-contact to modern times. The assertion by both, and certainly by the majority of contemporary Native artists, is that contemporary Native fine art can both represent the Native aesthetic and be appraised as fine art in the mainstream art market simultaneously; these are not mutually exclusive categories.

Whether the concept of Native aesthetic is best understood in tribally specific terms, or would best be employed in an overview of Native Canadian art, should become clear as more is written on Native art history and aesthetic theory from the Native perspective. The outlook is hopeful in this regard. The increasing socio-political and ideological autonomy of Native groups in terms of reserve control of educational and social policy, is beginning to bear fruit in terms of publications on Native art and culture by individual bands. The emergence of departments of Native Studies, as well as publications such as the Canadian Journal of Native Studies, is bringing the Native aesthetic increasingly into view in both academic and public consideration. The Native values being expressed in contemporary works of fine art by artists of Native ancestry, gaining recognition nationally and internationally, reflects what Brody described in 1971 in his book, Indian Painters, White Patrons, as the, "death of Indian painting", that is, the death of Western-European stereotypes of Indian art, being, "accompanied by the birth of Indian painters". Painters of Native heritage will begin to achieve recognition of their individual painterly skills in the contemporary mainstream art-forart's-sake market.

Although this will provide validation of the "fine arts" capabilities of contemporary Native artists in one context, the Western-European art

market, Native artists overwhelmingly insist on the bi-cultural mainsprings of their aesthetic motivation (Amiotte 1985: 2, General 1987). The question then arises to what degree there might be validation of the Native aesthetic within Native culture for works of contemporary Native painters. Keeping in mind that we recognize Native culture to be both "autonomous" and "core consistent", we can see the persistence of traditional Native values being expressed in the ever-changing medium of contemporary times. The traditional "function" of art in Native society remains focused on the refined expression of the Native "emic" aesthetic expressive of tribal history, beliefs and values in continuum. The actualization of this precept is, as we have already discussed, the most distinguishing characteristic of the Native aesthetic. Amiotte (1985: 1) notes:

Arising from these varied components is the perpetual question of just what is Indian art and what is not. Is a possible definition necessarily congruent and consistent, or need it be, with established non-Indian definitions of art inherited and evolved from Euro-American modes of thinking about the subject?

Interestingly enough, the historical development of the term "aesthetic" reveals some insight into this question. The original Greek meaning of this term, "of or pertaining to things perceptible by the senses, things material (as opposed to things thinkable or immaterial) to feel or apprehend by the senses" (Oxford 1971: 37), comes closest to the Native conception.

The highly developed complex of Native art, in its ritual (and lesser-documented "non-ritual") capacity to "appeal to the senses" to achieve a transformed state of consciousness, is well understood within Native culture and parts of it have been addressed in anthropology and

art history. As art historian Robert Goldwater (1959: 9) observed:

The anthropologist and the archaeologist (at least in their professional roles) tend to forget that works of art are not only illustrations of myth and legend, magic and religion, but also their veritable embodiments. These are the objects men had around them, the concrete images in whose shape and form and color were visualized the past histories and the living presences of gods and ancestors. If, in Robert Redfield's terms, we can by intellectual effort partially realize the "transcendent values" of these images, we can also become permeable to their "immanent values," and so approximate the direct visual impact these works of art originally had. In the process, we go beyond the distance usually associated with 'aesthetic" contemplation; since through it we absorb their human and emotional intention.

However, it is important to differentiate between "aesthetics" and "art" as understood in Native and Western European terms. Dickason (1972) and Feest (1980) point out, there is no word in any Native language in North America that means "art" in the Western-European sense. Sturtevant (1986: 27), writing on the distinguishing factors between Western-European and Native perceptions of art in society, quotes Alsop's "irreducible triad" of art collecting, art history, and an art market, as definitive of the Western-European notion of "art". Among Native cultures there are no close parallels to Alsop's triad, but there are references to "something made well" (Patterson 1973: 5).

The connection between "something made well" and "something apprehended by the senses" is reflected in the integrated "function" of art in Native cultures, which is part of the Native aesthetic. The later malapropism of the Greek "aesthetic" by Baumgarten in Germany in the 1750s, to mean a science or philosophy of the criticism of taste, eventually came to be the dominant meaning in Europe. It has since come to reflect the contemporary Western-European aesthetic in an art-

for-art's-sake market. Native artists are aware of the gap in understanding. In his article, "Issues and Trends in Contemporary Native Art", Alfred Young Man (1989: 7) comments:

The word "art," in its Westernized vernacular, as a neutral noun, can describe an infinite arrangement of intellectual, philosophical, moral and human values.

Art, in the American Indian world view today, is being used in ways that question the very foundation of Western thinking. Native artists have taken this predominantly linear, left-brained mode of thinking to task. They are radically altering the non-Indians' perception of Native Americans and the way they perceive themselves as contemporary people living in the 20th century . . .

In this chapter we will explore these questions in relation to the emergence of Northwest Coast, Canadian Plains, and Woodlands fine arts. We will discuss the styles of the three "schools" and the work of the artists who have been most influential in breaking the ground for acceptance of contemporary Native art into the national and international mainstream.

Emerging Schools

Northwest Coast

The Native aesthetic of contemporary Northwest Coast painting has its roots in the traditional Ceremonial or Pre- and Post-contact Indigenous arts of the people. Today, in addition to being handed down through specifically traditional arts and crafts, traditional mythic themes and images of culture heros are transmitted through the synthesis of Western-European media and technique and principles of Northwest Coast design (Halpin 1978).

This "New Art" has gained popularity world-wide and has been collected by both non-Native and Native patrons. In accordance with Amiotte's model, the works of (for example) contemporary Northwest Coast artists, clearly expressing their traditional Native cultural text in keeping with the Native perspective, should be considered "Contemporary or Modern [Northwest Coast] Fine Art", as differentiated from works of "Emerging Non-Traditional Art", which do not reflect accurate Native content or aesthetic. Northwest Coast artists, though perhaps more widely recognized than artists of the Canadian Plains and Woodlands schools for their contribution to the fine arts, have not yet achieved full acceptance in the mainstream market (Hill 1988). However, the works of many contemporary Northwest Coast artists, such as paintings and serigraphs by Robert Davidson, Roy Vickers and others, are collected by Native patrons with the intention of making gifts of them during the Potlatch. These works are sought equally for their aesthetic value, as for their symbolic value within the culture (Hall 1981).

The Native tradition of appreciation of "something made well", forms the basis of a form of cultural critique within this context. In addition, the incorporation of the work of contemporary painters within the Potlatch provides the artist with recognition of the ongoing cultural validity of their work, and their place in the continuum of tribal art. This is certainly not the act of a "static" culture, but reflects the ability of Native society to adapt outside influences to its own uses.

Painted design, along with carving, was considered a "male" art in traditional Northwest Coast culture, the artist's ability being believed to come from dreams and visions. According to Hall (1981: 35):

A distinctive Northwest Coast art style can be traced to ancient stone carvings that have been unearthed at scattered locations along the Washington, British Columbian, and Alaskan coasts. The earliest accurately dated stone pieces, approximately 2,500 years of age.

Traditional painting ranged from color application on carvings to large totemic "murals" on ceremonial housefronts Halpin (1987). With the outlawing of the Potlatch, these forms of expression were no longer available to the artists. Totem poles and ceremonial houses rotted where they stood. Painted masks and bowls that had been either collected or confiscated by non-Natives were stored in museums (Hall 1981).

It wasn't until the 1950s, when the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia installed Kwakiutl carver Mungo Martin as an "artist-in-residence" that new poles were once again made. However, these were not placed within the context of Kwakiutl culture or landscape, but rather were exported to museums, galleries and wealthy collectors outside the country.

While the Museum of Anthropology was implementing its program to revive the traditional arts, the young Native artists of the 50s were being exposed to new media of expression in school, learning a variety of Western-European techniques. This exposure to formal art training, combined with an interest in their own culture, stimulated many to seek out apprenticeships with traditional artists, or further training at the Kitanmax school at 'Ksan (Stewart 1979). As a result, in the 1960s many young Northwest Coast artists who were acquiring "literacy" in the arts of both cultures, and who were also responding to the socio-political freedom of the times, began to produce an exciting new array of

Northwest Coast art forms in a variety of contemporary media. It was in this context that the now well-known Northwest Coast print emerged (Duffek 1983, Hall 1981).

The silkscreen technique was particularly adaptable to Northwest Coast design, which was traditionally two-dimensional. Unlike the restrictions artists experienced when painting on wood, silkscreen opened new and exciting opportunities for innovation and discovery. They were able to experiment with colour and design relationships that had previously not been possible. In addition, the ability to reproduce multiple originals through the silkscreen process, presented the potential for commercial viability as a fine art form. In 1977 the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild was formed. According to well-known Northwest Coast artist Roy Vickers the intention of the Guild stamp on the silkscreen prints was to, "help the general public to recognize quality art of the Northwest Coast Indian people, and assure them of its authentic native origin" (Vickers, in Duffek 1983: 101).

To the casual observer of Northwest Coast art, it might appear that the work of all Northwest Coast artists is the same. There is a readily recognizable aesthetic and set of stylistic conventions that distinguish Northwest Coast from all other Native art in Canada. But within the Northwest Coast school, contemporary artists have developed their own distinct stylistic interpretations of the traditional forms. This expression of an individual style is not new to Northwest Coast art, however, as Dickason (1972: 71) remarks:

... artists had quite enough scope for their individuality to be recognizable in their work, as students of Northwest Coast art are finding out. In fact, these experts have come to the conclusion that

this art has been dominated and influenced by a few extra-ordinary artist-innovators just as European art has been.

Duffek, in *Bill Reid: Beyond the Essential Form* (1987: 11) writes of contemporary Northwest Coast artists Bill Reid and Bill Holm as speaking of the practice of innovation and individualism among traditional Northwest Coast artists as essential.

Reid and Holm speak about the logic of the art, expressed through the rules. The choices an artist can make to "escape" from the control of the design elements and their relation to each other are limited. If the essential formlines and other components are not used within the system, the structure, and the logic collapse. To extend beyond the logic, therefore is to balance the constraints of this highly structured tradition with the courage to stretch them to new limits, new logic. A masterpiece of Northwest Coast art transforms the conventions into an individual expression of what is possible.

CANADIAN PLAINS

Artists were valued in Plains Indian society, "because they were the ones who", had the gift to make, "visible what [otherwise] could only be perceived and understood in the abstract", according to Plains artist Gerald McMaster (1988: 13). In his article, "Saskatchewan Indian Art: More Than Beads and Feathers", he says:

The creative objectives of our forefathers were so inextricably woven into the fabric of the culture it was difficult to categorize them as art. The very idea of making art was a new concept in the Indian world. It did not, however, preclude the fact there were many gifted individuals who were immediately recognized within the traditional community as manifesting creativity. Many men and women were often recognized a receiving the "special gift" from the Great

Spirit, and were expected to put it to good use. In fact Plains Cree terminology points out capabilities of craftsmanship, yet there is no word or concept for art.

(McMaster 1988: 13)

A predominant traditional Plains art form was the narrative composition, "which told a story, sometimes heroic, sometimes highly personal" (Cuthand 1988: 4). These representational works were produced by men, some of whom held a specific office such as that of painting the historical records or "winter counts" as they are referred to, in symbolic and representational graphics on buffalo, moose and deer hides. Histories of a more personal nature, were also rendered in representational muralistic form on the tipi liners of the owner and their family. As Dickason (1972: 72) observes, "The representations of the Plains Indians come the closest to the Western idea of painting." As with the Northwest Coast arts, Plains art too endured a period of official sanctioning. From the 1885 banning of the Sundance to the 1950s amendment of the Indian Act to include religious freedom, traditional arts for ceremonial and ritual purposes went underground (Cuthand 1988: 4). The resulting impact on traditional Plains art was evident as McMaster (1988: 13) writes:

By the 1920s and 30s most traditional Indian objects were no longer being made because two or three generations had passed and the forces of assimilation and acculturation had swiftly eroded a former way of life.

At the turn of the century the Department of Indian Affairs, in cooperation with Montreal's Canadian Handicraft Guild and agricultural exhibitions provided funding for Native exhibitions (Hill 1988: 16, McMaster 1988: 13). Tribes were encouraged to perform dances in

traditional costumes while, ironically, at same time their accompanying religious beliefs and cultural practices were outlawed. Students from boarding schools were sponsored by the Department of Indian Affairs to attend these events, to compete for prizes in writing and other non-Native art forms that would reflect their successful acculturation while, "traditional-type objects were displayed but usually in a subordinate manner" (McMaster 1988: 13). In fact, the Canadian Handicraft Guild was dedicated to the preservation of Indian culture, but as Hill (1988: 16) goes on to point out:

Little did they realize that their efforts to create a viable commercial market would also encourage the evolution of a style far removed from any traditional trait of Indian societies.

The period from 1880 to 1950 is generally known as the Reservation Period in Canada. During this time the combined effects of the restrictions on traditional subsistence activities, cultural and religious practices, and land loss all led to an increasing dependence on wage labour to survive among the Native peoples. Just as this period saw the rise of "tourist" or "ethnic" arts on the Northwest Coast (Hall, Blackman and Rickard 1981: 41-42), so too, the "personal" designs of the Plains became "tribal" (Cuthand 1988: 4; Feder, in Wade 1988: 100-103) in a non-Native market.

The Indian Act was finally amended in 1951 to allow religious and cultural freedom, but by then, according to McMaster (1988: 13), "the meaning of being a Plains Indian had been irrevocably changed".

On the reserves art was influenced by the art in newspapers, magazines and posters. The work of Euro-American artists, Russell and Remington, became popular models for Plains artists, particularly for

their sympathetic renditions of familiar landscapes.

At the end of the reservation period, in the 1950s, Blood artist, Gerald Tailfeathers, a "self-taught painter of Indian and western scenes, and also of traditional 'pictographs', showing tribal war experiences" from Alberta (Patterson 1973: 83), came into prominence. In the 1960s a group of artists who were committed, "to recording childhood memories and reminiscences of everyday life in the reserve communities of Saskatchewan during the 1930s and 1940s" emerged (Warner 1985: 46), most notably Allan Sapp, Michael Lonechild, Sanford Fischer and Henry Beaudry (Warner 1985: 46).

In 1973, when the Saskatchewan Federation of Indians, in cooperation with the University of Regina, established the Indian Art Department at Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, a centre for the study of Canadian Plains art came into being. Since then, according to Cuthand (1988: 4):

The Indian art community has undergone changes. Some of the artists are university trained, others are self-taught. Traditional painters are dedicated to preserving the flat two-dimensional surface and the use of symbolism. Contemporary artists are pushing back the traditional boundaries to find their own expression. Experimentation with different media has caused the general public to redefine their concept of Indian Art.

The contemporary art of the Canadian Plains Native artists is a unique and expansive constellation of individualistic styles. American artist, Sarain Stump, taught at Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in its early years. According to Warner (1985: 50), "It is through Americans like Stump that the new modernism in Indian painting came to be associated with an 'Indian Nationalist' ideology." Such currently

well-known artists as Robert Boyer (now Head, Department of Native Fine Arts, SIFC), Gerald McMaster (now curator of Contemporary Canadian Indian Art at the National Museum of Civilization in Ottawa), and Edward Poitras, were all involved with the Indian Fine Arts program at Saskatchewan Federated and were influenced by Stump.

Both Coe (1977), and Amiotte (1985) have summed up Plains art as being characterized by an "aesthetic of mobility". However, it would probably be misleading to claim to discern a prevailing paradigm in this varied body of work, in contrast to that of the contemporary Northwest Coast school which, as we have seen, is based on the design concepts and mythic images of antiquity, or the Woodlands school as epitomized by the narrative surrealism brought into prominence by Norval Morriseau.

WOODLANDS

The single most definitive characteristic of the contemporary Woodland School is its pictographic style, also referred to as "legend painting" or "x-ray art" as popularized by Ojibway artist Norval Morrisseau (McLuhan 1988: 29). This style has its roots in an art form and history that archaeologists have documented from the Late Archaic period (1000 B.C.). David Penney (Brose, Brown, and Penney 1985: 12) explain that the:

... art historical survey of the eastern Woodlands begins with the Late Archaic period because the cultural patterns and institutions that resulted in the emergence of an indigenous North American art tradition began to develop during that time. These same patterns and institutions continued to provide the impetus for the making of art throughout the middle Woodland period. The Late Archaic, Early Woodland, and middle Woodland periods thus comprise the first major phase of North American art history.

Pictographic designs were carved into rock, or applied to smooth rock faces with organic pigments. Patterson (1973: 32) notes that, "these paintings are thought to record the dreams and conscious affairs of medicine-men and perhaps of young spirit-questers". Pottery was also incised with similar designs, often abstracted into geometric double curve motifs, which appeared in woven baskets as well. The mnemonic birchbark scrolls, containing historical records and ritual programs employed a pictographic language. These sacred texts were handed down through the generations, and carried with them the substance of the culture of the Woodland tribes (Patterson 1973). Coe observes that, "There is a special type of vision at work in Woodland art, and the poetic associations of the designs are wide" (1977: 75).

In the late 1950s, much this same "vision" emerged in the paintings of Morriseau and later other Cree/Ojibwa/Odawa artists who followed his style. The sources for these paintings were the Ontario Shield rock paintings and Midewiwin scrolls. McLuhan (1988: 30), writing on Morrisseau's early training states that:

It was through his grandfather that he received a mission to transmit, through his art, the legacy of Ojibwa values and beliefs to Indians and non-Indians. . . . The Ojibwa oral tradition, the mnemonic pictography or memory aids, and the decorative arts provided a rich environment of form and imagery.

The Six Nations Arts Council was formed at Ohsweken, near Brantford, in 1957. Although, as Hill (1988: 18) indicates, it, "served as a lobbying organization for an art gallery and cultural centre . . . the

organization was labelled 'too nationalistic' by the local Indian agent".

Morrisseau, and other aspiring artists of the time received little benefit from the Council, and were generally left to fend for themselves.

Morrisseau's first show in Toronto in 1962 heralded what was to become a phenomenon in Native Canadian art history. As McLuhan (1988: 107) observes somewhat critically:

An entire second generation of Indian youth was offered "Indian art" as a key to identity, white esteem, and economic self-sufficiency. This second generation mastered the techniques but frequently lacked the motivation or substance that effective painting demands. They were taught to paint like Indians, as if it were a racial predisposition. The pictographic style invented by Morrisseau was offered as an Indian mantle one could assume, as though one size would fit all. Indian communities received very little other arts input that could balance the picture of the nature of an artist. The sheer number of followers now on the art market testifies to this phenomenon.

Just as the Northwest Coast artists had discovered the advantages of the silkscreening process, so too did the artists of the Woodland School. In the early 1970s Odawa artist, Daphne Odjig, formed her own print business to reproduce her own work as well as that of fellow artists. In Red Lake, Ontario the Kakegamics started the Triple K Co-operative with the same objective.

The subsequent flood of "Indian" art on the market, particularly from the Northwest Coast and Woodlands silkscreen cooperatives, was not simply a result of Native artists beginning to express themselves in the fine arts mediums. If anything, rather than opening up the market to Native artists producing fine art, the label "Indian art", created a ghetto market, ie. a distinct section of the art market with its own specific dealers, galleries and magazines. This was largely abetted by the

implementation of several government cultural programs within the Department of Indian Affairs in response to the changing socio-political climate of the 1960s.

Whose Market?

In the contemporary mainstream art world the market provides the artist with a certain public validation of their work. However, for the Native artist working in the fine arts, the historical evolution of a market sector created specifically for "Indian art" has presented a particular set of considerations when attempting to enter the mainstream. First and foremost, the Native artist is faced with the question of whether or not they are producing "Indian" art at all (with all its lingering historical and craft implications), or whether they are creators of contemporary fine art who happen to be of Native ancestry. As Seneca artist Tom Hill (in Dickason 1972: 3) describes it:

Canada's Indian artist is faced with the necessity of making a decision: should he accept his own culture as the wellspring for his inspiration, or should he assimilate into Western culture and express his creativity in art forms that give no indication of his particular background?

This distinction, which is much more than merely a terminological one, has its history in Canadian federal policy. In the 1950s the Canadian government undertook a program for the establishment of Eskimo art cooperatives and for the formulation of associated marketing strategies based on a feasibility study done by James Houston for the

Canadian Handicraft Guild in 1952. According to Houston (1952: 103):

The Department of Resources and Development become interested in the project, and asked the Guild to extend its search for such material even further north. They stressed the need for work in areas that were depressed because of a scarcity of game and offered the Guild a small grant to cover my salary and travelling expenses.

At the end of five buying trips, (the Eskimo artists were not paid in cash, but rather in chits that could be exchanged for goods with the Hudson's Bay Company), Houston reported that, "over twenty thousand pieces have been brought out, and sold by the Guild to the Canadian public. The supply has not begun to meet the demand" (1952: 103). One might question the efforts of the Canadian Handicraft Guild and the willingness of the federal government to finance the acquisition, promotion and sales of Eskimo art, when there was such a rich and diverse fabric of Native Indian art much more easily accessible. However, the government's *de facto* creation of the Eskimo art market was predicated on the now familiar assumptions about the pristine, traditional and aboriginal nature of Eskimo art, serving as a virtually untapped source of authentic primitiveness. Houston (1952: 99) in fact makes a classic statement of this view.

The surge of civilization that swept the continent in the past century stamped out many Indian ritualistic tribal arts, and later replaced them with a meaningless souvenir trade. But their geographic remoteness protected the Eskimos, who were by-passed, and the link between past and present in their art is as yet unbroken.

One reason for the government's failure to launch a social welfare program of similar proportions to assist their Indian wards was simply that, by 1952, the economic infrastructure of most reserves was

developed to such an extent that a barter or chit system of acquisition was no longer viable. It should be noted here that, although Indian Affairs established a Medical Welfare and Training Division in 1936 that included provision for programs to encourage the production and sale of Indian arts and crafts (Hill 1988: 18) this was a minor, if not completely insignificant, function of the division. This was, incidentally, the only government body contributing to the promotion and sale of Indian art until 1969. In addition, the prevailing policy of the government towards the Native peoples was determinedly "assimilationist", given the proximity of most Indian reserves to mainstream Canadian society. By contrast the most important socio-political concern of the Canadian government in relation to the Eskimo, given their relative geographic and social isolation, was their potential use in forced removal programs to establish Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic.

The Canadian government's colonial policy of assimilation (Gartrell 1986) of Canadian Indians had an indirect impact on Indian art, as previously noted, with regard to various implementations of the Indian Act, including mandatory residential schooling, and outlawing of the Potlatch and the Plains Sundance. A more direct federal influence wasn't felt until the creation of the Social Programs Division within the Department of Indian Affairs, which established a Cultural Affairs section whose most visible contribution was the coordination the Indians of Canada Pavilion for Expo '67 (Hill 1988: 21).

A convergence of socio-political forces and movements beginning in the mid 1960s and continuing into the 1970s increasingly brought Indian art to the Canadian public's attention. In 1960 Canadian Indians were finally granted the vote. Land claims, treaty rights and issues of local control of reserve education, social welfare and cultural policy filled the media. Native spokespersons articulating Native interests and viewpoints became prominent in the news. Politicized white middle class youth drew inspiration from Native imagery and ethics. An era of "buying leather" ensued, resulting in increasing demands by the non-Native market for Indian art and literature. As Hill describes it:

Although willing to accept Indian art as an expression of its identity, the Indian community during the sixties did not provide the market, primarily because neither individuals nor institutions in the community enjoyed an economic base sufficient to enable them to become collectors of their own people's art. At the same time, once an Indian artist began to achieve some degree of economic success, he was often accused of selling his culture to the white man. The Indian artist found this kind of paradox bewildering and somewhat agonizing, since they had no control over it. In Canada, the Indian art market was ideal. Canada as a nation during the sixties was going through its own identity crisis, and the art-buying public was eager to purchase anything that reflected a Canadian consciousness. As Margaret Atwood aptly asks in her book *Survival*: "The problem is what do you do for a past if you are white, relatively new to a continent, and rootless?" In the true Canadian literary tradition, you identify with the victim; you become concerned with Canada's own survival against the cultural domination of the United States.

(Hill 1988: 20)

The popularization that Indian art underwent in the 70s, led to the creation of a fine art division within the newly formed government wholesale operation, the Canadian Indian Marketing Service, for the publication and marketing of limited edition prints (Hill 1988: 25). The fact that this facilitated marketing for the Native artist in a very direct way was certainly a commercial advantage for the artists; however, once identified in this context, it became difficult for certain Native artists to

present their work in the mainstream galleries (Hill 1988: 22-23). So while gaining recognition in one way, the Native artist was forced into a stereotyped category that virtually precluded any possibility of being judged on the basis of their "painterly skills". Hill (1988: 22-23) comments:

Cultural Affairs major drawback was that it was a program centered in the Department of Indian Affairs, which made it susceptible to the constantly changing political environment. For Indian artists, it encouraged the isolation of their work to such a degree that other cultural institutions that had a mandate for developing and encouraging Canadian art did not include Indian artists in their programs. This isolation had the effect of inhibiting the integration of Indian art into the Canadian artistic mainstream. Native art was viewed by the Canadian public as an adjunct to the arts-and-crafts marketing program, which was being revitalized down the hall in the Economic Development Branch.

This sums up the situation today. However, various lobby groups, such as the Native Art Studies Association and SCANA, the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, are moving to challenge the conventional view that the use of Native imagery, styles, media and techniques in a contemporary work, precludes the possibility of that work also being regarded as fine art in the Western-European sense. In 1978 the First National Native Indian Artists' Symposium was held on Manitoulin Island in Ontario, initiating a series of gatherings of artists and professionals in the field. Participants met to discuss common concerns arising from the conflicting views and treatment, within the mainstream, of works by Native artists. The issues, by this time, had become well-defined and highly polarized. As General (1987: 6) described the sessions, "Consistent with all of the forums was the debate of arts vs. crafts; museums vs. galleries; traditional vs. contemporary

and ethnology vs. art history." The second Symposium convened in 1979 at the University of Regina. At the conclusion of the Third National Native Artists' Symposium in 1983 at 'Ksan School of Northwest Coast Art, New Hazelton, B.C., a working committee was established to develop recommendations put forth at that symposium. This committee eventually turned into a national organization, the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, in January of 1985.

The primary purpose of SCANA is to act as the liaison between the Native artistic community and all provincial, federal and corporate art funding agencies in order to improve the recognition of art by Canadian artists of Native Ancestry. SCANA acts as a mechanism to channel concerns and representations of specific activities in the Native art community.

(Young Man 1989: 28)

David General, artist and former president of SCANA, in an address to the National Native Indian Artists' Symposium IV (1987: 3-4) stated:

For over three decades "Indian Art" has served as the label to describe a phenomena which culturally, aesthetically, and commercially encompasses the collective creative energy of North American Native People. The term "Indian Art", however, can no longer be used to accurately describe the nature or the extent of the development that has occurred in the current works of artists of native ancestry.

An awkward but more suitable alternative, is one that I have already used quite frequently. We can replace "Indian Art" with "Art created by artists of native ancestry." This may ruffle the feathers of a few afficionados of "Indian Art", as it is popularly perceived, but I believe that artists will welcome any change in thinking that results in more attention being given to their ability, experience and individual expression. Very simply, it puts the emphasis on art.

It leaves the responsibility of sorting out and priorizing cultural identity, nationalism, professionalism and individual pursuit, to the artist. And that is as it should be.

The artists attending the Symposium explored two main areas of concern regarding the current marketing process in Canada. First, as Avrom Issacs (Chipewyan), states, "The reality for the contemporary artist is, unfortunately, not the reality of being a big money-maker" (Issacs, in Young Man 1988: 119). For the Native artist "swimming in the mainstream" (Young Man 1988 b: 75) it is imperative to become market-wise in order to be able to take full advantage of the marketing system beyond the "paternalistic" government agencies currently promoting "Indian" art. Second, as Doreen Jensen (Gitksan) observes (Young Man 1988 b: 100):

As art and artist have become separated from the communities and their traditional roles, many of the functions receive little or no attention. This is having, and will continue to have, profound affect on the art, artists, and Indian culture.

What is important to answer is how will Indian Art and artists survive as distinct peoples and art forms if they continue to allow only outsiders to define their roles, reflect their "images of Indians", interpret the importance and value of the art, and influence future generations of Indian artists?

These two distinctly different concerns emanate from the bicultural reality of contemporary Native artists previously acknowledged by Amiotte and General. How are the criteria for the success of an individual artist portraying a response to the times in the art-for-art'ssake market, to be reconciled with the need to maintain a sense of cultural integrity and continuity within Native tradition? Richard Hill, describing a meeting of artists and traditional Elders in Santa Fe, and discussing the question of the relationship between being an artist and an Indian, and the role of tradition, quoted Amiotte as saying it best:

> We as artists have this need to re-interpret, rerepresent the things that mean the most to us, but the object of our work is not a Spiritual thing, it's not a Sacred thing, but it's very important to us. It reflects the Power of that Spirit. That's what we're looking at. We feel that there is an Inner Power. The reason why we still gather as Indians, whether it's here or anywhere else, is because we feel the strength of that Power re-interpreted in many different ways.

> > (Amiotte, in Young Man 1988: 58)

According to Hill, the Elders confirmed Amiotte's statement, thanking each of the artists at the gathering for their "Vision". At the conclusion of one meeting, "They said tradition doesn't mean that you have to do the same thing the same way at the same time. They said tradition means you still believe in using your Gift to make a statement" (Hill, in Young Man 1988: 58).

Carl Beam (Ojibway, and currently the only artist of Native ancestry to have his work hung in the National Gallery of Canada), in discussion with Canadian Native artists and professionals at the Symposium, took an unusually broad view of tradition, stating:

... if one person's perception of the tribal unit is larger and encompasses, and maybe expands, the concept of tribal, or tribe, which includes anybody right now in Canada and North America, this land mass, I think in some ways whether white people know it or not, I as a Native artist, have had to adopt everybody and consequently use everything that's happening in terms of stimulation as regards to Native people, and give it back via the art work, somehow.

I will interpret for myself and for anybody else that wants to look at my painting, the reality of being a human being in Canada and North America, or in the world today. I exclude nothing in my awareness of what's happening globally because that is very commensurate with what the Elders talk about anyway.

The statements made by both these well-known contemporary Native artists clearly exemplify what seems to be emerging as the single most salient characteristic of the Native aesthetic, namely the recognition in both theory and practice of the culturally integrated nature of art. It is important to emphasize here, that the focus of our discussion up to this point has been on the relationship of contemporary Native artists to the non-Native or mainstream market. However, there is also a Native market for works of Native fine art that continues, particularly within the major ritual complexes, such as the Potlatch and Sundance. In this market the public validation that the Native community confirms upon the Native artist and their work takes place outside of the mainstream and is largely unknown to the non-Native art world, but is no less "public" or "valid" for that. The criteria for success from the "emic" perspective do not depend on commercial worth, but acknowledge the artistic merit and cultural integrity of the work as "something made well", and which communicates and renews principles basic to the culture.

Art historian, Ruth Philips, in her article, "Indian Art: Where do you put it?" (1988: 66) observes:

The first lesson, it seems to me, is that the dominant culture can no longer exclude the "other" from the process of interpretation, selection and presentation. Aboriginal peoples are certainly not now - if they ever have been - outside the cultural process. As Geertz writes: the transformation, partly juridical, partly real, of the people anthropologists write about, from colonial subjects to sovereign citizens, has altered entirely the moral context within which the ethnographical act

takes place. . . . The entrance of once colonialized or castaway peoples (wearing their own masks, speaking their own lines) onto the stage of global economy, international high politics, and the world culture has made the claim of the anthropologist to be a tribune for the unheard, a representer of the unseen, a kenner of the misconstrued, increasingly difficult to sustain.

This is not only a political reality but also an artistic one. In virtually every corner of the globe esthetic creativity today involves not only a heritage of traditional forms but also the telecommunicated images of modern life. What was once regarded as a one-way street (the influence of "primitive" art on Western art) has for decades been a two-way superhighway where influences travel at high speed in both directions. The ability to "see" the formal beauty of non-Western art is a major achievement of the 20th century. But it is a battle that is largely won. Surrealism has conditioned us to see Inuit masks and Giacometti to appreciate Yoruba ironwork. But it is also true that Nancy Graves can be as much a source for a contemporary Indian artist like Gerald McMaster as a 19th century Midewiwin effigy.

A second lesson with equally broad implications has to do with the traditional demarcations between ethnographic, folk, popular, and fine art. Challenged by Dada, Pop, and feminist artists, among others, categorizations based on medium and genre seem increasingly irrelevant. The strict art/craft distinction that has in the past resulted in the relegation of Canadian textiles and Indian quillwork to one kind of museum and Canadian paintings and Indian wood carvings to another is breaking down.

While Philips cannot be said to be representative of the current arthistorical perspective, she, along with a growing number of Canadian scholars from art history, anthropology, and Native studies, has initiated and continues to encourage an inter-disciplinary dialogue on the study of Native Canadian art.

In the following chapter we will examine the loosely structured network that constitutes the "field" of Native Canadian art in the late 1980s, with an eye toward identifying its resources, both manifest and

latent, for the purpose of projecting their academic potential for future development, particularly in the form of degree programs in Native Canadian art studies.

CHAPTER 3

Future Directions

Perhaps now, a little more than a hundred years since the establishment of reservations . . . it is time to re-evaluate the situation given the possibility that Indian and non-Indian have both grown in grace and intellect.

Amiotte .

A review of the areas of professionalism represented at the most recent National Native Indian Artists' Symposium in July of 1988 provides a good cross-section of the active network of Native Canadian art in Canada today. In addition to Native artists from across the country, panelists and resource people included representatives from: The National Gallery of Canada; The Canadian Museum of Civilization; The Indian Art Centre, Department of Indian Affairs; the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry; three of the major Canadian art galleries actively promoting Native Canadian art (see Appendix V); the Professional Art Dealers Association of Canada; two of the four Canadian universities presently offering degrees with a specialization in Native art; the Woodland Indian Cultural Centre; and American related organizations, among them the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe. The published proceedings of the symposium were titled, appropriately, *Networking*. As Alfred Young Man (1989: 26) states:

Since the English language and the consequential "art" are, relatively speaking, newcomers to an already ancient world by the time of Christopher Columbus (it was only new to him and his descendants!), it must be recognized that the discussion and study of Indian Art from a native perspective will challenge the most

emphatic Western dogmatism presented about the subject however it is ontologically summed up. "Networking" by Indian artists pre-dates Alvin Toffler by generations.

Many of the members active in the field of Native art are also professional academics committed to supporting and promoting the establishment of degree granting programs of Native Canadian art studies in our universities.

The Network

Native Canadian art, as an academic field of study, is so new that there are those who would say it is not a bona fide discipline (for further discussion see Mathews and Jonaitis 1982, Vastokas 1987, Young Man 1988). Yet organizations such as the Native Art Studies Association of Canada, continue to meet in growing numbers to present scholarly papers and visual presentations on Native Canadian art. Like its U.S. counterpart, the Native American Art Studies Association, it is comprised of representatives from world-class museums of art and ethnology; scholars from departments of archaeology, anthropology, history, religion, Native studies, art history and fine arts; and a body of gallery owners, collectors, publishers, and Native artists (Amiotte 1985). As Amiotte observes:

Inherent in the makeup of this melange is the very essence of what American Indian art is and is about. It also represents what it is struggling from in search of a definition that some would like to be compact, streamlined and simple for everyone to understand, if indeed that is possible.

(Amiotte 1985: 1)

At present, the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, at the University of Regina, is the only institution in Canada that has attempted to bring the resources of this network together into a degree program exclusively in Native art history and Native fine arts, thus far only at the undergraduate level. Students graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in Indian Art who wish to pursue graduate studies in this field at the Masters or Doctorate levels are only able to do so at one of three universities in Canada, not including the University of Regina, and then only through either Anthropology or Canadian Studies programs (see Appendix II).

The major problem in designing Native Canadian art studies programs is not one of a lack of written and visual material, but rather the fact that the data of the field are scattered among the three major disciplines we surveyed in Chapter 1: anthropology, art history, and Native studies. This has created two significant problems for instructors seeking to research, design curricula for, and teach Native Canadian art studies courses: first, identifying a theoretical foundation for instruction either from among the three disciplines or on an inter-disciplinary basis; and second, accessing scholarly material on the subject. There is, for example, no single text available which comprehensively covers the history of Native art in Canada, incorporating theory, method and content from anthropology, art history and Native studies. In addition there is no centralized resource base that identifies information specific to Native art in Canada, and Native art is only sporadically treated in other indexes. Little has been written specifically on Native Canadian art, and most of what is available is generally embedded within U.S.

publications on North American Native art. The difficulties are significant, and the results evident in that present courses lack consistency in terms of both theory and content (see Appendix II).

The growing interest in the academic formalization of Native Canadian art as a discipline does not originate solely from "special interest" groups (see Appendix III), such as the Canadian Native Art Studies Association or the Native artists organization SCANA, but can also be observed to be a response to demands originating in the cultural mainstream. For example, museums, such as the Glenbow, in presenting its controversial show "The Spirit Sings", are increasingly pressed to deal with the recurring question of ownership of Native art objects from the Native perspective (Webster 1988; Ames, Harrison, Nicks 1988). As well, the National Gallery is coming under increasing criticism by Native artists, agents, collectors, gallery owners, and Native arts groups concerning its unstated policy of declining to hang the work of Native Canadian artists (Young Man 1988 a). The creation of interdisciplinary faculties at selected Canadian universities combining the anthropological, art-historical and Native studies contributions to the study of Native Canadian art would provide a balanced framework for clarification of issues such as these, as well as providing a nurturant medium for developments in research, particularly towards the production of a greater body of literature from the Native perspective to offset the present bias in the literature toward fragmenting Native art along disciplinary lines.

Two major areas of difficulty in negotiating the formalization of Native art studies degree programs in our universities are rooted in logistics and politics. First, the number of universities presently offering interdisciplinary programs of any kind at the graduate level are in a small minority in Canada. Second, those universities with Departments of Native Studies are also in the minority (there are 14 Native Studies programs in Canadian universities and colleges out of the 82 member institutions of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada). Moreover, Native studies departments are in direct competition with all other departments within their faculties for both course offerings and funding. This combination of conflicting interests not only amplifies the usual restrictions on the departmental cross-listing of courses, but also inhibits the potential development of a structured cross-fertilization of theory and method among departments of anthropology, art history and Native studies.

In his article, "Indian Studies: The Orphan of Academia", the noted Sioux author, lawyer and professor of political science, Vine Deloria, Jr., describes the origins of Ethnic Studies, progenitor of Indian Studies in the United States, and ultimately, Native Studies in Canada, from the times of "racially" screened admission into colleges and universities:

... there is no question that the idea of Ethnic Studies, including American Indian Studies, were forbidden in academia in the most absolute terms. Minorities were believed to have little to contribute to human knowledge and the idea that they might have some history or culture worth knowing was regarded as the greatest insanity. Social scientists had early divided up racial minorities into convenient categories and various disciplines believing that they had proprietary rights to certain groups. Thus, all courses and publications on Indians were classified as anthropology, and sociologists laid claim to Blacks and Chicanos . . . No one ever believed that racial minorities might have their own point of view.

Whatever was said about them was regarded as highly accurate scientific information because it had been compiled by white scholars and their status in academia, plus their sincerity, guaranteed the validity of work.

(Deloria 1986: 1)

Although we have seen a growing number of departments of Native studies established in Canadian universities over the past decade, their existence alone has not been sufficient to guarantee the credibility of the Native perspective in the eyes of the rest of the academic community. There are numerous reasons for this; most of them, as Deloria points out, are centered on the as yet unresolved question:

Are these programs designed to teach the culture of the group as a direct mission, in effect substituting themselves in the role of elder of the community? Or are these groups designed to teach the history and results of the relationship of the group to the larger society?

(Deloria 1986: 3)

Native Studies faces another developmental problem in having to establish an academically viable language capable of expressing the Native (or "emic") perspective outside of its own linguistic, cultural and conceptual framework in an arena of perpetually "loaded terms". Doreen Jensen and Polly Sargent grappled with this problem while doing research for their book, entitled *Robes Of Power* (1986: 81), on the Chilkat and button blankets of the Northwest Coast:

Does the word "blanket" do justice to the robes? Francis Williams voices this concern: "I don't like to call them blankets. They are worn like a king wears his robe." 'Ksan's Book Builders address the same problem. Perhaps one of their suggestions will fit the mindset of other groups. Somewhere, in someone's head, the perfect English translation is waiting.

Should the symbols on a crest-type ceremonial robe be called "designs?" Does "design" belittle that blazoning of ancient achievement, that confirmation of present status?

Parallel to, and compounding, this problem of "translation" in the transmission of Native thought is the current dependency of Native studies on non-Native, or "etic" literature, as the main instructional reference base. In her article, "Creations of Mystics and Philosophers: The White Man's Perceptions of Northwest Coast Indian Art from the 1930s to the Present" (1978: 1-2), Jonaitis points to the problem in a review of the changing non-Native representation of Northwest Coast art as reflected in the literature and observes:

The difficulty lies in the nature of White scholarship: since the interpreter of Indian art cannot shed all of his or her own Western cultural values (and at present, most such interpreters are heirs to the Western tradition), much of what he or she ultimately writes on Native American art actually reflects those values. Thus, the scholar who attempts to discover the underlying esthetic, philosophical, social or religious meanings of Northwest Coast art is actually going to concentrate on these elements in the art that appear to coincide most closely with elements in White society.

Young Man in his article, "Issues and Trends In Contemporary

Native Art" in *Parallelogramme* (1989: 28), notes that, "good critical,
scholarly literature and exhibition material available on 'art by Indians',
although not great in quantity, continues to grow in quality", and says of
Jensen and Sargent's book, *Robes of Power* that it:

... adds a badly needed dimension to the understanding of Northwest coast art history which has heretofore been written about mainly from the anthropological perspective. The Native perspective this book gives is long overdue.

(Young Man 1989: 28-29)

For the Native artist, the above problems are present to be overcome in terms of the production of their own work. Being privy to the Native experience and world view is the gift of those from within the culture; paradoxically though, within this bi-cultural milieu, like the anthropologist and art historian, those in Native studies are also faced with the problem of how to "interpret the meaning" of Native Art beyond the boundaries of their own discipline.

Consequently, while Native studies would seem the logical context within which to bring the three fields together to develop a program of Native Canadian art studies, until such time as a comprehensive, indepth Native art literature is in place, and as long as Native studies continues to be perceived as being of dubious academic status, and to have financial struggles within the university context, this will be difficult. While Trent University has a Department of Native Studies, it currently offers an MA with a specialization in Art and Archaeology of the Americas through the Office of Graduate Studies and Research.

It is also possible to get an MA specializing in Native art history through the Institute of Canadian Studies at Carleton University. The third option for an MA, and the only Ph.D with a specialization in Native art, is offered at the University of British Columbia, through the Faculty of Graduate Studies with courses in the departments of anthropology and fine arts. In addition, U.B.C. has the benefit of a unique resource in the Museum of Anthropology. According to director, Michael Ames:

The philosophy that we have tried to implement at the museum in relation to Native Canadian Art is twofold, I guess. On the one hand to draw attention to the great artistic achievements of the past of earlier generations of North West Coast People through the permanent exhibitions, and to document the

continuity of these achievements into the present through a variety of means to show that this is not just a past culture, not just an ancient heritage that we are dealing with, but living traditions that are very much alive, very much active, very much in the continuous process of creation.

(Ames, in Young Man 1988: 9)

While the anthropological and art-historical view of Native art in the "ethnographic past" is slowly giving way to a "narrative" approach, there are some museums, such as the Museum of Anthropology at U.B.C., that, as Doxtator says, "have attempted to change their exhibits which were organized around the 'ethnographic past' by including contemporary material, and by illustrating the cultural perseverance of Native people". However, being a museum of anthropology, per se, U.B.C.'s museum mandate is by definition comparative, therefore works of Contemporary Native art are shown in an international "ethnic" context. Though Ames has indicated the museum's interest in developing a more extensive contemporary Native art program he cites several problems: the lack of curators knowledgeable about traditional and contemporary Native art; the lack of consensus as to critical standards; and, financial restraints which are due to the fact that museum assistance programs, "are not interested in living Indians" (Ames, in Young Man 1988: 11).

Anthropology's potential contribution to a formalized Native Canadian art studies program cannot be disputed. For Native and non-Native alike, the wealth of the amassed ethnological collections and ethnographic studies alone is invaluable. Haida artist Robert Davidson,

who works in the Northwest Coast tradition of his people, gives generous credit the museums:

I feel the art form would have died completely if nothing had been collected and saved. . . When it comes to artistic innovation, these [new] artists must have a certain knowledge of how things worked in the past. Museum collections that chart that progression can offer knowledge and insights into innovation to the Haida artists of today. For my own development, museums helped my creativity and now, as a teacher, I am sharing my knowledge, and learning a lot through that sharing.

(Davidson, in Halpin, n.d.: 3)

However, in order to sustain the dialogue between anthropology and Native studies some resolution must be found to the lingering odiousness of certain antiquated anthropological theories (ie. assumptions of "primitiveness", and of the ahistorical setting of tribal art) and field methods.

Douglas Cole's detailed account of the methods of anthropological collecting used to amass the great collections of the Northwest Coast serves to illustrate this point. He says:

The heyday of anthropological collecting among the peoples of the Northwest Coast occurred during the half-century after 1975. During that time a staggering quantity of material, both secular and sacred - from spindle whorls to soul-catchers - left the hands of their native creators and users for the private and public collection of the European world. . . . The scramble for skulls and skeletons, for poles and paddles, for baskets and bowls, for masks and mummies, pursued sometimes with respect, frequently with rapacity, almost invariably with avarice, went on until it burned itself out. By 1925 there was little aboriginal material left to collect. As Boas said in 1930, the bowls are 'no longer here. They are in the museums in New York and Berlin'.

(Cole 1982: 439-440)

For the anthropological museums it was a fine line between saving traces of vanishing cultures and ensuring their own future development (Cole 1982: 440). And it is still debatable whether the museums are in large part responsible for the escalated removal of Native art objects or should be credited for their ultimate survival.

Cole documents the "tricks of the trade" as including: private transactions, particularly for ceremonial material; timing, in terms of capitalizing on an individual's or a family's economic need; patient ingratiation through compliance with cultural practices in order to win the gratitude and indebtedness of certain wealthy or influential persons; and use of local intermediaries, "often missionaries, traders, or Indian agents" (Cole 1982: 453). Certainly, as Arthur J. Ray demonstrates in his book, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, the principles of trade exchange were well developed among the Indian people. The ethics of anthropological bartering as described by Cole, however, transgressed the limits of accepted trade practices and there were many instances of out and out theft. Cole (1982: 455-456) states:

Few collectors were above a little stealing, and skulls and skeletons, highly regarded by museums during much of this period, were scarcely to be obtained in any other way.

Boas collected hundreds of skulls and skeletons. Stealing bones from a grave was "most unpleasant work," but "someone has to do it," he wrote in 1888 during his major osteological field season.

This deplorable historical fact, in conjunction with the reality that by the early 1900s, few of the goods made and used by the Natives of the Northwest Coast remained in their possession has understandably given rise to the demands by Native groups for repatriation of many of these objects. A particularly salient example is found in, *Give Me My Father's Body: The Life of Minik, the New York Eskimo*. This biography documents the life of Minik Wallace, an Inuit who, at the turn of the century, attempted to recover his father's remains which were on display in the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

The number of departments of art in Canadian universities which offer *courses* in Native art outnumber both anthropology and Native studies two to one (see Appendix II). This is statistically somewhat bewildering since, as Vastokas (1987: 7) observes:

As a field of art historical inquiry, native art of North America is relatively neglected and undeveloped. In the entire continent scarcely half a dozen fully-trained and practising art historians can be counted as North American specialists; moreover there are no research curators with doctoral training in native Art History working full-time in any of the major galleries or museums.

What accounts for the seeming contradiction in the relationship between the numbers of courses offered in Native art and the numbers of trained professors, relative to the fields of anthropology and art history? Perhaps some basis may be found in the growing interest in Native art as a contemporary expression of an until-now overlooked minority. Until the turn of the century in the world of fine arts Native, or as it was referred to "primitive" art, had been merely an interest, but around 1906 its actual influence became apparent in the works of the French artists. Critics of modern art were thus compelled to become at least cursorily informed of the basic historical context and principles of design associated with the "primitive" influence. Boas' work, *Primitive Art*, was the only publication (and remained so until Anderson's *Art in Primitive Societies* 1979) that provided a synthesis of both history and formal

analysis, "resulting from a systematic study of art from primitive societies" (Anderson 1979: xiv). The anthropological terminology and perspective of Native art as "primitive" became part of the art-historical vocabulary and has remained the predominant paradigm to the present day. Until very recently art historians have continued to treat "primitive" art as the "high art of low cultures" (Fraser 1962: 13), and further confound their subject by employing Western-European models of interpretation with little reference to, "insider-based [or 'emic'] definitions" (Anderson 1979: 11). As Ladd has indicated, attempts by art historians to apply, "these hazily defined terms: art, aesthetics, etc.", to "primitive" art may not be any more effective for purposes of understanding its meaning, than those made by anthropologists" (1975: 417).

In terms of the art of the Northwest Coast, "only recently in its comparatively long history" has it been, "presented in museums and art galleries as equal to the great achievements of the world" (Shadbolt 1967). One of the key figures instrumental to the "renaissance" of Northwest Coast, Bill Reid, has been, "widely acclaimed as one of the greatest living native artists, ranking among Canada's most important sculptors, non-Native or Native" (Ames, in Duffek 1987). In 1967, Bill Reid, along with fellow Northwest Coast artist, Bill Holm opened their first major two-man show. In the catalogue to the show, Shadbolt made the first public declaration of Native Canadian art as fine art stating, "This is an exhibition of art, high art, not ethnology" (Shadbolt 1967). Unfortunately, few critics in North America had then, or have now, the interdisciplinary background required - given art history's neglect of

Native art - to engage in a fully professional analysis of works of Native art. According to Duffek (1987: 28):

Reid has stressed the artist's need for criticism. In traditional Northwest Coast societies as in any other, "Without an informed and critical public, the artists could never . . . have produced the great works they did."

Joan Vastokas, a rare combination in Canada of anthropologist and art historian specializing in Native art, has been a leading figure in attempting to bridge the non-Native and Native aesthetic within a formalized academic model. In her article, "Native Art History: Meaning and Time from Unwritten Sources" Vastokas examines the reasons for the neglect of Native art history (1987: 13-14) stating in summation:

A final reason for the neglect of native art history in Canada especially, a factor which inhibits pioneering research efforts in museums and universities, might be characterized as our academic insecurity, manifested as extreme caution. Our institutions' unwillingness to venture into uncharted territory is likely grounded in a still-pervasive colonial outlook which is concerned with "approval" from some higher "authority" outside our boundaries. Hence, Canadian scholarship tends to play it safe in academic pursuits. Only traditional, established areas of art historical methodology, training, and research are perceived as academically acceptable. From the perspective of the art historical profession, native art is often dismissed as faddish, trivial, lightweight, or, that ultimate putdown, lacking in aesthetic quality. Hence, with the exception of occasional optional course offerings at the undergraduate level, native art has not yet achieved anything like full status as an art historical research area in Canadian institutions.

In the same article Vastokas demonstrates the significant contribution that art history has the potential to make to the advancement of the study of Native art stating that, "the problem lies not in the absence of written documents", but rather, "in the inadequacy of

current art-historical theory and method in dealing with prehistoric and non-literate artistic traditions" (Vastokas 1987: 13). By shifting the focus from anthropological theory to an examination of aesthetics, art historians would be acknowledging the same articulation of the higher human ideals within Native art as expressed by any of the world's great art traditions. As a result, the entire cart of North American "colonial", "ethnographic", "static" and "primitive" apples would suffer a major upset. Such a move by art historians would, however, be perspicacious, in view of the inevitable increase in scholarly literature to be written by aestheticians, historians and philosophers from the Native perspective. Vastokas' call for a, "systematic and coherent methodological strategy for the study of native art", may well signal a turning point in the direction taken by the emerging generation of art history students interested in Native Canadian art.

Developments in the three fields of anthropology, fine-arts-and-art-history, and Native studies have been encouraging, particularly in the growing involvement of professionals from the three disciplines with the greater "field" of Native Canadian art. Members of the Native Art Studies Association who are presently teaching courses in and writing on Canadian Native art, share a mutual interest in expanding the academic literature base for Native art studies with the Society for Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry. Involving the resources of the entire network of museums, galleries, public and private organizations both Native and non-Native, collectors, Native artists and art historians, and individual specialists will not only provide for a comprehensive documentation of

the history of Native Canadian art, but will also serve to generate a creative and productive dialogue as this field emerges.

Resources

Because it is so new, much of the basic information relevant to the field of Native Canadian art studies, has not yet been written down, but rather it is held in the minds and experience of individuals involved in Native Canadian art today. Not unlike the venerable oral traditions of earlier times, the communication of this information takes place mainly in conferences, symposiums, invited guest lectureships, workshops, and opening remarks for exhibitions. Fortunately, some, at least, of the proceedings, papers and presentations from many of these important gatherings are recorded and accessible, helping to link up the network as well as to formulate the beginnings of a literature base specifically addressing Native Canadian art.

While the resources available to the development of the field are held throughout the network, they have not, as yet, been coordinated into a systematically retrievable body of information. There are four main areas of resources which I will discuss: (1) human, as described above; (2) literature-based, including not only descriptive studies, but also new methodologies that have potential application to this field; (3) visual, including private and public collections; and (4) technological, involving the application of computerized systems.

Firstly, human resources in the field of Native Canadian art studies, while currently perhaps the most valuable asset of the field, are not being utilized anywhere near to their full potential. Even though a

conference network is in place, and growing every year, those specialists in particular aspects of Native Canadian art studies, who possess valuable information relevant to the development of curriculum and course instruction, are either not visible to, or known by, many of the instructors teaching in various departments across the country. Time constraints and professional obligations within their disciplines (anthropology, art history, or Native studies), make it difficult to research and develop what in essence is a second career focus. While the Native Art Studies Association of Canada has been publishing a newsletter for the past several years, many persons within anthropology, and art history, who would find this a useful resource, are not aware of its existence as yet. Instructors, who were interviewed for research purposes this past summer, expressed their sense of professional isolation, and the need for an organized system of accessing the resources of the network. The consensus was that this accessibility is not only critical to facilitating course design and implementation, but is also a necessary function of developing some minimal threshold of course consistency in universities across the country. Also, as persons committed to their own professional development, instructors recognized the need to become "inter-disciplinarily" literate of and within the network, an entity most are aware of, but the extent of which some have not necessarily grasped.

The second area, literature-based resources, covers, (1) that body of descriptive study that is presently either written into the mainstream literature or covered in unpublished papers, and (2) those published and unpublished works presenting valuable new theoretical and

methodological approaches that would further the study of Native art history as a field of enquiry. The first category, descriptive literature, while accessible through most indexing systems, does not appear under consistent subject headings. Research, therefore, requires a wellrounded background in, and acquaintance with, research areas and strategies in all three fields: anthropology, art history and Native studies. Most instructors of Native art in Canada today do not come to their positions with this training, or even necessarily with such an eclectic reading experience. The lack of a comprehensive centralized indexing system specific to Native art studies makes it extremely difficult for instructors to design Native art studies curriculum. The second category of literature-based resources, publications dealing with theory and method relevant to studies in Native art history, is difficult to access for the same above-stated reasons, with the added problem for the instructors that the new material is "leading edge" and, therefore, not well integrated into the respective already-established disciplines. No matter how viable the new ideas on theory and methodology described in these works might appear in their application to Native art studies, it is necessary that they actually be applied to the field in order to provide fruitful patterns of organization and insight, and stimulate research in new directions.

The third area, visual resources, includes both private and public collections of slides, videos, films and mobile exhibits, that are potentially accessible to instructors of Native art teaching in the university setting. In conversations during my research for this thesis with owners and curators of both private and public collections, as well

as instructors of Native art courses, it became apparent that there is a vital communications link missing among these groups.

In terms of the private collections, while many of the owners are willing to make their collections available, they themselves do not know whom to contact, and conversely, the instructors do not have a listing of these collections, their contents and special focus. As an example, a number of extremely important slide collections documenting the work of Canada's contemporary Native artists have, and are, being built by several individuals across the country for their own professional use. Most of these people have indicated they are willing to allow their collections to be reproduced for teaching purposes, should they be contacted. Similarly, Bata Shoes (Canada) has one of the most extensive privately owned North American Indian moccasin collections in the world, (Interview with John Kim Bell. December 15, 1988), yet many instructors of Native art courses are not aware of its existence.

Public collections, while advertised to some extent through channels both within and outside of the network of the field of Native art, nevertheless are not being used to full advantage by instructors of Native art courses. In the case of provincial and federal museums, a selection of slide collections of traditional and contemporary Native art objects, as well as an array of travelling exhibits are available at no cost to educational institutions (Interview with Katherine Pettipas, June 30, 1988). However, curators are not being inundated by requests from instructors of Native art courses for either the slides or the exhibits. Instructors report that, while many are aware of museum collections available to them, there are a number of factors that inhibit taking

advantage of these resources. In terms of the slides, collections may or may not be indexed and annotated, meaning that the instructor, once receiving the collection, must sort, research and arrange the slides to their particular needs. Time is the restriction here, since these collections are generally not available on extended loan and such a task is time consuming. Also, the time limitation makes it difficult, in many cases impossible, for instructors, having introduced the slides in class, to then schedule the necessary slide study sessions to allow students to prepare for exams. The alternative to borrowing slide collections is purchasing museum-published sets that are topic- or tribal-specific, and annotated. However this is generally cost prohibitive, since they may only be useful for one or two courses taught once a year. In terms of museum exhibits as course resources, the museum's requirements that certain conditions be met, particularly regarding, security and insurance, in order to lend out exhibits, disallows many, if not most, instructors access to this resource. Few departments have space available for exhibits in the first place, and arranging for security and insurance is costly. Faculties have little room for "extras" such as these in most Native art course budgets.

The fourth area of resources, technological, includes the adaptation and application of current computerized systems to programming for Native art studies research and instruction. As was mentioned earlier, there is no single reference system for Native art in general, or Native Canadian art in particular, that comprehensively and systematically indexes information from all three disciplines: anthropology, art history and Native studies. This is extremely

disadvantageous for instructors, as I have indicated, but it is also a problem for librarians. In universities that offer courses in Native art, especially those that do so through Native studies departments, the library staff are receiving increasing numbers of requests for information pertinent to the field, but difficult to identify within the present cataloguing system. Most instructors and librarians are relying upon collections of bibliographies from diverse sources that have not, as yet, been collated, but especially, have not been entered into the library's data base to indicate at minimum, a cross-reference to Native art. The Canadian Heritage Information Network in Ottawa provides an automated data base service that contains reference to Native art objects and Native artists, though by no means complete. However, its primary users are the museums (although research access can be arranged), thus its indexing system reflects primarily museological categories (Interview with Ian Sutherland, December 13, 1988). As well as the standard information data base systems, data bases for visual images are becoming available through various major art galleries. Again, while several minor projects in this medium address works of Native art, there is no one comprehensive image bank available. Those data bases for visual imagery, produced on laser discs by major galleries, while containing up to 54,000 images per side, do not have sufficient Native art content to make them a feasible investment solely for Native art instruction. In addition, to purchase a single disc for one or two courses may be too costly.

In examining these four areas of resources: human, literaturebased, visual and technological, I have purposely focused on their present limitations and the restrictions experienced by instructors of courses in Native art studies in terms of gaining access to them. In the following, and final section, the potential of these resources, as guidelines for the future development of degree programs in Native Canadian art studies will be discussed.

Native Canadian Art Studies

The academic formalization of a field of study represents a nexus of social, political and intellectual awareness. The history of the academization of anthropology in North America a century ago is particularly illustrative of this point (Harris 1968). The incorporation of Native studies as an academic discipline in Canada during the late 1960s and early 70s, serves as a more recent example (Deloria 1986, Frideres 1988). In addition to the introduction of a new model of thinking about some aspect of the human condition, any newly emerging discipline must identify its field of resources, and the methods by which those resources can best support the field of study. In the case of Native Canadian art studies, the inter-disciplinary nature of its academic origins in anthropology, art history and Native studies has created something of an intellectual and methodological "bricolage" (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 16-17). Thus the network of resources currently available to the study of Native art in Canada, has, to this point, been difficult to bind together into a unified field.

The four areas of resources, human, literature-based, visual, and technological, discussed in the previous section, each have their origins within one or more of the three aforementioned disciplines. While

incompatibilities between the three disciplinary perspectives contribute to making Native Art a divided field of inquiry, as I stated in the introduction and further attempted to demonstrate within the text of this thesis, a synthesis of the strengths of each discipline, and their attendant resources, is possible. The establishment of formalized degree programs in Native Canadian art studies would provide a viable context within which to marshall these resources. By the same token, unifying the presently scattered resources available to the field, would contribute to the consolidation of the network and the viability of the field itself.

In the first area, human resources, there are a number of steps that can be taken to bring the network together. It is currently possible to identify the institutions offering courses in Native art (see Appendix II), and the instructors for any given year. Through a simple questionnaire, information regarding each instructor's academic background, specialty area, and resources (eg. unpublished papers, personal slide collections, etc.) could be compiled and redistributed to the participants. This survey could effectively be extended to include Native artists by distributing questionnaires through the various artistic and cultural organizations to which they belong (see Appendix III). Further, this information could be submitted to, if not initiated by, the Native Art Studies Association of Canada, and/or the Canadian Journal of Native Studies, with an added request from participants for submission of bibliographies. Once identified, instructors could consider, as a group, joining a newsclipping service, which would further link up the network and keep it currently informed.

In the area of literature-based resources, the most pressing need is to establish a centralized information base and standard indexing system for works pertaining to Native Canadian art, which I will discuss in more detail in the technological category of this section. Combining the listings of unpublished papers and bibliographies, submitted by professionals in the field as just described, with the descriptive and methodological literature base on Native Canadian art indexed in anthropology, art history and Native studies categories, a comprehensive listing of works would emerge. The identification, and subsequent organization of this material would facilitate research, as well as speed up the production of textbooks specifically addressing Native Canadian art history, both contemporary and traditional, from the combined perspectives of anthropology, art history and Native studies. Text projects are presently under consideration by SCANA (Young Man 1988 b: 59), hopefully inclusive of aesthetic analysis from the Native perspective. At least two other texts are known to be in progress by Canadian scholars. Another publication that is needed in the field is one that would provide a guide to contemporary Native Canadian artists, at least equivalent to Snodgrass's American Indian Painters: A Bibliographical Dictionary. While such a publication has already been conceived and expanded to include colour illustrations of work by each of the artists, it has yet to be produced. Apart from the texts discussed here, there is small body of literature on Native Canadian art slowly emerging at the elementary, junior high, and to a lesser extent, high school levels. This is being published under the auspices of special projects within some Native cultural organizations, as well as by bands

who have gained local control of their education system. Again, it is important to document this body of literature, and begin to build on it at the high school and first year university levels in order to create a bridge into the more advanced academic publications.

The visual area of resources is much more extensive than is presently documented, and unfortunately large portions of the visual record of Native Canadian art are inaccessible to scholars and the public alike. As in the case of the art of the Northwest Coast, the majority of collected art objects are still located in collections on the east coast and in Europe. Many of these objects are too old or fragile to travel in exhibits. The logical solution to making these extremely important objects of Native Canadian art history available for students and artists is through the production of slides, which is unfortunately cost prohibitive when considered by any single organization (Interview with Michael Ames, May 14, 1989). Similarly, there are major slide collections held privately in Canada that could be reproduced and distributed to instructors and artists in the field, if funding were put in place. While financing these projects appears to be the main obstacle in accomplishing them, it is not an insurmountable one. I am suggesting here, that while it is obviously cost prohibitive for private collectors or even some organizations to undertake such projects, they could be achieved through cooperation among the members of the network that, itself, would most greatly benefit from such resources. Again, the linking up of the network is the key to its functioning and autonomy.

In the category of technological resources, there are three main areas that I wish to discuss: one, the construction of an automated data

base for Native Canadian art; two, the production of a visual image bank; and three, the application of computer technology to slide study programs. First, while a number of individuals within Canadian universities and Native arts organizations have attempted to build isolated data bases for specific facets of Native art, most are not aware of each other's efforts. In addition, there has been at least one Canadian thesis written recently, outlining a possible indexing system for Native art. This project would require the coordination of researchers in anthropology, art history and Native studies, as well as consulting expertise in data base construction. The logistics of such a project are varied, having to do with types of data bases; ownership, or "housing" of the data base, and distribution. Currently, there are three main types of automated data bases that might have potential application to Native art studies programs: on-line, CD-ROM, and program compatible software (Interview with Ross Goodwin, January 15, 1988). It would be necessary to do a thorough survey of all departments across the country which are presently offering, or planning to offer, courses and degree programs in Native art in order to ascertain the generally most appropriate form of automated data base.

Second, visual image banks are not uncommon now in major art galleries; however, for purposes of Native art studies, the collections that are available through these galleries contain minimal Native art content. There is a small collection of Native art images available through CHIN, the Canadian Heritage Information Network (Interview with Ian Sutherland, December 13, 1988), and some Native content is contained in other minor image banks that are both institutionally and

commercially available on laser disc. Whatever the current technology that most appropriately matches the ability of departments across the country offering courses and degree programs in Native art, the necessary objective is to bring together, into one retrievable and reproducible format, the images contained in the private and public collections of Native Canadian art. The information contained in these images constitutes an archival record which is a necessary precondition of any serious study of Native Canadian art history and aesthetics.

Third, the application of computer technology to slide study programs is a resource area that logically emerges out of the resource areas previously discussed. There are a number of commercially available programs, such as MacIntosh's Hypercard for example, that allow the user to design and mix various media to create instructional or, if you wish entertainment, programs. With such programming packages, it is possible to incorporate visuals, in the form of commercial or hand produced graphics, slides, and video footage, with printed text. Some programs also allow for sound. Touch-screens allow the user to control which area of the program he or she wishes to work on at any given time. It is currently possible, with this programming and an image bank of on laser disc, for instructors to design consecutive slide study programs for each topic area of their courses. Students with heavy slide recognition components in their courses would benefit from the greater access to slides, instruction while viewing, and self-testing for proficiency that the programs would provide.

Conclusion

It is apparent that there is considerable activity in the field of Native Canadian art on all fronts. Professionals from a wide range of interests and backgrounds are bringing their skills and methods of inquiry to bear on this newly emerging academic discipline. In spite of significant problems accessing literature and other vital resources fundamental to developing the field, many instructors are delivering courses in Native Canadian art under the umbrella of other faculties, while aspiring to eventual autonomous academic status.

If such a discipline is to exist in its own right it is essential that a centralized information base be established as a foundation to support the continued growth of Native Canadian arts studies within our universities. It is imperative to get beyond the entrenched pattern of the three "parental" disciplines talking past one another, and the sterility that comes with duplication. The construction of an automated database for Native Canadian art would assist instructors in designing courses and facilitate the production of much needed texts.

Identifying and making accessible the network of human resources and expertise available nationally will result in an increasingly comprehensive and consistent fabric of instruction in Native Canadian art studies, and thus, as we have a generation of scholars who share common definitions and assumptions, the potential for fruitful research will be enhanced.

My interviews with professionals in the Native Canadian art network, for purposes of this thesis, strongly suggests that this is the time for such cooperation and active cross-fertilization so vital to Native Canadian art studies achieving academic viability and credibility. The creation of this "usable past", and facilitation of access to information will build a respectable academic foundation upon which Native Canadian art studies may grow.

Certainly this thesis does not claim to represent the last word on the direction and process of implementation of degree programs in Native Canadian art studies in our universities. It is however, intended to draw attention to the multi-disciplinary network that this new field comprises, to give some insight into the dynamics involved in the formalization of Native Canadian art studies degree programs, and to outline some directives for the future.

Having introduced a view of the Native aesthetic and Native art history as expressed through the combined "lens" of anthropology, art history and Native studies, I hope to have shown that it is not only possible to *imagine* a future Native art studies program, but that indeed, such a field of study already exists to a surprising degree in the informal network I have described, and is merely awaiting recognition. For as Dufrenne (1973: 348) observes, "knowledge is a virtual state of the image, whose intentional correlate is the possible. Imagination mobilizes the knowledge which it furnishes to representation".

I would like to conclude with the reminder that the individuals who have given the world that body of creative work known as Native art, the Native artists themselves, as in the past, continue in the present, to give life to the Native aesthetic representative of their personal culture and traditions. The relationship between the past, present and future in

Native art in Canada lives on beyond the boundaries of the ethnological collections and studies, the museum walls, and the Western-European art-historical methods of analysis. The emergence of an articulated Native perspective from Native artists, art historians and aestheticians is an immeasurably significant event in the academic study of Native art in Canada.

I think an appropriate summation is provided by the following words of Canadian artist of Saulteaux-Ojibway ancestry, Robert Houle, (1982: 5).

To perceive the new generation of native artists as a symbol of revolt against existing conventions, or as a touchstone of tradition in search of new methods to express a new vision, is to reaffirm one of the most important aspects of native cultures, the capacity to harness revolutionary ideas into agents of change, revitalizing tradition.

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APPENDIX I

Guide To Significant Events

1700s Flourishing trade between various Indian tribes and Europeans; beginning of Indian-produced art objects specifically designed for trade with Europeans. Development of argillite carvings on the Northwest Coast by the 1830s Haidas reflecting European trade motifs. (Sheehan 1981) Zacharie Vincent (a Huron from Lorette near Quebec) 1840 reproduced copies of his portrait originally painted by Plamondon: one of the earliest accounts of an Indian painting a picture by using European materials to produce an object in the fine arts tradition. (Hill 1984: 11) 1874 Indian Act establishes control and regulation of life on reserves. 1880s Indian Affairs programs to "civilize" Indians including establishment of residential schools wherein Indian children would be systematically divested of their culture and Europeanized. (see Richardson 1980) 1880s Boas begins studies of Northwest Coast art introducing anthropology to the possibilities of formal principles of aesthetics in Indian art. 1880s - 1920s "Proliferation of Indian curios developed solely for the souvenir market" (Hill 1984: 15). 1884 Indian Act amended to prohibit the Potlatch. Women's Art Association of Montreal became the Canadian 1906 Handicraft Guild - "Through their 'Indian Committee', [they] became a lobbying organization on behalf of Indian craftsmen for craft programs established by the government" (Hill 1984: 16).

1926-27 In the Statutes of Canada, a new provision to the Indian Act

outlawed the Sundance, gave missionaries and civil servants rights to pursue aggressive acculturation. Remained until 1951. Became known as the "Potlatch Law". (Hill 1984: 13)

1935	reported, "the rapid decline of good work with the advance of 'civilization'" (Hill 1984: 17).
1936	Indian Affairs, Ottawa establishes Medical Welfare and Training Division to provide programs including those for the encouragement of the production and sale of Indian arts and crafts. (Hill 1984: 18)
1939	The Indian Committee of the Canadian Handicraft Guild becomes the Indian and Eskimo Committee.
1940	Society for the Furtherance of B.C. Indian Arts and Crafts established by Alice Ravenhill, Victoria, B.C.
1948	James Houston, artist and teacher, "sponsored by the guild travelled to Port Harrison and Povungnituk in an effort to promote the production of crafts" (Hill 1984: 19).
1950s	Eskimo arts co-operatives being established.
1951	"Potlatch Law" removed from Indian Act.
1957	Six Nations Arts Council formed at Ohsweken near Brantford.
1960	Canadian Indians get the vote.
1960s	"Morrisseau school" evolving and fully established by end of decade, "and epitomized Indian nationalism well into the seventies" (Hill 1984: 20).
1960s.	Rise of the Indian art market. "Eskimo" art becomes "Inuit" art. (Hill 1984: 20)
1962	Norval Morrisseau has first exhibition, Pollock Gallery, Toronto.
1964	Proposal submitted to and approved by Cabinet to create a new Social Programs Division within the Department of Indian Affairs that would include a Cultural Affairs section. Walter Rudnicki appointed first chief of the division. Cultural Affairs ineffectual until undertook co-ordination of Indians of Canada Pavilion for Expo '67. (Hill 1984: 21)
1967	Arts of the Rayen exhibition Vancouver

- 1967 Indians of Canada Pavilion, Expo '67. Norval Morrisseau with Carl Ray completed one of the large murals.
- 1968 Cultural Affairs section becomes separate division of the Department of Indian Affairs. Dr. Ahab Spence, a Cree, took over as Head. Established a study collection of Indian art and Tawow magazine, "whose objective was to produce serious criticism on Indian art" (Hill 1984: 22).
- The White Paper, "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy", proposes, "full and equal [Indian] participation in the cultural, social, economic, and political life of Canada" (Hill 1984: 26).
- 1969 Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art exhibition, Ottawa.
- Indian Eskimo Economic Development Branch created as Department of Indian Affairs undergoes major reorganization acquiring personnel from the Northern Affairs Program.
- The Sorres Report (commissioned by newly formed Indian Eskimo Economic Development Branch) recommends the, "creation of two advisory boards, one composed of provincial Indian craftspeople and another composed of both Indian and non-Indian entrepreneurs; for the establishment of a central wholesale marketing warehouse; and for the creation of subprograms in product development and promotion. It was the promotion sub-program that was to try to penetrate the art market on behalf of Indian artists and craftsmen. The program was based entirely on the Inuit art-marketing experience, which had proven so successful during the fifties. Its objective was to promote the distinctiveness of Indian arts and crafts, a 'one-of-a-kind' sales pitch, in order to give the products the snob appeal or status requisite in the art market" (Hill 1984: 23).
- The Red Paper issued by the Indian Association of Alberta in response to the White Paper declaring, "the importance and uniqueness of the culture of Indian nations" (Hill 1984: 26).
- 1970s The "Group of Seven" forms, includes: Daphne Odjig, Jackson Beardy, Carl Ray, Joseph Sanchez, Eddy Cobiness, Roy Thomas and Alex Janvier forms. Disbands in 1975. (Hill 1984: 24)
- Daphne Odjig forms Odjig Indian Prints of Canada to produce silkscreen prints of her own work and that of fellow artists. Evolved to wholesale marketing of limited edition prints to major outlets.

1970s	silkscreen shop with Ontario and federal start-up grants in Red Lake, Ontario to produce their own and associates' work with success similar to Odjig's business.
1970s	Canadian Indian Marketing Service established by federal government, "creates a fine art division to publish and market limited-edition prints" (Hill 1984: 25).
1971	A federal cultural educational centers program established, "under a special secretariat and co-managed by the Department of the Secretary of State and the Department of Indian Affairs" (Hill 1984: 26).
1972	Indian Art Department established at the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College.
1974	The federal cultural educational centers program comes under the, "exclusive mandate of the Department of Indian Affairs" (Hill 1984: 26).
1975	The Arts and Crafts section, including the Central Marketing Service in the Indian Eskimo Economic Development Branch becomes the Canadian Indian Marketing Service.
1975	The National Indian Advisory Committee becomes the National Indian Arts and Crafts Corporation (NIACC), "with the objective of taking control and ownership of the Marketing Service and its programs" (Hill 1984: 25).
1977	The Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild formed, "by eleven native artists to upgrade the quality of Northwest Coast prints" (Duffek 1983: 101).
1978	First National Native Indian Artists' Symposium held in Manitoulin Island.
1979	University of Regina approves Bachelor of Arts degree in Indian Art in the Department of Indian Art, Saskatchewan Indian Federated College.
1979	Second National Native Indian Artists' Symposium held in Regina at Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, University of Regina.
1983	Third National Native Indian Artists' Symposium held at 'Ksan, Hazelton, B.C.

1985	Society for Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) formed out of the working committee appointed at the Third National Native Indian Artists' Symposium become nationally incorporated. Recognized as an advisory body.
1986	Native Art Studies Association of Canada founded.
1988	Fourth National Native Indian Artists' Symposium held in Lethbridge, Alberta.
1989	New National Indian Arts Center, Ottawa. Projected opening

APPENDIX II

Guide to Degree Programs and Courses

Brandon University

Department of Native Studies Brandon University Brandon, Manitoba R7A 6A9 (204) 728-9520

Chair: Dr. Samuel Corrigan

Courses offered: 180 North American Native Art History I, 181 North American Native Art History II, 283 Contemporary Native Art History, 289 Traditional Techniques Design I, 380 Native Arts: Drawing and Painting I, 381 Advanced Native Art Design

Carleton University

Department of Art History Carlton University Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6 (613) 564-7156

Chair: Dr. Roger Mesley

Courses offered: 203 Arts of Native Peoples: North America, 314 Inuit Art, 315 North American Indian Art, 403 Topics in Canadian Native Art, 475 Seminar on a Selected Museum Exhibition (Fall 1988 - The Spirit Sings)

The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research Institute of Canadian Studies Carlton University (613) 564-2877

Program Co-ordinator: Dr. P. Duchemin

Degree offered: MA (specialization in Canadian Native art history) through the Institute of Canadian Studies

Lakehead University

Department of Visual Arts Lakehead University Thunder Bay, Ontario P7B 5E1 (807) 343-8110

Chair: Mark Nisenholt

Courses offered: 2060 Native Arts and Crafts, 4203 History of

Canadian Art

Laurentian University

Department of Native Studies Laurentian University Sudbury, Ontario P3E 2C6 (705) 675-1151

Chair: J. Dumont

Course offered: 2505E Native Arts of the Americas: Retrospective

and Transition

Simon Fraser University

Department of Archaeology Simon Fraser University Burnaby, British Columbia V5A 1S6 (604) 291-3135

Chair: Dr. Roy Carlson

Courses offered: 301-3 Prehistoric and Primitive Art, 336-3 Special Topics in Prehistoric and Primitive Art

Trent University

Office of Graduate Studies and Research Trent University Peterborough, Ontario K9J 7B8 (705) 748-1245

Officer: Mrs. P. Strode

Degree offered: MA (specialization in Art and Archaeology of the

Americas)

University of Alberta

Department of Native Studies University of Alberta Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2E1 (403) 432-2991

Chair: Dr. Richard Price

Course offered: 360 Contemporary Native Art

University of British Columbia

Department of Anthropology University of British Columbia Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5 (604) 228-2878

Head: Dr. M. Patricia Marchak

Course offered: 221 Indians of British Columbia: Art and Myth

Faculty of Graduate Studies Department of Fine Arts University of British Columbia (604) 228-2757

Head: Dr. James O. Caswell

Degrees offered: MA, PhD (specialization in Native art)

University of Calgary

Faculty of Fine Arts University of Calgary Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4 (403) 220-5497

Dean: John P.L. Roberts

Course offered: 311 Survey of Indigenous and Primitive Art

Faculty of General Studies University of Calgary (403) 220-5881

Dean: Dr. M.P. Hanen

Courses offered: 313 Canadian Native Art and Cultures, 513.01 Canadian Native Art and Cultures: Plains, 513.02 Canadian

Native Art and Cultures: Northwest Coast

University of Guelph

Department of Fine Art University of Guelph Guelph, Ontario N1G 2W1 (519) 824-4120

Chair: Dr. G.F Todd

Courses offered: 259 Canadian Art, 368 Indigenous Arts of North

America

University of Lethbridge

Department of Native American Studies University of Lethbridge Lethbridge, Alberta T1K 3M4 (204) 329-2419

Chair: Leroy Little Bear

Courses offered: 2240 Native American Art, 2350 Native

American Art Studio, 3260 Canadian Indian Art, 3350 Native

American Art Studio - Advanced

University of Manitoba

Department of Native Studies University of Manitoba Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2 (204) 474-9266

Acting Chair: Dr. Richard A. Lobdell

Course offered: 373 Art of the North American Native Peoples

School of Art University of Manitoba (204) 474-9367

Director: Charles W. Scott

Courses offered: 253 Introduction to Traditional Arts, 358 Inuit Culture and Art, 373 Art of the North American Native Peoples, 483 Seminar in Inuit Art

Université de Montréal

Département d'Histoire de l'art Université de Montréal Montréal, Québec H3C 3J7 (514) 343-6111

Directeur: Lise Lamarche

Course offered: 2200 Arts de l'Amérique Pre-Colombienne

University of Ottawa

Department of Visual Arts University of Ottawa Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 (613) 564-6588

Chair: Leslie Reid

Course offered: 3332 Amerindian and Inuit Art: Tradition and

Modernity.

University of Regina

Saskatchewan Indian Federated College Department of Indian Fine Arts University of Regina Regina, Saskatchewan S4S 0A2 (306) 584-8333 or 584-8334

Head: Robert Boyer

Degree offered: Bachelor of Arts

University of Saskatchewan

Department of Anthropology University of Saskatchewan Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 0W0 (306) 966-4175

Chair: S.P. Charma

Course offered: 227.6 Primitive and Folk Art

Department of Art and Art History University of Saskatchewan (306) 966-4196

Chair: H.S. Dommasch

Course offered: 257.6 Art in Canada from its Origins to the

Present

University of Victoria

Department of History in Art University of Victoria Victoria, B.C. V8W 2Y2 (604) 721-7942

Chair: Dr. John Osborne

Courses offered: 375A Pre-Columbian Art, 375B Pre-Columbian Art, 382A North American Indian Art, 382B North American Indian Art, 565 Seminar in Pre-Columbian Art I, 566 Seminar in Pre-Columbian Art II

University of Waterloo

Department of Fine Arts University of Waterloo Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1 (519) 885-1211

Chair: A. Roberts

Course offered: 316 Canadian Native Art

University of Western Ontario

Department of Visual Arts University of Western Ontario London, Ontario N6A 5B8 519 661-3440

Chair: A. Mansell

Course offered: 243E Pre-Columbian Art

University of Windsor

Department of Anthropology University of Windsor Windsor, Ontario N9B 3P4 (519) 253-2188 or 253-5014

Head: Dr. Max J. Hedley

Course offered: 330 Primitive Art

University of Winnipeg

Department of Anthropology University of Winnipeg Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 2E9 (204) 786-9875

Chair: Dr. Gary R. Granzberg

Course offered: 3203-5 An Introduction to the Prehistoric Rock

Art of North America

Department of History History of Art Section University of Winnipeg (204) 786-7811

Chair: Dr. H.J. Mays

Course offered: 3805-1 The Art of the Eskimo

York University

Department of Visual Arts York University North York (Toronto), Ontario M3J 1P3 (416) 736-5187

Chair: Ted A. Bieler

Courses offered: 3350.03 Native Arts of the Americas: North America, 3360.03 Native Art of the Americas: Central and South America

* Based on 1988/89 Calendars

APPENDIX III

Guide to Cultural Organizations

NATIONAL

Association for Native Development in Preforming and Visual Arts Toronto, Ontario (416) 972-0871

Canadian Native Arts Foundation Suite 321 - 77 Mowat Avenue Toronto, Ontario M6K 3E3 (416) 588-3328

President: John Kim Bell

National Indian Arts and Crafts Corporation Suite 1106 - 1 Nicholas Street Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B6 (613) 232-2436

National President: Wellington Staats

Native Art Studies Association of Canada Department of Art History Carleton University Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6 (613) 564-7156

Native Indian and Inuit Photography Association 124 James Street South Hamilton, Ontario L8P 2Z4 (416) 529-7477

Executive Director: Yvonne Maracle

Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry R.R. No. 2 Ohsweken, Ontario NOA 1MO (519) 445-2114

President: David General

PROVINCIAL

Alberta

Nakoda Institute P.O. Box 120 Morley, Alberta TOL 1NO (403) 881-3770

Director: Ian Getty

British Columbia

Kitanmax School
'Ksan Indian Village and Museum
P.O. Box 326
Hazelton, B.C. VOJ 1Y0
(604) 842-5544 or 842-5723

Manager: Ron Burleigh

Manitoba

Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre 119 Sutherland Avenue Winnipeg, Manitoba R2W 3C9 (204) 942-0228

Executive Director: Dennis Daniels

New Brunswick

Kingsclear Cultural Education Program Kingsclear Indian Band Fredericton, N.B. E3B 4X7 (506) 363-3028

Director: Ian Graham

Northwest Territories

Inuit Cultural Institute Eskimo Point, N.W.T. X1A 0E0 (819) 857-2830

Executive Director: Thomas Owlijoot

Dene Cultural Institute P.O. Box 207 Yellowknife, N.W.T. X1A 2N2 (403) 873-6617

Director: Joanne Barnabe

Nova Scotia

Micmac Association of Cultural Studies P.O. Box 961 Sydney, N.S. B1P 6J4 (902) 539-8037

Executive Director: Peter Christmas

Ontario

Woodland Indian Cultural Educational Centre P.O. Box 1506 Brantford, Ontario N3T 5V6 (519) 759-2653

Museum Curator: Tom Hill

Quebec

Avataq Cultural Institute, Inc. Inukjuak, Quebec JOM 1M0 (819) 254-8919

Director: Barrie Gunn

Restigouche Institute of Cultural Education Restigouche Indian Band 2 Riverside West Restigouche, Quebec GOC 2R0 (418) 788-2904

Executive Director: Romey Labillois

Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre P.O. Box 3085 Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7K 3S9 (306) 244-1146

President: Alex Grey Eyes

Yukon Territories

Yukon Indian Cultural Education Society 22 Nisutlin Drive Whitehorse, Yukon Y1A 2B0 (403) 667-7631

Co-ordinator: Jean Gleason

* For listing of small-band cultural programs see Muse, Fall (4)3: 72-73

APPENDIX IV

Guide to Government Departments

Archaeological Survey of Canada

Archaeological Survey of Canada Canadian Museum of Civilization National Museums of Canada Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0M8 (819) 994-6613

Division Chief: Ian G. Dyck

Canadian Ethnology Service

Canadian Ethnology Service Canadian Museum of Civilization Asticou Centre, Hull Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0M8 (613) 953-3259

Curator of Indian Art: Maria Routledge Curator of Inuit Art: Odette Laroux

Canadian Heritage Information Network

Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN) Journal Tower South 365 Laurier Ave. West 12th Floor Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0M8 (613) 992-3333

Museum Consultant: Ian Sutherland

Department of Indian and Northern Affairs

Cultural\Educational Centres Directorate
Department of Indian and Northern Affairs
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H4
(613) 994-3102

Acting Director: E. Weigeldt

Indian Art Centre 16th Floor, 10 Wellington Street Hull, Quebec K1A 0H4 (819) 994-1262

Exhibits and Documentation Manager: Stephen Rothwell

Interim Manager: Viviane Gray

APPENDIX V

Guide to Museums and Galleries

MUSEUMS

Campbell River Museum and Archives

Campbell River Museum and Archives 1235 Island Highway Campbell River, B.C. V9W 2C7 (604) 287-3103

Director: Ms. Jay S. Stewart

Canadian Museum of Civilization

Canadian Museum of Civilization
National Museums of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0M8
(819) 994-6113 or 994-6097 or 994-2354
Curator of Contemporary Indian Art: Gerald McMaster

Chateau Ramezay

Chateau Ramezay 280 est, rue Notre-Dame Montréal, Québec H2Y 1C5 (514) 861-3708

Curator: Ms. Linda LaPointe

Chiefswood Museum

Chiefswood Museum Ohsweken Post Office Ohsweken, Ontario NOA 1MO

Dene Museum/Archives

Dene Museum/Archives General Delivery Fort Good Hope, N.W.T. XOE 0H0 (403) 598-2331

Curator: Antoine Mountain

Golden Lake Algonquian Museum

Golden Lake Algonquian Museum P.O. Box 26 Golden Lake, Ontario KOJ 1X0

Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature 190 Rupert Avenue Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 0N2 (204) 856-2830

Curator, Native Ethnology, Human History Division: Katherine Pettipas

Mashteviatsh Pointe-Bleue Museum

Mashteviatsh Pointe-Bleue Museum 406, rue Amisk Mashteviatsh, Québec GOW 2HO

McCord Museum

McCord Museum 690 Sherbrooke Street West Montréal, Québec H3A 1E9 (514) 398-7100

Director: Mr. Marcel Caya

Newfoundland Museum

Newfoundland Museum Duckworth Street St. John's, Newfoundland A1C 1G9 (709) 576-2329

Director: Martin Bowe

Nova Scotia Museum

Nova Scotia Museum 1747 Summer Street Halifax, N.S. B3H 3A6 (902) 429-4610

Curator of Ethnology: Ms. Ruth Whitehead

Odanak Museum

Odanak Museum 108, rue Wabanb-Aki Odanak, Québec G1G 1H0

Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre Dept. of Natural and Cultural Affairs Yellowknife, N.W.T. X1A 2L9 (403) 873-7551

Curator of Collections: Ms. Barbara J. Winter

Provincial Museum of Alberta

Provincial Museum of Alberta 12845 - 102nd Avenue Edmonton, Alberta T2N 0M6 (403) 427-1730

Director: Mr. John Fortier

Royal Ontario Museum

Department of Ethnology Royal Ontario Museum 100 Queen's Park Toronto, Ont. M5S 2C6 (416) 586-5724

Associate Curator-in-charge: Dr. Gertrude C. Nicks

Department of New World Archaeology Royal Ontario Museum 100 Queen's Park Toronto, Ont. M5S 2C6 (416) 586-5724

Curator: Dr. David M. Pendergast

Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History

Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History Wascana Park Regina, Sask. S4P 3V7 (306) 787-2812

Curator of Archaeology and Ethnology: Gerald T. Conaty

The British Columbia Provincial Museum

The British Columbia Provincial Museum 675 Belleville Street Victoria, B.C. V8V 1X4 (604) 387-3701

Chief, Anthropological Collections: Mr. A. Hoover

The Glenbow Museum

The Glenbow Museum 130 9th Avenue S.E. Calgary, Alberta T2G 0P3 (403) 264-8300

Curator, Ethnology: Julia D. Harrison

The University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology

The Museum of Anthropology University of British Columbia 6393 N.W. Marine Drive Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5 (604) 228-5087

Director: Dr. Michael M. Ames

Curator of Ethnology: Dr. Marjorie Halpin

The New Brunswick Museum

The New Brunswick Museum 277 Douglas Avenue St. John, New Brunswick E3K 1E5 (506) 658-1842

Chief Curator: Gary Hughes

The Vancouver Museum

The Vancouver Museum 1100 Chestnut Street Vancouver, B.C. V6J 3J9 (604) 736-4431

Director: Robert D. Watt

Curator of Ethnology: Lynn Maranda

GALLERIES

Art Gallery of York University

York University Art Gallery 4700 Keele Street N145 Ross Building North York, Ontario M3J 1P3 (416) 736-5136

Curator: Elizabeth McLuhan

Assiniboia Gallery Ltd.

Assiniboia Gallery Ltd. 2312 - 11th Avenue Regina, Saskatchewan (306) 522-0997

Owner: James Curtz

Bearclaw Gallery

Bearclaw Gallery 9724 - 111 Avenue Edmonton, Alberta T5G 0B1 (403) 479-8502

Eagle Aerie Gallery

Eagle Aerie Gallery Campbell Street Tofino, B.C. VOR 2Z0 (604) 725-3235

Artist/Owner: Roy Henry Vickers

MacKenzie Art Gallery

(Norman) MacKenzie Art Gallery University of Regina Regina, Saskatchewan S4S 0A2 (306) 779-4771/4772

Director: Andrew J. Oko

McMichael Canadian Collection

McMichael Canadian Collection Kleinburg, Ontario (416) 893-1121

Curator: Jean Blodgett

National Gallery of Canada

National Gallery of Canada 380 Sussex Drive Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9N4 (613) 990-1985

Assistant Curator of Contemporary Art: Diana Nemiroff

The Isaacs Gallery Ltd.

The Isaacs Gallery Ltd. 179 John Street Toronto, Ontario M5T 1X4 (416) 595-0700

Manager: Avrom Issacs

Thunder Bay Art Gallery

Thunder Bay Art Gallery P.O. Box 1193 Thunder Bay, Ontario P7C 4X9 (807) 577-6427

Director: Norman Zepp

West End Gallery

West End Gallery 12308 Jasper Avenue Edmonton, Alberta T5N 3K5 (403) 488-4892