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**"Native Women and Work:
Changing Representations in Photographs
from the Collections of the National Film Board and
of The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development"**

by

Adele Stalmach, B.A. (Hons.)

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Art History**

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

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**"NATIVE WOMEN AND WORK: CHANGING REPRESENTATIONS IN PHOTOGRAPHS
FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL FILM BOARD AND OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT"**

Submitted by Adele Stalmach, B.A. Honours
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

Ruth Phillips, Thesis Co-Supervisor

Melissa Rombout, Thesis Co-Supervisor

John Shepherd, Director, SSAC

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Ottawa, Ontario

September, 1995

ABSTRACT

Aboriginal women's identities have been manufactured and manipulated by white culture through photography and other visual media. By referring to archival, post-colonial, historiographic, photographic, and feminist theories, and to the historical context, this study argues that Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and National Film Board (NFB) photographs that portray aboriginal women at work between 1940-1970 are in fact mirrors of white cultural values. The images illustrate what white women, not native women, were to aspire to and how they were treated with respect to work, within and without the home. Actual aboriginal women's histories and experiences are absent from images made by departments who sought to define and direct native culture in Canada forty years ago. In NFB and DIAND photos, native women are either created in the image of white women and re-named as "non-Indian", or they are portrayed as the "other". By demonstrating how photos of native women are reflective of white cultural values, this study invites further study of massive archival and non-archival collections of photographs related to Indian Affairs.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
NFB	National Film Board
NAC	National Archives of Canada
CMCP	Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography

To Adrian, without whose love and support
this thesis would not have been written

PREFACE

This study is inspired by work I completed at the National Archives of Canada as an intern archivist in 1993-1994. My work then involved the description and discussion of twenty-one federal and private sector photographic collections related to Indian Affairs. Two of them originate with the National Film Board (NFB) and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and are among the largest photographic collections related to Indian Affairs preserved by the National Archives of Canada for the purposes of maintaining the records of official organizations' depiction of Canadians. Both show the Canadian government's interest in the portrayal of native women between the 1940's and 1960's, and in the depiction of the "common man", or woman, at work. Traditional stereotypes of aboriginal women, and those originating with twentieth-century relations between official departments and Indian women are prominent and reflect each department's mandate with respect to the depiction of managed populations and the manipulations of the photographic medium. Social factors caused an oppressive "male-gaze"-oriented portrayal of the subject. This perspective is written into the inseparable combination of caption and image and into meaning that is unwritten.

Unpublished sources of research include various photographic collections, Government Record Groups (RG files) and Finding Aids at the National Archives of Canada as well as photographers' bio-files at the

Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography (CMCP). Acknowledgements are due to the following people: Ed Tompkins, photoarchivist at the National Archives, who gave me the benefit of his consummate knowledge about the origins, condition and acquisition of the DIAND collection; Andrew Rodger, photoarchivist at the National Archives, who shared his knowledge of the NFB collection and the history of the Still Division; Sue Lagasi, archivist at CMCP, who directed me towards material related to the NFB photographers and spoke about recent interviews conducted with NFB photographers Gar Lunney and Ted Grant who worked for the Board during the 1940's to 1960's; Debbie Farnand, Chief of the Public Affairs Branch for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration; Viviane Grey, archivist in DIAND's Indian Arts Centre, who shared her expertise on Mi'kmaq women's history; and most importantly, my co-supervisors, Melissa K. Rombout, photoarchivist, and Ruth Phillips, who both shared their vast knowledge of photography and aboriginal issues and devoted time to the editing of this paper.

A special thank you to my family, especially to my father, Joseph Stalmach and to my future father-in-law, William Pierce, who patiently edited my paper in its final stages.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION AND THEORY

INTRODUCTION

The attitude of the Canadian government with regard to the legal rights and treatment of native Canadians in the twentieth century has changed, as Deborah Doxtator has written, from concerns about Indian people's status as "human beings to whether or not they are competent human beings capable of running their own affairs".¹ This thesis analyzes white racial attitudes as disseminated and received through photography. It studies the organization, management, representation, ordering and study of aboriginal culture in that medium by Euro-Canadians.

My goal in the pages that follow, is to demonstrate how the relationship of dominance and subordination between the government and aboriginal women as seen through official photographs has evolved from traditional and stereotypical portrayals to ones which highlight the government's goals of assimilation. Since its inception in the nineteenth century, photography has been used as a medium for the manipulation of the identity and culture of Canada's aboriginal people. In particular, it has been a tool for the misrepresentation or denigration of native women. Although all of white society has been responsible for such depictions, this thesis examines the roles of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND) and of the National Film Board (NFB) in the depiction of native women working in the Maritime provinces, Ontario, and Quebec. These images, taken from the 1940s through the 1960s, made aboriginal

women into the picture of white women. They denied their identities and their histories and re-named them as non-Indian and therefore as superior or at least "tolerable". In the years following the fifties, aboriginals have spoken out in defense of their rights, and women have been "naming themselves". Past visual renderings of native culture by non-native culture do not offer a true narrative about aboriginal women's lives. Rather, they reveal how white Canadians perceived white women and thus all women.

Images of native women need to be addressed for numerous reasons. Although several books mention the NFB Still Photography Division and the photographers of the NFB, and although they discuss the influence of its founder, John Grierson, upon Canadian society, the mention of aboriginal people as subjects of the photographs, particularly of women, is sadly absent even from recently published material. This is inconsistent with the great number of photographs and films about native people in Canada that were produced by the NFB between the late thirties and the late sixties. No written record whatsoever appears to exist about DIAND's photographic and collecting practices. The issue of the photographic portrayal of native women is equally lacking in DIAND's institutional photographic records, even though the department's annual reports are liberally sprinkled with photographs of aboriginals. The discussion of the representation of these women by official departments is timely because of an absence of writing on the subject, and because of current critical interest in the photographic depiction of colonized

people by the colonizer. Also, in the past few years, native individuals and communities have taken an interest in working with these same archival collections, and in identifying themselves, relatives and acquaintances in archival photographs. Photographic records have also been used for purposes of evidence in land claims cases.

By exploring the official portrayal of native women by the Canadian government, a portrayal which consists of visual and written propaganda, we discover that the women's treatment is directly related to late nineteenth-century attitudes to women and work at the time that the DIAND and the Indian Act policies were formed. The origins of their treatment and depiction, however, date further back to initial relations between colonists and "Indians" at the time of contact. Identity was in many respects assigned to native people on Canada's East Coast by non-native Canadians who grafted to it a pre-conceived image of prejudice or stereotype; when the native subject was depicted in photographs, a secondary identity was added on by the maker of the image and the writer of the caption, and a third identity came about through the participation of the viewer. Therefore, three successive judges, each with varying perspective, determined how the subject would be portrayed and understood.²

This thesis draws on the published work of John Tagg, Allan Sekula, Roland Barthes, anthropologists Lutz and Collins, historians J.R. Miller, Daniel Francis, Rayna Green, social historians Meg Luxton, D'Ann Campbell and numerous other authors. The first chapter about theoretical

history refers primarily to the work of Tagg and Sekula, who apply critical social theory to the uses and practices of photography, to Barthes' writing on social codes and viewers' perception of messaging, and to Lutz and Collins' further work on the importance of viewers.³ Chapter Two, which outlines the history of native-white relations, especially with respect to native women and the history of native and non-native women's relations to work, makes use of the writings of Miller, Francis, and Green, who examine these histories as well as stereotypes associated with aboriginal people in Canada. The specific histories of the NFB and DIAND photo archives and examples from archival collections are examined in Chapter Three and rely on essential studies by Martha Langford and Joyce Nelson as well as on other texts on photographic and cultural history during the 1950s. Chapters Four and Five examine specific photographs from the DIAND and NFB collections respectively and make use of feminist and historical writing by Luxton, Campbell, Davison, and Lewenhak to provide contextual background.

THEORY

Tools essential to the decoding of the namer and the understanding and study of photographs of native women taken by non-native official organizations are drawn from several different critical perspectives: Archival theory discusses the history of organization, naming and categorization of documents. Applied to humans through the medium of the photograph, these factors have been used as tools of oppression;

studying their past roles today reveals old as well as enduring relations of power. Social theories also discuss issues of race, class and gender within societies, while historiographical studies address the way visual images have been written about over time. Photographic theory, meanwhile, reveals how the practice of photography, a medium that has been claimed at times by both art and science, fits into the structures of art and society.

1.1 Archival Theory

Between 1880 and 1910, meaning was attributed to photographs primarily within the walls of the archival institution.⁴ Since then, the archive has become central to empirical disciplines from art history to military intelligence as official records that reflect social and public hopes, priorities and activities.⁵ Sekula discusses the use of photography for police records in his essay "The Body and the Archive".⁶ He writes that by the late 1800s, the general mentality that predominated was one of classification and organization. The clerk's role became paramount; as well as being vital as statistician, the clerk may be seen as artist manqué.⁷ To reduce the degrees of bias imposed upon items in an archive that specializes in a particular interest such as police work, Sekula argues for the concept of a generalized archive that is inclusive. This archive includes the bodies and faces of the acclaimed, such as heroes and celebrities as well as "those of the poor, the diseased, the insane, the criminal, the nonwhite, the female, and all other embodiments of the unworthy".⁸ Sekula writes,

The clearest indication of the essential unity of this archive of images of the body lies in the fact that by the mid-nineteenth century a single hermeneutic paradigm had gained widespread prestige. This paradigm had two tightly entwined branches, physiognomy and phrenology. Both shared the belief that the surface of the body, and especially the face and head, bore the outward signs of inner character.⁹

Such theories allowed for a quick visual analysis of the stranger or the person from another culture because it lent one who knew the methods the ability to distinguish vice from virtue. In early images that Sekula discusses, race and sex are primary aspects of identity, and such identification continues throughout the twentieth century.¹⁰ Since the photograph was seen as the "final conclusive sign in the process of identification",¹¹ individuals and finally all of society were classified and mathematized. Sekula writes that the French police chief Bertillon, who established the first police archive through a system of classification and naming, destroyed the uniqueness of the individual person because within an archival system the individual becomes a statistic through identification but cannot reclaim an identity.¹² The identity has been predetermined by the photographer and by every location in which the image is thereafter housed and seen. Within the archives, as opposed to other institutions or private sites, the image takes on additional meaning.

Sekula states that the condition of the archive is volume, and control of the volume of material is achieved through hierarchical organization. The importance of "finding aids" or guides to the collections, as ideologically-soaked maps to the materials therein, is primary, since the manner in which the finding aids are organized and

lead one into the collection reveal the priorities of the creator with regard to the collection's subject. The treatment of the individual item in an archive is conditioned by the bias of the creator of the images and by the methods of acquisition, arrangement and description used by the archivist. The collection is subject to many levels of biased viewing and interpretation: the total collection is discussed at the fonds¹³, or global collection level, general subjects within the collection are addressed through the series level, even more specified subjects are dealt with in the sub-series level (for instance, an album), images depicting the particular subject at hand may be included in a file, and finally at the item level is the photograph itself.

Cook outlines the three stages involved in the archivists' description and organization of the collection. Since Taylor stressed the importance of a contextual approach, context is the basis for the three steps. Firstly, the archivist must examine the programme, in other words, explore the function or intent of the institution in creating the collection. Often, Cook cautions, there is a gap between intent and final result, and this, along with where decision-making happens, must be noted; secondly, the agency that created and compiled the collection must be analyzed for biases in its administrative structure. The decision-making processes of the agency must be uncovered in order to determine the nature of the relationship between the citizen and the state, which is what government collections reveal; finally, the portrayal of the citizens in the record itself must be examined. It is important to

note whether they are recorded impersonally or are allowed the freedom to speak for themselves.¹⁴

Since the making of the NFB and DIAND images in the 1940s to 1960s, distortion of their intended meaning and their original effect has occurred. Nevertheless, Cook writes that records generated at a certain point may have permanent value if they illustrate change, inconsistency and variation in the department's actions, or if marginalized groups speak out.¹⁵ These factors happen to be common to the DIAND and NFB collections because both the Department's and the Board's intentions were to convince a mass audience of the validity of their policies and therein to show their respective acceptance and inclusion of aboriginal people through the photographic record; however, captions and images illustrate that prejudices persist, and assimilationist policy still dictates the degree of acceptance of the individual pictured.

In the case of the two official collections of photographs discussed here, the way the images are now stored in the National Archives in cardboard boxes and made available to visitors upon request alters the purpose for which they were made, the contexts in which they were to be looked at and the audiences that were to see them. The National Archives' photographs, besides existing within their individual folders, boxes, and vaults, are physically ordered, filed, microfiched and entered on computer. This latter method, along with all media records, is recent to archival documentation, since the record in the past was primarily a written one and, being on paper, was, until the 1970', often neglected.¹⁶

Archivists may describe collections in their original language of access points, for example, by continuing to use the term "Squaw", or they may update these terms, thus building more distance between creator and user. Frequently, when the photo is being filed and organized, it is seen as something devoid of context and allowed to exist self-sufficiently based on its visual impact alone. Preference for the image without words was popularized during the 1950s due to the influence of television.¹⁷ At this time, writes Ritzenthaler, the photograph was not officially considered a historical document and as a result was often placed in an archive with manuscripts and documents, since a specialized location for photographs did not exist.¹⁸

Besides the importance of context, another of Taylor's main concerns was the importance of the record itself. According to most authors of archival theory, in the examination of a photograph numerous issues have to be dealt with: the inherent qualities of the physical object, such as the object itself, the detail, including lighting, clarity of image and coherence of composition, the framing, time of creation, and the vantage point.¹⁹ While the individual image reveals the biases and ideas of the maker of the image, the Archives reflect the ordering values of the entire culture and also reflect the relationship between citizens and government or official departments.

1.2 Social Theory

The analysis of the attitudes towards native women peculiar to the

Department and Board considered in this study is also informed by recent writings about the theory of social interaction by Edward Said, Homi Bhaba, John Tagg and Roland Barthes. Each addresses the terrain of the non-white individual as mediated by the white state. Race, write Lutz and Collins, is a dangerous term because it can pretend to be unassuming, objective, and self-critical, but is actually loaded, has boundaries and can make descriptions of cultural differences and tendencies that appear to be unbiased. Difference that is racial or cultural becomes the focus of discussion that really concerns difference in power and societal or individual interest.²⁰ Tagg writes that the concept of ideology only gained importance in the 1960s. Derived from Althusser, Ideological State Apparatuses, which are institutions of the so-called dominant culture, such as churches, hospitals, schools and government organizations, teach and encourage the public to adopt and reinforce specific societal perspectives. This influence is subliminal as well as overt, and essentially controls and oversees people through far-reaching powers that imbue every level of society.

The state, Tagg emphasizes, is not responsible for all negative and positive power relations. Rather, the state's role in social and cultural relations must be examined in terms of a historical context.²¹ Ultimately, Indian societies were seen as inferior to white societies by Western culture, and Indians have therefore come to represent "human beings at an earlier, less complex state of development".²² No representation of Indian people since contact, whether intended to be a positive or a

negative portrait, has been accurate, because, writes historian, Doxtator, the appointed meanings have reflected ideas that one culture believes about another.²³ In the end, racial and gender stereotypes justify why non-white people and women should or could not hold certain positions and do certain work. A "unique psychological warfare"²⁴ was practiced by the majority group in past decades, argues Doxtator, since harmful stereotypes were reinforced, and domination and subjugation were ensured at the same time that there was adulation and romantic stereotyping. Together these forces claimed and controlled people's sense of identity.²⁵ Native cultures in North America were identified, named and studied, and myths grew about their lives and cultures. When their behaviour failed to prove the myths as true, they were named "degenerate", and when their behaviour conformed to so-called truth, myths were reinforced and "proven" and new ones were added on. Three tropes for film and photographic depiction of native subjects are outlined in an article by Cylena Simonds, author of "Serious Reservations". They are: "the creature of another time", which might be represented by an Indian on a pony; "defined by Eurocentric values", which, as a photo, would lack context or explanation; and "Seen one, seen them all", which makes no distinction between native cultures.²⁶ A specific example regards the Indian Princess image, which was created to satisfy a Euro-Canadian fantasy. The fact is that North American Indian culture has its own history, but it has been so tampered with that at the thought of the name "Indian", the stereotypical European manufactured identity comes

to mind before anything else. Eventually, the power that the institution has over human identity can be used, as in the case of NFB and DIAND pictures, to justify and sell government policy.

The West perceives its task to be the solving of the "problem" of the "other". Orientalism, writes Said in his book of the same name, is the West's manner of altering identity and dominating the Orient.²⁷ Although his writing refers to the sub-Asian continent, the domination accomplished over this area parallels that which is enacted over any people by a colonizer. It is done through the power of naming. Homi Bhaba also states that language will always control thought. To create a nation and reverse the damage of naming, native "authors" must think doubly, he writes. "While the writer or artist thinks of "production" and brings associations of nation and identity to daily objects and acts, the very act of narrative continually raises and reinforces the idea of "reproduction", that is, of the reproduction of past values and ideas that are not one's own".²⁸

Roland Barthes, in Mythologies, suggests that regardless of who lends direction to an image, once on photo paper the subject of the image is cast as a type. In his essay, "The Lost Continent", Barthes discusses how anthropologists, when "discovering and uncovering" the exotic, the East, the native, consistently intend to and succeed in denying the history of the place of their interest and conquest. This is done through representation in media such as photography and film, through the behaviour of the explorers as recorded on film, and through

manipulation of the truth: either a comic vein and ridicule are applied to what is seen, or the other culture is portrayed as a clone of the West and therefore its portrayal is justified. Both approaches mutilate.²⁹ Said suggests that to identify signs of the writer as "namer", one must look for artificiality, contradiction, inconsistency in style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, and historical and social circumstances".³⁰ When Barthes notes that in the eyes of the explorer, the identification of the subject by name or nationality is often deemed unnecessary because they are the "poor", and a product of the East,³¹ he is noting an unwritten "naming" in which human value is deemed especially low and therefore unworthy of notice. They are "the unfortunate" and require the aid of the West. In this essay, Barthes further reveals how idealism and benevolence are the common goals of anthropologists who discover and discuss cultures that they consider to be backward, innocent, and immobile without contemporary intervention. Anthropology becomes an adventure and a game, a condescending gaze, a hunt for new life, reminiscent of nineteenth-century England's boys' adventure stories such as The Coral Island.³²

1.3 Historiography

The evolution of change in the interpretation of art is evident in the writings of numerous individuals including Berger, Sekula, Tagg, Althusser, Sontag, Bal and Barthes. Although some authors such as Sekula, Tagg and Althusser discuss the importance of the author or artist

along with consideration of context, others such as Sontag, Bal and Barthes are proponents of author-absent or reception theory in which the author is known only as a medium through which prevailing societal notions are expressed. For the purpose of this study of documentary photographs, both viewpoints are of importance. Although the importance and influence of the institution are central, one cannot discount as a purely mechanical response to social surroundings and official direction, a photographer's contribution to the final image without also ignoring the context inherent in individuality. Every maker of an image both intentionally and instinctively imposes a personal context upon the image as well as being influenced by cultural, societal and institutional instruction. A photograph is a melding of the photographer's creativity and bias, of the mechanization of the camera and of visual effect on the viewer; In the process of communication, the caption consolidates visual meaning.³³

The history of art was created as a discipline in the nineteenth century, and established as a connoisseurship-based system of collecting, categorizing and privileging art objects. By the end of the nineteenth century, writes James Clifford, the modernist definition of art meant something related to "creativity, spontaneity, and purity, a realm of refined sensibility and expressive "genius".³⁴ In other words, a work's meaning was then perceived to lie in its content, in the unique gifts of its maker, and in the accomplished judgement of its elite beholder. It was thought to be something that the viewer could judge literally upon seeing.

However, more recently, we have revisited works of art to witness them as accounts or documents of societal change, since society and ideology undergo change, and values are relative to them. A re-examination of the canon reveals that traditional art history excluded artists by race, class, and gender. In contrast, the New Art History, which has fragmented the discipline, emphasizes context, and art objects are found to acquire meaning from the narratives structured around them. As with the other arts, the viewer must approach photography by transporting himself or herself back to the time of the making of the image or object to discover the meaning of the text within its own time through the investigation of its historical and ideological context. In doing so, one admits the limited perspectives of maker and viewer.³⁵

The New Art History includes what were previously known as "high" and "low" art forms of visual communication. Documentary photography, which purports to record and depict social events and human circumstances through subjective interpretation, falls into the latter category. It was in full swing by the 1920s and 1930s, when it was used in America to document poverty, work and living conditions. By the 1940s, the products of documentary photography in the form of photographs accompanied by carefully phrased prose were increasingly visible in magazines. ³⁶ Photography has been artificially adopted by art history, since its ubiquitous nature allows it to belong to any discipline that wants to claim it. When photography or art are studied as history, the progress of the artist, the era, style, and influences upon all of them

are investigated, but the form of the work, and the work of art itself, must be the central theme. Tagg writes that the societal aspect of the creation of photography is inseparable from the conditions that surrounded it, the language, limits, author, cultural norms and symbols.³⁷ He refers to Althusser's state apparatuses, which included all social relations that took place within any social institution and within the web of social relations that was society. He always insisted, however, that these social relations were manipulated and controlled by the institution. In this way, DIAND and NFB, as state institutions, can be discussed as interpreters of social organization and creators of national identity, and as those who used the still image to form and influence social thought.

1.4 Photographic Theory

This paper explores the use of photographs as a means of ordering and controlling subject and audience. The function of the gaze within the photograph is one of the determining factors in the relationship between the two. "Prior to the nineteenth century, portraiture was primarily ceremonial, presenting the bourgeois identity in formal costume".³⁸ As portraits, photographs distorted the sanctity of the painted portrait but added a new dimension of precision to the genre that previously had been claimed only by medical and anatomical illustration. Through its visual labelling, the photographic portrait delineated class and social relations. Sekula writes,

Every portrait implicitly took its place within a social and moral hierarchy. The private moment of sentimental individuation, the look at the frozen gaze-of-the-loved-one, was shadowed by two other more public looks: a look up, at one's "betters", and a look down, at one's "inferiors"³⁹

Looking patterns and relations are at the heart of the meaning of photographs, write Lutz and Collins; however, few people have the resources for interpreting or understanding the variety of messages these looks can produce.⁴⁰ The subject of the photograph, the individual or institution that makes it, and the viewer, each employ a gaze with respect to the finished photograph, and it is the written caption that "fixes" this visual perspective. The gaze of the institution is reflected in its mandate and in the tone inherent in all photos, despite varying subject matter. The photographer's gaze is evident every time we look at a photograph and become aware that the photographer selected the particular image from an infinite selection of other possible images.⁴¹ The viewer's gaze also alters with the image. "It is structured by many more cultural elements than those used to reason about racial or cultural difference".⁴² No matter what the "reality" of the image, each viewer reads with his or her own set of cultural, political and personal differences.

According to Lutz and Collins, the most significant gaze is that of the subject of the photograph outward toward the (unseen) viewer. The four types of gaze involve looking at the camera, looking at nothing, looking at something within the frame, or looking out into the distance. The gaze of the subject is the most difficult to discern. In order to do so, the viewer must attempt to understand the place of the subject in the photograph.

Lutz and Collins write that the returned gaze can be dangerously close to "faking intimacy"⁴³, and, since for the images under consideration much seems fake and fictional, this is probably not far from the truth. The smiling portrait can also be concocted and successful purely because of the influence of the photographer.⁴⁴ The frontal portrait, writes Tagg, is a central technique of documentary photography, setting the stage for evaluation of the subject as a type or statistic and eliciting either a negative or a favourable reaction.⁴⁵

Thus [in the nineteenth century] photography came to establish and delimit the terrain of the *other*; to define both the *generalized look* - the typology - and the *contingent instance* of deviance and social pathology. (emphasis mine)⁴⁶

In the nineteenth-century, photos were seen and accepted as evidence of ownership, as legal documents that could prove the guilt of a thief, identify personality, or verify identity.⁴⁷ Tagg also notes that the photographic record is similar to the legal record, since both may be images produced in accordance with formal rules and procedures. The photograph is a new form of meaning, he writes; it is distorted reality and achieved desire. It cannot be changed and is fictional.⁴⁸ In the last century, the definition of the criminal hinged on the rationalization of the use of the photograph for legal purposes. Sekula writes of photography as a fantasy filled with promises of power and control over the masses, a power inherent within the photograph itself and in the relation between subject and photographer and photograph and viewer. This power, however, can threaten the existing cultural order.⁴⁹ To justify the use of

the photograph as evidence, writes Tagg, it must be tracked through the relation of the image both to the body and to society.

The term "documentary", which would be understood as "evidence", claimed factual status for the still or moving picture. It purported to allow people to explain society. It was the means for specific institutions and their representatives to negotiate, on behalf of and for a concerned number, social and cultural improvement, betterment, and explanation. It also allowed photography to offer satisfaction and revelation about world cultures, but even more specifically about the countries in which photography was being used as a tool. In the 1930s, writes Vogt-O'Connor, photography documented the poverty, living and working conditions of those hit hardest by the Depression, and in later years it depicted aspects of rural and urban life.

The DIAND and NFB photos are *real*, not because the images represent truth but because they represent the potential for it. For native people they constituted instruction and coercion and the means of speeding and ensuring assimilation through the illustration of examples of successful people who perhaps did and perhaps did not espouse such a way of living already. They were all the more fearsome and powerful, therefore, because of the mutability of the photos' meaning when in the hands of an audience that took the meaning literally. Alone, images of aboriginal women cannot become evidence of a way of life of native women because of the measure of fictionalization involved in the pictures' creation. For instance, subject is limited through framing and choice of

time of event, details, and perspective. Viewing and judgement of images are affected by whether the images' context is that of NFB film, a DIAND annual report, a magazine, a collection of loose prints, a flier, a poster, a textbook, a gallery or an advertisement. The person photographed always, according to Lutz and Collins, becomes fantasy and object, subject to the gaze of strangers and the framing action of photography which manipulates and fictionalizes.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Deborah Doxtator, Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness: A Resource Guide. (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1992), p. 12.
2. To illustrate the bias, comparison with how the Department's still photography divisions portrayed men, both native and non-native, and white women is necessary. Ideally, a similar study might be done to investigate the portrayal by the NFB and DIAND of various other non-native cultures who are also represented and, more specifically, of the women within them, but this is beyond the scope of the present project.
3. Due to the nature of the photographs, both approaches must be considered. Reader-response theory is vital because of the variety of ways in which viewers understand work regardless of intention. Additionally, context at the time of viewing can alter perceived meaning. Whether the photo is displayed in a gallery, a book, a newspaper, or a folder in an archives, its interpretation will be affected by the method of display. Authorial intent, because it reflects the context of the making of the photograph, also must be considered.
4. Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive" The Contest of Meaning, Critical Histories of Photography, ed Richard Bolton (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), p. 373.
5. Terry Cook in "Mind Over Matter: Towards a New Theory of Archival Appraisal" (The Archival Imagination: Essays in Honour of Hugh A. Taylor, Barbara Craig, ed. [Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992]) writes about Taylor, Canada's most eminent scholar in the work of modernizing archival theory.
6. Sekula, p. 367. Police photography must be mentioned when discussing social documentary photography because the police, since the 1860's, developed the first photographic archives and system of retrieval for the identification of prisoners.
7. This idea is useful to interpretation of the filing and organization of the NFB and DIAND collections and to those who made them, since documentary and aesthetic approaches were combined in these collections' portrayals of Canadians. DIAND and the NFB surrendered their archival functions as records management repositories when they passed their holdings to the National Archives for acquisition and management; therefore, at the National Archives, both collections underwent classification and reorganization that inevitably altered their initial structure and hence meaning. At the same time, organic access points and arrangements have been respected.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
10. As an apparatus of "truth", the archive itself, therefore, consisted of more than just the camera's literal view; it included a system of intelligence dependent upon statistics, the work of the clerk and the interests of bureaucracy. The filing cabinet rather than the camera was therefore the central artifact of the system. (*Ibid.*, p. 351).

11. Ibid, p. 358.

12. Ibid, p. 362.

13. The term "fonds" refers to the French origin of this term, "respect des fonds", which demanded that the original contents, groupings and identification of the collection remain intact.

14. Cook, p. 55.

15. Ibid, p. 57.

16. Tom Nesmith, "Hugh Taylor's Contextual Idea for Archives and the Foundation of Graduate Education in Archival Studies" The Archival Imagination: Essays in Honour of Hugh A. Taylor. Barbara Craig, ed. (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992), p. 13-37.

17. Richard Horn, Fifties Style Then and Now. New York: Penguin Books, 1985, p. 54.

18. M.L. Ritzenthaler, G.J. Munoff and M.S. Long, Archives and Manuscripts. Administration of Photographic Collections. (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 1984)

19. Ibid

20. Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, Reading National Geographic. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 156.

21. John Tagg, The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p. 23.

22. Doxtator, p. 13.

23. Ibid, p. 12.

24. Ibid, p. 14.

25. Ibid.

26. Cylena Simonds, "Serious Reservations", Afterimage. January 1994, p. 14-16.

27. Edward Said, Orientalism. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 3.

28. Homi K. Bhabha, Nation and Narration. (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p.

297.

29. Roland Barthes, Mythologies, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), p. 103.

30. Said, p. 21.

31. Barthes, p. 103.

32. In his critique of the photo exhibition "The Family of Man", Barthes noted that all people are forced into the same mold because the retrospective illustrates how essentially all people are alike: they all are born, live, suffer, experience happiness, pain and sadness and they die. Although these are common factors, by ignoring what circumvents and surrounds these events in all peoples' lives, one ignores history and the actual and active economic differences that exist among cultures. The idea that every human being's core is identical and only the exterior changes with environment, demands that a power like Christianity be the one constant in human nature. (Barthes, p. 102)

33. Throughout Reading National Geographic, Lutz and Collins reiterate the fact that the caption solidifies the meaning suggested by a photograph and therefore, solidifies the intention of the creator of the image.

34. James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture : Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 233.

35. At each historical moment, art fulfills a different role in the validation of the existing social system and its perspectives, writes John Berger, Ways of Seeing, (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 29. As a result, Berger writes, art of the past is political because when a people or class are cut off from their own history and past, they are not as free to behave as a class as people who have situated themselves within history. Lynne Pearce writes that text is the literal, and when past texts are "re-produced" by later readers, there is danger of repeating harm. [Lynne Pearce, Woman/Image/ Text. Reading Pre-Raphaelite Art and Literature, (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 25] Context, in the New Art History, rather than the concept of genius, is put to the forefront but context does not solve interpretation of an image since one can step back from it and see even more. [See Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson's "Semiotics and Art History" Art Bulletin, No 73, 2, (June 1991), p. 76] Though in New Art History the author is considered a medium of the values of his or her time, place, circumstance and an interpreter of them rather than an isolated genius or originator of them, I believe that he or she is also unique in transmitting ideas.

36. Diane Vogt-O'Connor, Guide to Photographic Collections at the Smithsonian Institution. Vol III, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984), p. 176.

37. Tagg, p. 23.

38. Sekula, p. 345.

39. Ibid, p. 347.

40. Lutz, p. 216. According to Lutz and Collins, evaluation of images should not depend on

intention, even though it affects the end product, but on result and effect. Though intention influences what the audience sees, they write, the gaze of the viewer regardless of authorial intent must be the key to criticism of the image, since interpretation is subjective and variable. By contextualizing a work's making and presentation, one can distance oneself from judgement and recreate the purpose and effect of the image itself. The reader's goal must be to situate himself or herself within the mind of the creator. As a result, intention must be considered, because without knowledge of what the maker hoped to portray, or without understanding at least of the context of creation, the photograph would be approached by the viewer as if it were a blank slate.

41. John Berger, Ways of Seeing. (New York: Penguin, 1977), p. 10.

42. Ibid., p. 196.

43. Lutz, p. 197-198.

44. During the 1950s, writes Horn, the huge smiling portrait that appeared to establish immediate rapport between viewer and subject was popular and was perfected. (Horn, p. 56)

45. Tagg, p. 199.

46. Sekula, p. 345.

47. Sekula, p. 344. Sekula discusses H.F. Talbot's photograph of "articles of china", which Talbot presented as potential "mute testimony" against a thief. Sekula points out that at the same time, a drawing or a list were not considered "evidence" of the same calibre.

48. Tagg, p. 2-3.

49. Sekula, p. 343.

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORY OF NATIVE-WHITE RELATIONS SINCE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

To study native and non-native relations in Canada with the intention of discussing the photographic portrayal of native women by official institutions in the country, one must deal with numerous subjects for purposes of contextualization. They are: the early history of colonization and picturing of native women; the history of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and its role in determining the future of its assigned subjects through assimilationist policy, and consequently, the mythologization of native women. As this thesis will examine the issues outlined above in relation to Maritime peoples and people living in Ontario and Quebec, it will be useful to look at the specific historical context in these regions.

2.1 Early relations between colonists and native women

As Francis, Miller, and other historians point out, relations between aboriginals and the Europeans were affected initially by the two sides' mutual interests: fish, furs, trade, and the aboriginals' tolerance of European exploration. In the eighteenth century military alliances brought them together in new ways, and in the nineteenth century the government's interests in education, Christianization and assimilation became most important, although Christianization had begun in the 1600s. Disease and alcohol would also be major factors throughout

relations.¹

With the arrival of colonists and the influence of the British Empire, every aspect of life for Canada's native people was drastically altered. Green notes that sexual violence was immediately a problem; whereas native bands often welcomed captives, male or female, into their families, the French and British treated Indian women like animals when they were captured. Nevertheless, Green argues, women were treated as a commodity by both native and non-native men.² Early written accounts describe how native women, through changes in social behaviour imposed on their societies, saw the loss of their traditional roles and rights. In the book Chain Her By One Foot, Karen Anderson examines the change in Huron and Montagnais women's status from having acted as influential, respected and necessary members of their own societies, to being subordinates to men. Through direct instruction by the French, native men began to exercise dominance over women, who became subject to humiliation and physical, sexual, and psychological abuses. Anderson parallels this with an examination of how women were oppressed in Western Europe at this time.³

By the mid-1640s not more than three decades after the French first arrived among them, many women had already been subdued, rendered docile and obedient . . . Now, instead, we read about how women were chained, beaten and even starved if they ran away; about how they were publicly chastised if they didn't obey their husbands.⁴

Change occurred in the area of commerce as well. Miller writes that before the end of the seventeenth century the Mi'kmaq, in response

to requests for fur, had exhausted the supply of beaver in their region.⁵ Transformation to an agrarian lifestyle seemed logical and was a major goal and vital weapon of the colonists. The Mi'kmaq and Malicite of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were originally hunters, and the Abenaki, also of the East Coast but allied with the French, were hunters but practised some farming as well. The agrarian lifestyle was thought to encourage family values, industriousness, and respect for private property⁶, and it was hoped that stability would ensue - all qualities thought to be lacking in aboriginal lifestyle.

Agriculture was very slow to replace the traditional hunting society the Indians had always known, though most Indian families kept a garden. Handicrafts, boat-building and guiding became a way of life. Some commercial fishing was carried on, but generally the catch was only sufficient for local use. Indian men provided a large amount of the casual farm labour, especially in the potato and berry-picking seasons.⁷

The aboriginal population in the East saw the French and the English as economically different. Where the English, who were agriculturalists, settled, all was razed and changed, and animals left the land. The French, on the contrary, built but left nature intact. As merchants, they were eager to supply the Indians with baubles and objects in return for their alliance.⁸

In contrast, work for native men and women prior to the colonists' arrival had consisted of hunting and was thought of in terms of spiritual, social and personal responsibility. Green writes that women were responsible for gathering and cultivating, developing foods and all the dyes and medicines derived from them. Among many Woodlands peoples

women also built, took down, "owned", and were responsible for dwellings, the wigwams. Their work included the making of boats, instruments, utensils and clothing and the raising of children. Since women usually were agriculturalists, they also had knowledge of the uses of herbs and medicines and therefore took on both medicinal and spiritual leadership.⁹ Once on government-established reserves, men could not hunt, and women could not do their traditional work; therefore, "those responsibilities that brought them honor and respect were now gone".¹⁰ While women were more traditionally agriculturalists, the government sought to transform the "savage" men, hunters, into agriculturalists to make them "more settled and tractable".¹¹

2.2 Myths and stereotypes

Myths and stereotypes about Native American cultures began with the first moments of their colonization. Both formal study and popular belief formulated and supported notions that identified an individual of native heritage as belonging to one of several images which underwent some variation over time. These manufactured identities were depicted first in textual and pictorial forms and later, in photographs. The manner of mythologization was consistent with European stereotypes of gender and race as well as with ideas about men and women who were not of European or Christian origin.¹² Inevitably, cultural difference affected the impressions that Europeans had of Indian women. Miller writes that Frenchmen "found the liberated sexual attitudes of young Indian women

prior to matrimony as attractive as the missionaries found them repugnant".¹³ On the other hand, they admired and tried to emulate the courage and control displayed by aboriginal men in situations of duress. Indian men, contrarily, appreciated European goods but did not admire Europeans, whom they considered to be selfish, ill-mannered "hairy interlopers".¹⁴

Another area in which cultural difference resulted in a lack of sympathy between Indian and non-Indian cultures was in the area of motherhood. The Huron, Miller writes, found Europeans to be excessively severe towards their own children, since aboriginal parents permitted their own children great liberties. Missionaries observed that as a result, European mothers were referred to as "porcupines".¹⁵ Additionally, in native communities, the upbringing of children had a different connotation from that of the upbringing of non-native children since many Eastern bands were matrilineal: children were born into an identity and traced their heritage through their mother and her family.¹⁶ Property and the ownership of material goods were also determined by the position and name of women; so women in aboriginal societies had a great deal more influence than those of European descent. Changes in women's status, however, would come to affect their role as primary generational links.

In the 1800s, earlier non-native ideas about aboriginal women were adapted to create a new stereotype related to women's work. Green writes that in the nineteenth century, even though white men wrote

about Indian women as slave labourers, white men also speculated that Indian women probably enjoyed rights and powers within their communities because they earned it by engaging in "manly labour".¹⁷ Logically, white women were prevented from engaging in such work in order that their inferiority be assured. Despite this positive impression of native women's lives, before the mid-nineteenth century, the word "Squaw" had become a derogatory term routinely used in photographs of native women who fit a matronly, worn-down and hard-working type belonging to the lower classes. Green describes the stereotype as "a violent, degraded, and filthy creature".¹⁸ Sexually neutered, she is often displayed in the role of mother or wife, and has historically been portrayed in both negative and positive ways. The negative connotation of the uncivilized or pre-industrial is usually present in such an image, not only through the term and its use in captions, but in visual terms as well.

An alternate image, the native woman as "Indian princess or Indian maiden", carries with it emphasis on beauty, youth, sexuality and, at the same time, paradoxically, innocence. Green notes that she is often "the kind, beautiful daughter of a noble leader".¹⁹ This stereotype goes back to the eighteenth century, but was also particularly consistent with late nineteenth century Pre-Raphaelite notions about the nature of woman: both as temptress and seductress, and as virginal maiden. It is an image that makes of the woman a sexual object. Lutz and Collins write that native people have been exoticized, sexualized, naturalized, idealized, and "taken out of all but a single historical narrative"²⁰. At the turn of the

century, this assignment of identity was compatible with current views of white women and sexuality.

The myth of the "Vanishing Race" which applied to both aboriginal men and women, provided popular subject matter in painting, writing and photography in the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century, but its origins were much older. Death, though not disappearance, did afflict aboriginal people in Canada. Following contact with Europeans, countless numbers of native people died as a result of wars that ensued between the French and the English, as well as in conflicts that already existed between bands. More than any other cause, European diseases killed members of native communities across the country. Aboriginal individuals who were not in danger of biological extinction, were, through their refusal or inability to assimilate and to follow the prescribed way of living of non-native people in Canada, in danger of cultural extinction. Any deviation from Anglo-Saxon ways was seen as an indication of inferiority, and the reigning British Empire dictated that Christian morality, spirituality, education and the work ethic according to Eurocentric standards and criteria were fundamental to life for all human beings. Their non-conformity to these rules identified them as "different" and caused them to be perceived by Canada's officials and by the public eye as spiritually and often physically extinct.

2.3 Christianization, assimilation and Industrial Schools

In 1891, Franz Boas wrote the following about Canada's aboriginal

people: "changes in their mode of life are so rapid that little time remains for studies of this character".²¹ This reasoning, consistent with the notion of the "Vanishing Race" fuelled ethnographic study well into the Twentieth-century. The so-called dominant culture could be reassured that aboriginal cultures were unthreatening by their imminent disappearance. Partially a reflection of their status of supposed extinction and of harmlessness, aboriginal people were often referred to as children.²² This name was also a reference to their mythologized association with nature. The East Coast, the first geographic area of the country to experience contact with the colonizers, was given its own Superintendent of the Indian department, Hon. Michael Franklin, in 1777. After the War of 1812, an influx of settlers arrived, and aboriginal peoples' lives changed drastically. No longer required as allies in war, they were considered, according to Francis, "a social and economic problem rather than a diplomatic one".²³ Reserve life, it was determined, would teach Indians to behave like whites and to become "civilized".²⁴ The concept of the "noble savage", an "uncivilized" being, symbolized the virtue that was inherent to the New World and was a portrait at once romantic and threatening. It also hinted at the disappearance and extinction of the "Indian".

At this time, in the mid-nineteenth century, the whites' search for their own identity led them to think of "the Indian" as the "Other" and as everything the whites were not.²⁵ In 1830 the reserve system, which was to separate, physically and socially, the native communities from the rest

of the country, was established in Upper Canada. Lieutenant Governor Bond Head, in 1836, came to the conclusion that assimilation was impossible, citing the fact that teaching native people to farm had failed as had "civilizing" them. The same charge was laid in the twentieth century. Still, "conveniently ignored was the fact that many native people were keen to take up agriculture, but were thwarted by government policies confining them to unsuitable land and restricting their use of modern farming methods".²⁶ Assimilation, Bond Head concluded, "has implanted many more vices than it has eradicated".²⁷ The solution was to remove aboriginal people for their own safety from all contact with whites. Eventually, however, reserves would become a convenient structure for management, including administering of European Christianization and education.

After 1850, an official decree stated that aboriginal people were to be protected from harm until knowledge of Christianity and education made them adequate "judges" of their own behaviour and needs. "A philanthropic policy of redeeming Indians from 'savagery' and raising them to the 'level of civilization' of the dominant society"²⁸ had been established. Indian lands were to be protected until Indians could take responsibility for them.²⁹ In an attempt to force assimilation, officials wanted to ensure that aboriginal people be removed from all that was associated with their traditions and way of life: "It is necessary the Indian youth should be prevented from becoming hunters or fishers, and this can be alone done by locating the village where there are no facilities for

either".³⁰ Under Duncan Campbell Scott in the late 1800s, however, when Indian Affairs became an independent department, it used residential schools to prepare Indians for farming and labouring and nothing else. Francis writes that "Nothing in the system of Indian administration headed by Scott encouraged a young Native to aspire to a professional occupation".³¹ Additionally, aboriginal women's freedom was restricted by the status imposed upon them by the Indian Act.

Christianization, it was hoped, would speed assimilation. Francis writes that during the mid-nineteenth century, an influx of Anglican, Methodist, and Catholic missionaries arrived to undertake this task. Complete transformation became necessary to enable Indians "to join a superior civilization".³² Rejection of this route, it was said, would result in extinction. Enfranchisement, the legal process of adopting white behaviour and education, voluntarily rejecting Indian status, and being awarded reserve lands and funds, was another of the government's efforts at quickening assimilation. During the sixty-three years it was available (1857-1920), only 250 individuals in Canada took advantage of it. The Indian Act, updated since 1876, solidified the hold of the federal government over aboriginals. Its aim was assimilation. Francis writes that in the "Eastern provinces they [the natives] were an intractable social problem".³³ Assimilation, because it meant a loss of Indian status, was a form of extermination. Finally, in the late decades of the nineteenth century, it was posited that aboriginal people in Canada were disappearing because of marriage and intermarriage.³⁴ This idea would

have been supported by the effects of the Indian Act of 1876 that stipulated that a woman's status as a person of native origin depended upon the ethnic background of her father, and once married, that of her husband.³⁵ Aboriginal people's autonomous culture was nearly extinct because all influences directed them to become white and to cease to be Indian except through traditional imposed stereotypes. The "disappearance" of aboriginals - and therefore, of a "problem" - was assured through the alteration of their identity and their disappearance as a distinct people".³⁶

Industrial schools were the the third element of control for the government. Towards the end of the century, children were removed from their families to be educated in these schools where their own languages, dress and customs were forbidden and replaced with "superior" white equivalents, namely the English language, uniforms, new haircuts and behaviour.³⁷ The intention was that they were to be transformed within such institutions and leave them as "superior" beings.

2.4 Living and working conditions for aboriginals in Canada: turn-of-the-century through the Second World War

By the turn of the century, the difference and therefore distance that existed between Indian and non-Indian populations had become undeniable. Between Confederation in 1867 and the First World War in 1914, twenty four reserves and seven administrative districts were set up in the Maritimes with two in New Brunswick. The Mi'kmaq were in the

Northern district and the Malicite in the Southern. Native people, isolated from big cities and unexposed to the kind of education needed to allow them equal work opportunity, remained far from cities, on reservations which began "to stand out as islands of poverty".³⁸ For many Canadians, writes Francis, they existed as an image only, and their physical distance from non-native Canadians justified peoples' thoughts about their "disappearance". The government ensured that finding success was a challenge and that assimilation would be speeded by forcing on them the practice of democratic government, since the official system could not control individual native systems of government; natives were forbidden to leave reserves without official permission; laws about selling agricultural produce limited aboriginal farmers' ability to compete in the white market; and in 1920, the government could legally strip Indians of status against their will.³⁹ Indian Affairs used File Hills, a colony in Saskatchewan, as an example of successful assimilation. Francis writes that there, in 1901, youth, who were considered the key to changing the Indian, were separated from their families and closely monitored. Following an education that forbade their own languages, they were introduced to farming and forbidden to return to their families. Houses were whitewashed, with flowerbeds and gardens, and activities provided to them, including a brass band, lectures, a baseball league and a sewing circle for the girls and women.⁴⁰

Most male Mi'kmaqs in Sydney, followed by most native men of the Atlantic region, enlisted in the First World War. Those who did not enlist

worked in coal mines, steelworks, and munitions factories doing jobs required for the war. Post-war work included farming and work in the forests during the winter. Having made these contributions, after WWI aboriginal citizens lobbied the government for education, hunting and fishing rights and other issues that affected "their political rights and economic security".⁴¹ As further evidence that they were not dying, but were speaking out, the League of Indians of Canada was begun in 1918 on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario.

By 1930, many native people owned their own frame houses. During the war, in Nova Scotia, a policy to ensure the self-sufficiency of the Indian population was enacted. Land and sawmills were purchased, and native labourers built their own housing. Aboriginal people were "encouraged" to move into the new homes and "revolving loan funds were set up to encourage home industry".⁴² The Depression years in the East were particularly severe because of the lack of a need for forest products and because the demand for fur decreased. Aid and make-work programs brought improvement, but generally there was great suffering, and living conditions were dismal.⁴³ Employment was seasonal, agricultural, and land-related. In spring there was a harvest of potatoes, spring smelt, and herring runs. In summer, blueberry picking, in autumn, cranberry and potato picking, and in winter, lumber camp work became the livelihood of bands in the East, for whom such work had originally been alien. In P.E.I. and Lennox Island, basket-making, as well as lobster and oyster fishing became year-round employment. A vehicle for picturing this

lifestyle and its future developments would be the National Film Board.

Following the heroic participation of the male native population, especially from the Maritimes, in both world wars, the government turned its attention to native communities. After WWII, The Veterans Land Act gave native bands grants to build new and modern homes on the reserves. Long before this century, the government had established the practice of distributing gifts, which acted as both control and lure. Assimilationist policy was still the dominant approach to helping the native community, which, in post-war years was in many ways dependent on government gifts, grants, and funding. In 1951, an amended Indian Act was passed by the Senate and House of Commons. 1957-58 saw an extensive program for self-management, undertaken by Indian and Northern Affairs and St. Francis Xavier University for eleven Mi'kmaq bands.

House building and home ownership are encouraged by low-interest loans. Water, sewer and electric power projects are modernizing the Indian communities and making conditions comparable to those in the surrounding white communities.⁴⁴

2.5 The roles of white women from the nineteenth century to the 1950s

With nineteenth-century industrialization, work for non-native men and women moved into the factory. Jane Davison states that although women had always been the primary caretakers of children, during these years of change, childcare became for the first time the sole and unique responsibility of mothers because men physically left the home to work.⁴⁵

Home economics developed as a "science" in the late nineteenth century with changes to food preparation, child care, and housework. The transformation in the home was fully present only after the First World War, and by the 1920s, "modes of the home as private, feminized and isolated domestic sphere"⁴⁶ were in place. Since the 1920s, advertizing and the household products industry stereotyped housework as a feminine role; hence products were marketed to women, and modern appliances were intended to keep them busy in the home. Because of the importance of the new role of the woman as consumer of industrial products, and because of changes in the work force, the portrait of the housewife and mother was created as an ideal despite negative connotations attributed to mothers. It was therefore applied to all cultures as an aid to achieving a similar ideal throughout society.⁴⁷

During the 1940s and 1950s, commercial prosperity was also accompanied by permissive upbringing. Mothers were "to be accessible, loving, truly feminine figures, fathers were to serve as role models for their sons and chivalric heroes for their daughters".⁴⁸ Furthermore, mothers were stereotyped as either whiney and mousey or as masculine and aggressive. Foucault argues that the nineteenth century's most visible form of the "Hysterization" of women's bodies was in the figure of the mother who constituted the negative image of the nervous woman.⁴⁹ This image persisted and developed from nineteenth-century ideas about mothers and women's sexuality.

Sexuality, writes Foucault, was first a concern in bourgeois and

aristocratic families, women's bodies were deemed to be "saturated with sexuality"⁵⁰ and sex itself was attributed with the potential for pathology. The exoticism of a woman of non-white race further highlighted her allure and her danger, but the "idle" woman was the first to be sexualized, and, later, the nervous woman. The image of the woman as an innately sexual and possibly psychotic being, justified the medicalization of women's bodies, as did the claim that their children's health, the solidity of the family as institution and the security of society itself depended on it.⁵¹ Seen as those who molded future generations, women were also accused of destroying children's natural inclinations and stifling their independence.

Social historian Richard Horn writes that during the 1950s women were encouraged, with the aid of the burgeoning home-appliance industry, to return to the home to be homemakers and mothers.⁵² This exhortation contrasted sharply with the women's experience in new jobs during the war in their husbands' absence. After the war years, when men were at war and women were given new job opportunities, the Fifties summoned a return to the kitchen and home for the woman, and, for the man, a return to the role of provider and worker. Fifties' design put advanced technology into kitchens, and "real" women, according to Horn, were said to want to do housework.

Popular wisdom held that those who eschewed carpet sweepers, vacuum cleaners, and mops were excessively neurotic, too manly, or lesbian - dire verdicts in a rigidly conformist, sexually repressed decade.⁵³

Women were thus isolated after the Second World War and made to believe in the significance of the difference between the "private" and the "public" spheres.⁵⁴ The romanticization of the home and the rigid division of men and women's roles of all races were reproduced and disseminated through the mass media. Luxton and fellow authors divide the work of women in the home into four categories: "motherwork", "wifework", "housework", and "daughterwork". They find that regardless of whether women have paying jobs, they do the same amount of work in the home as when they are at home full time. Additionally, when women's wages are kept lower than a man's as they were in the 1960s, women will logically stay home while the husband works when a child is born.⁵⁵

Euro-Canadian ideas about women as mothers, homemakers, and workers during the mid-century were applied to native women as they were to non-native women in Canada in order to assimilate them to a specifically post-Victorian idea of female roles. This further exacerbated the formalization of assimilation which had occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century during a specifically Victorian phase of gender relations in the West. Native women's identities were thus falsely manufactured out of the context of their histories and lives and into the context of non-native women's history and living. Native women, however, worked both inside and outside the home; they continued to be mothers and caregivers but their status in these positions was unlike that of a non-native woman's because they resisted the official policies and in private continued to observe native custom rather than following the

government's official perception of Indian history, tradition, and gender roles.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 2

1. J. R. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens. A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 45. Please see this source for an early history of native-white relations.

2. Rayna Green, Women in American Indian Society (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1992), p. 37. Also, Robert Berkhofer, in The White Man's Indian: Images of the Indian from Columbus to the Present. New York: Knopf, distributed by Random House, 1978, cites a description of an Inuit woman as described by Dionyse Settle in Amerigo Vespucci's Mundus Novus (1504-1505): "The oid wretch, whom divers of our saylers supposed to be eyther a devill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were cloven footed, and for her ugly hew and deformity we let her goe".

3. Karen Anderson, Chain Her by One Foot. The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 5.

4. Ibid., p. 4.

5. Miller, p. 43.

6. Daniel Francis, The Imaginary Indian. The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), p. 203.

7. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, The Canadian Indian. Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces. (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975), p. 28.

8. Miller, p. 68. Functions of DIAND underwent change during these years. The first superintendent of Indian Affairs, appointed to the Northern Department in 1755, was Sir William Johnson. From this time until well into the twentieth century, Indian Affairs, which originally had a diplomatic function, were passed regularly from one department to another, clear indication of the confusion about who should be managing aboriginals' lives and how. The first change of authority happened in 1763, when the Commander of the Forces was given jurisdiction over Indian Affairs. Leslie and Maguire, authors of The Historical Development of the Indian Act/ Treaties and Historical Research Centre, PRE Group. 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs. The Centre, 1978), p. 16, confirm that relations between native and non-native cultures were military in nature in the beginning because colonization and control could only be assured through physical means. At the same time, however, cooperation and native aid were sought by the French and English for both war and peace. The Maritimes in the eighteenth century primarily gave support to the French because of ties with Catholic missionaries since the sixteenth century. Perhaps because the military played such a large role in relations with native people, instructions to Governor James Murray from the British Crown in 1763 outlined the need to protect and be good to them. They were not to be abused, and they were to be given gifts provided by the crown in order that their trust and affection be won. The relationship that the Europeans wanted to establish can be seen in the crown's instructions at the time, which add that with good treatment, the Indians might "become good subjects to us". (from The Canadian Indian, p. 6)

9. Green, p. 28-29.

10. Ibid., p. 54.

11. Ibid., p. 46.

12. Some examples of mythologization of the Indian in painting are Benjamin West's "Death of General Wolfe" and Paul Kane's watercolour paintings, among them "The Feather" and "Indian Encampment on Lake Huron", paintings of aboriginal people he encountered during travels through Canada between 1845-1856. (reproduced in Dennis Reid's Concise History of Canadian Painting)

13. Miller, p.45.

14. Ibid., p. 46.

15. Ibid, p. 45.

16. Green, p. 24.

17. Green, p. 50.

18. Ibid., p. 51. The term "squaw" is equivalent to "hag" (from the archaic term, "harpie") or "crone" in English parlance.

19. Green, p. 51.

20. The research methods of Lutz and Collins, p. 89, in their study of National Geographic's photographic portrayal of non-Euro-American people, have been indispensable to my own study.

21. Ibid, p. 25.

22. Leslie, p. 1.

23. Francis, p. 200.

24. Ibid.

25. Francis, p. 8.

26. Ibid., p. 215.

27. Leslie, p. 16.

28. Ibid., p. 1.

29. Ibid., p. 5.

30. Ibid.

31. Francis, p. 215.

32. Ibid., p. 53.

33. Ibid., p. 59.

34. Franz Boas, "Physical Characteristics of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast", Indian Physical Characteristics, Jan. 1891, p. 32.

35. The status of aboriginal women finally changed in 1985. (Francis, p. 201). Before this date, exceptions to status only occurred in the following instances: the illegitimate children of Indian women would have status unless the father was non-Indian. Illegitimate children of non-Indian women would not have status even if the father did. Also, children whose mothers were not Indian prior to marriage would lose Indian status at the age of twenty one. In 1982, DIAND conducted a review of the Indian Act and critically analyzed the instances of sex discrimination within it. One of its propositions was that the government officially alter laws relating to status and then proceed to control all related issues fairly. Alternately, all decisions and laws related to native people would be controlled by them.

36. Quotation by Duncan Campbell Scott taken from Francis, p. 209.

37. Lonna M. Malmshemer "Imitation White Man": Image of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School" Studies in Visual Anthropology. (Vol 11, no 4, Fall 1985), p. 59

38. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Statement of Indian Policy, Government of Canada on Indian Policy. (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969), p. 8. Following the passing of the Indian Act, it became clear that native populations were plagued with serious health problems. Smallpox, measles, and tuberculosis spread. (Catherine Bailey, "The Medicine Chest Clause", The Archivist, Vol 20, no 1, 1993.) Finally in 1904 a medical inspector was added to the staff of the Department. The first travelling field nurses were dispatched by the department in 1922. They taught child care and hygiene to native women in the hopes of lowering infant mortality. As an illustration of the fluctuating importance of aboriginal people in the eyes of the government, in 1936, the Indian Affairs Branch became a part of the Health Services portion of the Department of Mines and Resources. By 1945 it had been transferred once again, this time to Health and Welfare, and four years later, to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

39. Francis, p. 205.

40. Ibid., p. 207

41. Francis, p. 57.

42. Statement of Indian Policy, p. 20.

43. Ibid.

44. The Canadian Indian, p. 29.

45. Davison, Jane, The Fall of A Doll's House: Three Generations of American Women and the Houses they Lived In. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), p. 13.

46. Luxton, Meg, Harriet Rosenberg and Sedef Arat-Koc, Through the Kitchen Window - The Politics of Home and Family. 2nd enlarged edition. (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1990), p. 133.

47. Davison, p. 13-14. It is vital to remember that Europe and North America were not models for all the world in this mothering role of women. In many countries, siblings did and still do raise children and men played and play different roles in the home from those of American men.

48. Ibid., p. 63.

49. Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality An Introduction Vol 1. (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), p. 104.

50. Foucault, p. 120

51. Ibid., p. 104, 107. Justification for the degrading ethnographic photograph would have been found in a parallel argument.

52. During the 1950s and 1960s, women's work and income helped to provide necessities for middle-class living, but D'Ann Campbell, author of Women at War With America - Private Lives in a Patriotic Era. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984, writes that most women who were entering the work force were either single or over the age of 45, having already raised a family.

53. Horn, p. 28.

54. The authors of Through the Kitchen Window, argue that the notion of separate spheres has been used to control women, but that, as myth would have it, the home is not a private fortress. The home does not, they write, relegate women, by virtue of women's "nature", to the home and to children, but rather, it is "a sieve, open to all the excesses of industrial development". (Luxton, p. 123)

55. Luxton, p. 31.

CHAPTER 3 PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICES AND THE DEPICTION OF NATIVE WOMEN IN NATIONAL ARCHIVES COLLECTIONS

In their photographic collections, DIAND and the NFB depicted the theme of work in their photographs of native people as they observed it to be. The portrayed way of life, however, had been coerced into being in the first place by European colonizers by the mid-nineteenth century. In this chapter, the role of photography in the representation of aboriginal people will be explored first through a brief history of the use of photography in ethnographic practices and then through other examples of the photographic representation of Canadian aboriginal societies. The history and mandate of the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), whose illustration of native Canadian women in the twentieth century was directed by entrenched stereotypes and heavily influenced by the treatment and status of all women in Canada during and after the Second World War, will be addressed. The use of photographs by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), will be discussed in a parallel fashion.

My intention in the pages that follow, is to show how the relationship of dominance and subordination between the government and aboriginal women as seen through official photographs evolved from traditional and stereotypical portrayals to ones which highlight the government's goals of assimilation. Such later images made aboriginal women into the image of white women. Their own identities and

histories were rejected and they were re-named as "whiter" and therefore, as somewhat "acceptable". In the years following the Fifties, aboriginals have spoken out in defense of their rights and women have been "naming themselves". Past visual renderings of native culture by non-native culture reveal how white Canadians perceived white women and thus all women. They do not speak about aboriginal women's lives between 1940 and 1960.

3.1 The visual representation of aboriginal people

Until the 1830's, painting and writing were the primary media used by artists and writers when interpreting their visions of native life and character. Photography, which for a century after its invention was heralded as a medium that portrayed the lived experience, was made available commercially in 1839, and was introduced into Canada in 1841 as a scientific method of reproducing a visual impression so factual that it could be treated as legal evidence. The relationship between photographer as expert and gentleman, and subject as uncomprehending pawn, was one of privilege versus inferiority. For natives, the photographer/subject relationship extended past former relations of power and continued the manipulation of native identity by photographer and government official.¹

The evolution of photographic processes meant that both formal portraiture and difficult outdoor expeditions became more feasible for the photographer. The commissioned portrait for the privileged was also a

primary function of the early photograph. Historians Greenhill and Birrell, authors of Canadian Photography 1839-1920, write that the daguerreotype brought portraiture within the reach of all, and rendered the miniature painting and the silhouette obsolete.² The earliest photographic images were made through one-of-a-kind processes controlled by the expert. These graduated to processes that were reproducible, but only by the expert, and finally to images that could be produced and copied by the amateur. These were the ancestors of today's methods. (See Appendix A) Throughout the development of these processes, photographers depicted aboriginals in ways that mirrored popular myth and that employed the new methods to their full potential in order to enhance these myths.

3.2 Photography and ethnography

Since its inception, photography has been employed in the ethnographic study of native cultures to act as testimony to expiring tradition. During the second half of the nineteenth century, record-keeping, observation, and scientific and institutional practices changed and developed, and the ascendancy of photography as a visual communication medium coincided with new faith in the authenticity of evidence. As the Industrial Revolution proceeded, social institutions required and used these new, ostensibly less subjective methods of surveillance and record-keeping in order to precipitate social change.

The development of new regulatory and disciplinary apparatuses was closely linked, throughout the nineteenth century, to the formation of new social and anthropological sciences--criminology, certainly, but also psychiatry, comparative anatomy, germ theory, sanitation, and so on . . . ³

The social world was the object of all interests, and photography offered a verisimilitude to reality, rendered seemingly by machine. Conveniently, ethnographic photography named and labelled subjects, relegating them to a status of inferiority and curiosity, establishing visual "proof" of difference and hierarchy, and reinforcing existing power structures, writes Francis.⁴

Ethnographers and anthropologists who dealt with the description of cultures and even the medical profession used photographs to illustrate their findings about native people in their effort to delineate cultural differences. In fact, scientists sometimes bribed the poor, the criminal and the insane so that they might take anthropometric photographs in which the subjects had their heads measured and then were photographed from all angles.⁵ The fact that experienced photographers sometimes approached their subjects with gifts and payment in hand, indicates that the practice was morally questionable and not readily accepted by those to be made subjects of study.⁶ Tagg writes that the frequently used rigid and frontal photograph "signified the bluntness and 'naturalness' of a culturally unsophisticated class and had a history which predated photography".⁷ By the 1880s, frontality defined subjects as socially unequal, the observed and supervised, inmates, those

of low class, and the insane. Deviation from the standard frontality in photos of native women might indicate then, not that the photographer had more respect for native women, but rather that his particular aesthetic interest may have led to a less scientific, though possibly more sexually objectified, portrayal of the native female subject. Lack of frontality would not have precluded, thus, the medicalization of women's bodies about which Foucault speaks.

The caption in photography often confirms the opinion and intent of the photographer and reveals the extent of his or her manipulation of the meaning of the image. The caption may make a statement that is untrue in order that the subjective opinion of the one wielding the camera be justified. Historically, in the eyes of a viewer of non-native ancestry, difference frequently denotes inequality. In the past, native subjects have often been depicted for non-native audiences without correct, adequate - or, sometimes, any - identification. The subject is thereby made to appear all the more foreign and perhaps inhuman and inferior in the eyes of the audience by not being permitted a name, identity or place. Also, the subject is made to act as an example of a "type" in order to establish scientific typologies for racist cultures.

At the same moment that some photographs of the turn of the century suggested that aboriginal people, like children, were innocent and untouched by modernity, the belief in the superiority of the industrial age and civilization evident in other images suggested that native cultures were responsible for their own poverty of mind and body. Treated as

children and misfits, they were under continual government surveillance, which, in the eyes of their white masters, was quite justified: "It was for their own good that officials treated them like children, at least until they had acquired the skills and habits appropriate to modern society",⁸ writes Francis. Many serious ethnographic pictures were romanticized, but others appear to have been taken without the consent of the subjects who appear to be unhappy and clearly suffering from what, to a non-native, would be extreme poverty and deprivation. The activities of ethnographers, historians, educators, scientists, writers and artists during this time supported the notions that photographers chose to depict in their work.⁹

The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1906 cited Canada as being rife with unsolved ethnological problems.¹⁰ American anthropologists like James Tait, Robert Lowie, William Jones and others regularly used Canada as their anthropological laboratory. The methods and writings of Franz Boas, German scholar and ethnographer, were particularly influential in the early twentieth century in Canada, and, indeed, throughout North America. Boas examined and recorded the physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual characteristics of various native bands in Canada, especially on the West Coast and in the North. He noted the importance of studying culture according to geographic location, because influences from outside America and from within affected different areas at different rates.¹¹

Ethnographic photographers varied in their approaches to their

native subjects. The ethnographic perspective often took the form of medical, scientific, and statistical research recorded through the use of photographs. The overt message was still that non-European cultures were different and in need of improvement. This would be achieved through categorization, collection, analysis, and rational explanation. The earliest photographs taken of aboriginal people in Canada reveal that photographers depicted individual native men and women in respectful diplomatic mode in commissioned portraits, while others adhered to popular stereotypes and the expectations of the viewing public. Some of the first-known images of native subjects were Humphrey Lloyd Hime's photographs from the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine expeditions in 1858, which marked only the second occasion on which the Canadian Government used photography to record its work.¹² Professor Henry Youle Hind, leader of the expedition, felt that "photography could provide a most accurate record of places and things".¹³ By this time, photography had become the primary means of recording what was perceived as the lived experience. Amateur photographers, private entrepreneurs and official government institutions had begun to use photography to "capture" the image and thereby, the "nature" of the people who were native to the Western Continent. Dawson's early photographs of the Haida on the Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia portrayed men and boys exclusively; Haida women refused to approach the camera until 1876 after which they became frequent subjects of Dawson's work.¹⁴

3.3 Ethnographic and stereotypical photos of women from the National Archives Collections

What follows is a representative selection of examples from early Canadian ethnographic photography that illustrate the dominant trends in the portrayal of native women. Two of the most interesting early photographs taken of a native woman were made by a Frenchman, Paul-Emile Miot in Newfoundland in 1856-1857.¹⁵ (fig. 1 and 2) While visiting the East Coast, Miot photographed a Mi'kmaq woman standing against the side of his ship. In the one photo, she faces the camera, fully dressed and in three-quarter view, and in the second, her stance is the same but she holds the fabric on her blouse to expose her left breast, which she has clearly been asked to do. Her frontality exposes and objectifies her as "prisoner", and the image bears strong resemblance to early photographic records by European police departments of criminals and the insane. A spark of confrontation registers in her eyes. It is not known whether she was paid to pose for the camera in such a way. The scientific purpose of the photograph masks the invasion of the woman's privacy of mind and body. The woman is thus examined under an academic pretext, but the image is, in fact, no more than thinly disguised voyeurism.¹⁶ In fact, nineteenth-century interests in classification of racial difference would have included the examination and recording of sexual practice and physical appearance, but the nature of certain photographs indicates their spurious intent.

Through the medium of the photograph, women were quickly

rendered available to the male gaze. An example of this is Hime's "Letitia - A Cree Half-Breed", taken in 1858.¹⁷ In the photograph, the woman reclines under a tree, and, a wholly intentional pose that would have been considered provocative and inappropriate for a white woman, is here displayed for the male gaze.¹⁸ The image of woman as Medieval madwoman abounded in Victorian photography of the Pre-Raphaelite school but was nevertheless a negative one, since she was associated with the downfall of men, attracting the gaze of the voyeur and consumer. Due to the ethnocentric emphasis on difference, physical beauty would often have been perceived by a racist viewer as a salve that somewhat reduced the misfortune of the female subject of aboriginal heritage.

Hannah Maynard, who started as a photographer in Victoria in 1862, took many interesting photos of native subjects in British Columbia. "Washerwoman" and "Haida Mary", were both created for an audience of the same race and class as the photographer's own. Backdrops were chosen not to contextualize the sitter, but to create a setting which would satisfy the whims of the photographer or client in terms of expectations about native women or men.¹⁹

Two Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Collections (1973-357 and 1974-366) contain photos dating from 1917 to 1957 and are preserved by the National Archives of Canada. The photographs in the "Burwash album" of the 1920s, named after its photographer, Burwash, depict Inuit people and scenes from the Arctic. Images are often without identification and reveal an ethnographic

perspective, since the subjects are photographed frontally and in profile, in manners that most accentuate their facial features. One must question whether they posed willingly. Such albums illustrate the bias of artist and writer.²⁰ In the Burwash album, one photo of a young girl is given the caption: "child (girl) - Quarter bred negress - Depot Island - June, 1926". Another image is completed by the caption: "1926 - Native woman and two half-breeds".²¹ This has the effect of portraying the subject as ignorant, since he or she is the object of scrutiny, and as unfortunate and condemned, since in the 1930s in the eyes of white culture, he or she could belong neither to one culture nor to the other.

Approaching the photography of native subjects in a way similar to Boas and other physical anthropologists, Henry Leeson, a commercial photographer of the 1800s,²² depicted men, women and children from British Columbia from various angles and with derogatory captions that reveal both his contempt for them and his misunderstanding of their way of life. A photograph of an elderly woman and a child entitled "Youth and Beauty"(fig 3) and another called "The Village Belle"(fig 4) appear to be ironic captions and reveal that Leeson did not respect his subjects as equals or even as individuals, but as fodder for his art-inspired inventions. Leeson, unlike Boas, did not make any effort to justify his approach, since he followed evolutionary beliefs. His methods were, according to caption and photograph, intended to illustrate physical, and thus intellectual, "inferiority". The image named "Longest Head in B.C." illustrates this (fig 5). (Boas, on the other hand, undertook purely statistical methods of study,

and he did not propose that the results matched any intellectual or spiritual parallels in the individual's life or society).

An example outside the NFB of stereotypical photographic representation of aboriginal people comes from the collection of Indianophile Ernest Thompson Seton, who, between approximately 1918 and 1940, tried to live and to teach other American middle-class non-natives how to live like "the Red Man". (fig 6) In the images from this "cult of the Indian", non-native people of all ages are dressed in feather headdresses, loincloths and moccasins and strike poses and imitate behaviour that was then associated with the nobility of "the Indian" (fig 7 and 8). Seton, who led a movement which lauded nature lore, outdoor activities, and so-called Indian lifestyle and behaviour, praised the virtues of safely-extinguished aboriginal cultures. In a treatise he entitled The Gospel of the Red Man²³, Seton described the ideal behaviour of all Americans as emulating the honourable behaviour of the "noble Indian". Photos show that, while dressed as Indian princesses, white women were permitted to wear short skirts without incident even though in the early years of the "Woodcrafters" (forerunners of the Boy Scouts), floor-length dresses were in vogue. Miller writes that white women, much to the dismay of many Euro-Canadian peers, followed the example of the aboriginal woman in adopting the short skirt.²⁴

Edward Curtis, in the text and captions that accompanied the photographs in his twenty-volume publication, The North American Indian, referred to Native Americans as "The Vanishing Race". In order to

ensure that the aestheticized portrait was sustained by the appropriate romantic narrative, he asked sitters who wore modern clothing to don the costumes and wigs which he carried with him on his photographic expeditions (1907-1930).²⁵ What resulted were visually appealing but fictional images that masqueraded as documentation. The creation of fiction that was to be labelled as documentary had surely much to do with a need on the part of non-native people to deny or atone for wrongs done to the First Peoples even as such wrongs continued to occur. This approach was also linked to the popularity, during the Imperialist era, of escapist romance novels, poetry and images, and a fascination with ethnicity and exoticism. The issue of a vanishing race, writes Francis, was especially appealing subject matter for artists and photographers who could feel that they were preserving the race. He states: "Artists ignored evidence of native adaptation to White civilization and highlighted traditional lifestyles".²⁶

The David Ewens collection includes an Industrial School Album. It provides an excellent example of the forced alteration of native appearance and lifestyle in a photograph of the student body of a school sitting before the building. The girls, dressed in frocks, sit in the front (fig 9). This album shows numerous photographs of children after their "transformation" to, it is suggested, moral and physical betterment. Lonna Malmsheimer, author of an essay about photographs that depict transformation at the Carlisle Indian School, writes that the body and manners of dress and behaviour are so essential to individuality that when

they are forcibly changed, they represent transformation of the soul and of identity.²⁷ She illustrates her discussion with photographs that show how clothing, hair, attitude, stance and pose, and even darkness or lightness of skin have undergone change from one photograph to the next. She explains that photos taken in these schools were used as propaganda, sold as cartes-de-visite and post-cards, included in travelling exhibitions, and generally treated as evidence. These are images of transformation in action since they show how young girls and boys are being processed. Girls are taught to sew and cook, and Victorian feminine ideals are imposed upon them. As grown women, these girls will be seen in NFB and DIAND photographs of the twentieth century, living the roles of non-native mother and homemaker. These roles were taught to them in industrial schools where, as children, they were told not to forget their own cultures but also not to forget that these cultures were inferior. Having destroyed many aspects of native culture, white society, Francis writes, began to admire its success in having recreated a culture.²⁸ Through photography, art, literature and the movies, whites had transformed themselves into the saviours of the Indians.

3.4 A history of the government's use of photography as a tool of control

The DIAND photographs, taken between 1950 and 1970, were probably intended, first of all, to be seen by employees of the department, since the collection appears to have been made for internal administrative purposes. The purpose of the images was to document the successful work

of DIAND with respect to the transformation of aboriginals from "primitive" to "civilized". In some cases, they were probably included in short photo essays as well, and published in the Department's periodical, The Indian News, which was first issued in August 1954 by DIAND's Indian Affairs Branch and circulated to reserves throughout the country. Evidence of this is contained in the final folder of the collection in which a story about "transformation" is documented and illustrated with photos of the people who, in early photos, are shown as students in a classroom, and, in later shots, are employed at their respective jobs following graduation from school. Response was probably positive, since in the Indian News, such stories would have encouraged others with interests in education. The actual effect, however, is unknown.

NFB images were made for mass media diffusion to the public during the 1940s and 1950s and were very popular in their photostory format.²⁹ As photos accompanied by an essay or caption, the photostory was inserted into newspapers or reprinted in magazines, books, textbooks and distributed as informational fliers, mostly for educational purposes. The NFB's images were thus seen in Canada and all over the world since they were distributed world-wide by the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs. They were published in photostories, books, magazines and newspapers. DIAND's photographs were possibly included in Annual Reports and pamphlets issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In the twentieth century, photography became an important weapon in the government's continuing campaign to suggest that all women's lives

and manner of work were the same throughout Canada. In the 1930s, technological innovations accelerated, and new cameras, development, film techniques, layout, graphics, printing presses, etc., became available. A new style and approach to promotion, distribution and finance took place. "Such innovations changed the basis of political communication and made publicity central to the political process".³⁰ Documentary took on new meaning even as it was created as a genre, and the documentary form became the "politically mobilized rhetoric of Truth".³¹ The Heroic Mold developed for this genre carried with it authority and was achieved through the manipulation of light, shadow, and framing of the image. Perceived as documenting truth, images that recorded culture did not need necessarily to be taken by professionals and would still reflect fact. According to Andrew Rodger, this Heroic Mold was the same before the Second World War for public photos the world over.

For these two collections,³² the departments hired primarily professional photographers from various fields and with varying interests to shoot assignments. Results are therefore consistent in the arrangement and framing of the subject. Using photography, the government intended to illustrate a unifying transformation throughout the country. In this the orientation of the two institutions differed somewhat. DIAND's impulse was to fulfill departmental interests and mandates with regard to the management of native communities in Canada by displaying its success in the transformation of people from "uncivilized" to "civilized" and educated, while the NFB attempted to recognize cultural diversity through

established stereotypes by presenting positive and inspirational images of all of Canada's people regardless of race, class, and gender. The NFB's goal was to idealize through the written word as well as through visual imagery in order to assure acceptance of those who were portrayed and to speed the unification and recuperation of Canadians after Second World War. However, minimal understanding of the customs and traditions of non-Euro-Canadians, the perceived need to uphold perceptions about various races, and the absence of participation of ethnic minorities in the production of NFB and DIAND photographs and their presentation were factors that contributed to the misrepresentation of culture.

3.5 The National Film Board

Examination of the NFB's mandate as well as of John Grierson's personal legacy as its first director, reveals the more specific motivations for its depiction of native women.³³ Under the leadership of John Grierson, formerly of Britain's Empire Marketing Board (EMB), the National Film Board arose from the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau which had been founded in 1918. Grierson's years with the NFB signalled an era in Canadian film and photography during which more efficient education and hard work were encouraged so that all Canadians might adapt to their rapidly altering social surroundings. Inspirational still and moving images depicting scenes of peace and industriousness in Canada were to be the vehicle towards achieving unification and a sense of nationhood among the people.³⁴

When the NFB became part of the Wartime Information Board in 1939, Grierson, acting as the NFB's first commissioner, chose the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau as the site for a new Canadian film industry that would secure the Dominion to Britain. At the same time, he took over the Still Division, then located in Ottawa and already keeper of thousands of photographs of scenes of Canadians in their country. With the support of Prime Minister MacKenzie King, the NFB was formed in hopes that propagandist links through film would assure U.S. protection during the upcoming war. A left-wing, self-defined propagandist with firm belief in the people before all else,³⁵ Grierson was most concerned with civil order and education. He stated: "I have been for a long time interested in propaganda and it is as a propagandist I have been from the first interested in films".³⁶ After Grierson coined the term "documentary", the genre became even more respected for the aesthetic qualities it could offer as well as for what its audience perceived as its authenticity. The documentary was then seen as a reflection of the world and not as a tool of analysis.³⁷

In its early years, NFB employees included Canadians as well as people from outside the country. Because the former had virtually no knowledge of film, well-established, mainly British film-makers were hired to fill vital posts. As a result, Grierson was able to impose his views about film-making; he also had the vested authority to do so. At the same time, the Still Division's integration into the Board meant that its mandate had to parallel that of the film division: before the war both

projects were to glorify the Empire; during the war, they encouraged the war effort, and after the war, their approach aided Canadians in recuperating from wartime losses by providing them with positive images of their fellow countrymen and encouraging the concept of independence from the Empire. As Canada moved from post-First World War prosperity to the Depression years and to the relative stability and recuperation after the Second World War, women were encouraged through various authoritative bodies or ideological state apparatuses such as the National Film Board, to be devoted to their work, which, they were told, could well be the salvation of the country in times of hardship. Dedication to family and the home were stressed when economic stability reigned, and participation in the war effort as well as support of family and men abroad were stressed when it did not. Nelson writes that two goals of the organization, that remained primary throughout these years were to delineate the "necessity" of the colonial structure and to stress the importance of labour.³⁸ She argues, as do Lutz and Collins with respect to National Geographic Magazine photographs, that in the NFB, support of colonial power is apparent in the ways that racial, class and gender oppression are disguised and justified.

Grierson, in formulating his mandate, seemed to refer to the phrase "manufacture of consent"³⁹, coined by Walter Lippmann in 1925. Lippmann believed, as did Grierson later, that the public required instruction and direction in how to process, understand and use the quantities of new information that were being funnelled through the

media. The "bewildered herd . . . [was to be made into an] . . . interested [spectator] of action"⁴⁰, and this necessitated the manipulation of fact by film, photography and writing. In 1931, non-white Canadian workers comprised one-fifth of the work force in the country. Nelson writes that they were, as autonomous individuals, perceived as a threat to the established order. Nelson and Langford both indicate that the National Film Board, in lingering reaction to this fact, used films and stills featuring Canada's native people and other ethnic cultures to establish that a group philosophy and structure - in other words, assimilation - were preferable to individual identity and thought.⁴¹ Canada's ethnic groups, however, emulating French Canada's example, continued to insist on autonomy. NFB still photographs nevertheless portray them as a unity and emphasize traditional lifestyles, disregarding individuals' or communities' accomplishments. Although it is not known what members of the different ethnic groups in Canada thought of NFB photographs, the images in general are said to have been extremely popular throughout the country because of their positive and encouraging visual stance on all subjects and their positive, assertive language in captions.

Control of Canadians' perception of cultures and of world events by the NFB continued throughout the war years. The treatment of Jews in Europe, the reality of internment camps and Nazism, actions of the Third Reich, Canada's refusal of Jewish immigrants, labour disputes, the disciplining of those who supported unions, and the fear of communism or "The Red Menace", all went unaddressed.⁴² Instead, emphasis in film

and photo was on peace and the common man, on happiness and labour. Two films, *The Strategy of Metals* (1941) and *In Smoke and Steel* (1943), documented the mechanization of work and the nation's dedication to production. One of many such examples of Canadian workers in the NFB still photography collection is a portrait of P. E. Caron of Montreal, who, as Gateman, announces train schedules over a Public Address System at Windsor Station.⁴³ Taken from a low vantage, the towering figure of Caron fills the frame and nobly looks to the distance for oncoming trains. He is admirably made to fulfill his position of simple but honourable worker. Native men and women who held parallel positions to those of white workers, are shown in a similar way as is illustrated by a DIAND photo of maintenance electrician Leo Day. Such a modern image of a native figure does not occur in the NFB photographs discussed here (fig. 10).

Grierson justified his avoidance, as a film-maker, of all controversy that might have originated from human rights claims or ideas of individual worth, through the use of "Voice of Authority Narration" which, in film, comprised narration by a male voice that, by its measured tone and neighbourly but authoritarian persuasion was popularly understood to be infallible. In still images the written caption evokes this same brand of propaganda. This approach was used for decades following Grierson's departure from the Board in 1945.⁴⁴

3.6 Native woman at work

During the Depression, writes George Woodcock, nearly one quarter of Canadian workers were unemployed at once. Due to militant strategies, unions developed. By the 1940s, more than one million workers were organized, and the process of collective bargaining was functioning.⁴⁵ The theme of women working took on prominence in the 1930s and 1940s partly because the government wanted to promote work as a profitable option for native people and to portray native people and their managers as working in Industrial Age settings that were approved of by the non-native audience and thus demonstrated the success of government programs. This, it appears, was a tactic to create public support, through moral approval, for Canadian native communities and for the government's policies of directed assimilation. For DIAND at this time, morality and work seemed to become synonymous where aboriginal people were concerned, as illustrated by a photograph of a young seamstress named Lola Tobonandung (fig 11). Her work is overseen by an older non-native woman, but, more significantly, a sign with the following inscription hangs above her head:

Is it the hand of carefulness?
 Or the hand of carelessness?
 Is it the hand of Industry?
 Or the hand of laziness?
 Is it the hand of accuracy?
 Or the hand of Mistakes?

In great contrast to this image, a 1940's NFB photograph of women working is entitled "Squaws and children taking over household duties"

(fig 12) and shows women chopping wood and caring for children in a scene of great poverty where living conditions are not addressed in the caption. In contrast to the stereotype of "squaw", the image of the native woman at work, usually in the role of mother, homemaker, and worker in the home, may have been a positive rendering of the image of a woman in a certain age group that was also specific to 1940s to 1960s depictions. The positive connotation of work and the native woman has also, however, in some instances been manufactured as a stereotype: one that replaces her Indianness and transforms her into the ideal image of the white mother or worker. In one DIAND image which resembles the format of NFB photographs and may originate with the NFB, an image of several native women states that they are "benefitting" from a home economics course taught to them by white women (fig 13).

3.7 The NFB after Grierson

Post-war photos, done in Grierson's style despite his departure, illustrate the courage with which Canadians were said to have participated in the war and the speed and intensity with which they recovered from it. Examples of NFB photos documenting "Rehabilitation Cases" are positive, since they depict wounded men usually recovering in hospital and accompanied by a friendly nurse. Others show men who have overcome their injuries or handicaps to become accomplished in new ways in their lives.⁴⁶

My study deals with photos produced in the 1940s through 1960s.

D. B. Jones, author of Movies and Memoranda, argues that it is impossible to write about documentary art in Canada without devoting chapters to Canada's National Film Board⁴⁷, since the NFB wielded absolute power over the motion picture industry in Canada to such an extent that no film could be proposed, developed, or shown without approval and involvement by the NFB's directors. Films made by the Board were distributed to each province and used for educational purposes just as still photographs were distributed through photostories in newspapers and magazines and in school textbooks. The targeted audience was therefore the entire country, although youth were a primary target group through the educational system.⁴⁸ During a 1952 hearing in the House of Commons, the Report stated that

... the production and distribution of films and other visual aids by the NFB are playing vital roles in developing a national consciousness in Canada and in projecting the image of Canadians abroad and [the government] commends the Board on its adherence to the principle of producing films designed primarily to interpret Canada to Canadians and to other nations.⁴⁹

During the minutes of proceedings and evidence of May 8th, 1952, Government Film Commissioner Mr. W.A. Irwin stated the following: "A nation is more than a geographical area. As Canada has proved, it may be more than a single racial group. A nation is a set of values, a belief, a common body of thought".⁵⁰ In the eyes of their makers, the NFB films portrayed both oneness and difference or diversity. It would therefore appear to follow that "interpretation", and therefore subjectivity, must have formed part of the mandate. Between 1957 and 1958, tighter editing was

enforced as well as a reduction in the number of NFB photos taken per assignment. In 1960, Lorraine Monk took over NFB and encouraged contemporary artistic photography. Books were published and exhibitions scheduled and all good artistic photography was put in a special category. Today, this material comprises the foundation of the collection of the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography.

After the war, the Board also sought to glorify the beauty of the family - especially the white family - an interest which doubtless mirrored actual hopes and sought to encourage family unity and wholesomeness. Countless images depict "ideal families" that act as proof that a certain class and its priorities were to be most admired. One photo's caption reads: "An average Canadian family, complete with family pet".⁵¹ In it we see three young women and a young man grouped around their middle-class father and mother. The family dog sits next to the mother's knee. The photo is intended to act as an example of a model family, but, ironically, its subjects appear to be sullen as well as artificially posed. A similarly idealized photograph taken by Citizenship and Immigration and shown in the DIAND collection, portrays Donat Savard, who is native, and his family (fig. 14). Most "Model" native families portrayed by the NFB, however, are far more "traditional". One such example is entitled "A popular family" (fig 15), and a second, which depicts a poor mother and her children is entitled "Typical of the Lac La Rouge District" (fig 16). The message is that such people should aspire to "improvement"; the NFB, however, apparently chose not to depict aboriginal people who already lived contemporary lifestyles.

In 1945 the numbering of photos from the Still Division began, and the photostory emerged as an effective means for the NFB to show Canadians and the world its material. In the 1950s and 1960s, the photostory was included in weekend supplements to newspapers, and in any magazine, school or other book, catalogue or illustrated newsletter in Canada.¹² According to Langford, it was hugely popular in its time. "It covered with freshness and intimacy the world's return to normality after the war and boosted the emergence of post-war industry, cultural events, and personalities".¹³ Since its tone was cheerful, and each story was composed of five or six shots accompanied by a caption or short essay and printed on a sheet about 8 x 22 inches, it was adaptable to various contexts. Internationally, it was tremendously effective advertizing for Canada, (although not good quality advertizing according to archivist, Andrew Rodger¹⁴), since it was sent to all newspapers and magazines in the country, and Foreign Affairs sent it around the world up to fifty-six times a year. Those publications that received the photostories were free to use the material as an insert or in other ways. In this manner, the NFB distributed stories about aboriginal people, and biased views about them, around the world.

Richard Horn, in Fifties Style Then and Now, says that the decade's "blatant racism",¹⁵ Cold War tension and "stifling conformism" are forgotten in favour of its economic prosperity and building of consumer culture. With shorter working hours and increased mechanization there was more leisure time and higher salaries. Photographs and accompanying

captions from this time, however, indicate that while Euro-Canadians enjoyed their prosperous lifestyle, aboriginal people still had to prove themselves through work in order to be "approved" by photo and caption. After the war, immigrants were once again welcomed into the country, and assimilation was expected.*

Despite some improving interventions, neglect during the wars and the Depression brought about the worsening of life on reserves. Woodcock writes that unskilled workers of whatever ethnicity experienced dire poverty, and this included native people on isolated reserves. An NFB photo entitled "disgraceful home on a reserve" illustrates this (fig. 17) but more clearly reveals the negative attitude that existed towards aboriginal hardship. The "Indian problem" was a term used to describe such conditions. Assimilation was deemed by the government to be the solution, and it required that native men and women be molded into the forms of their non-native neighbours. Presumably, native people were expected to adopt new ideas and ways at the same rate of change that non-native Canadians did. The NFB series entitled "Full-blooded Indians in their modern kitchen" (fig 18) is an example, as is DIAND's caption accompanying a group of girl students playing, which states: "the Indians, with practically no exception, welcome integration"(fig. 19).

3.8 Ethnographic photography in the 1950s

In contrast to the representation of native people that affirmed their successful assimilation into non-native society, old-fashioned practices of

ethnographic photography by anthropologists and amateur photographers persisted and gained approval in scientific communities in North America.⁵⁷ For example, Arthur Tweedle, an optometrist and photographer, seems to have followed the Colliers' approach during the 1950s, when he took frames, similar to those of Leeson, of Inuit people's heads and bodies, sometimes nude, in order to show their traits or anomalies. His photographs of women seem to indicate his lack of respect for them and assert his role as manager of those whom he perceived to be subordinate to him.⁵⁸ The images suggest oppression or at best an analytical bent lacking compassion, and the captions usually only reinforced this. Through photographs like these, native people are made into laboratory artifacts during their own lifetimes, becoming objects of scientific scrutiny. The images are never portraits *per se*. Tweedle's and other's studies, however, may have resulted in improved health care for inhabitants of northern communities.⁵⁹

The administration of Indian affairs in Canada since 1755, and the actions of the NFB in this century, indicate and reflect how official institutions and the government have perceived Canada's aboriginal people. They have been seen as a "problem" but not one with human qualities. With the transferral of responsibility for them from such departments as the military, to health, to immigration, one can trace the evolution of attitudes towards and about native people. At times they were feared; at other times, seen with condescension, and, ironically, they were frequently romanticized as well. Later, official institutions recognized their difficulties

but not their identities.

For women, the importance of work outside the home, and the need for devotion to family, alternate as prominent images in photographic collections during the interwar and post-war years.⁶⁰ Many photos in the NFB and DIAND collections depict, almost as a warning, women living in poverty or in ways alien to non-native living standards and customs. Other photographs seek to display for the viewer a portrait of native women as assimilated and successful and therefore happy, i.e. both negative and positive reinforcement. Each collection is its own form of propaganda, coloured by the department's personal mandate with respect to Indian affairs.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 3

1. This relationship was not unlike the one between the male artist and connoisseur and female subject or model.
2. A. Birrell and R. Greenhill, Canadian Photography 1839-1920, (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1979), p. 26.
3. Tagg, p. 5.
4. Francis, p. 103. At this time, British and American governments were creating ethnological museums which displayed "Indian relics" from the cabinets of curiosities belonging to such collectors as Canadian painter, Paul Kane, and traders and explorers. Such a museum display offered an educational and intellectual setting in which to depict the "Imaginary Indian", Francis writes.
5. Margaret B. Blackman, "Copying People": North West Coast Native Response to Early Photography", B.C. Studies, p. 104.
6. To illustrate that this practice did not end with the early years of this century, and that it was extended even to the most privileged in the early 1900s and until the 1960s, "posture photos" were taken of U.S. Ivy League college students for the use of physical anthropologists.
7. Tagg, p. 36.
8. Francis, p. 217.
9. See Tagg, p. 6-8, for a discussion of Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses and the role of the institution in the emplacement of race, class, and gender difference.
10. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. (London: Trubner and Co., 1872-1906) Vol. XL, 1906, p. 529.
11. Ibid., p. 530. Boas wrote about native Canadians, and about all non-European people, as being as human as people of European origin. This made Boas' book, Race, Language, and Culture, a target for Nazi book-burning in the 1940s and made him unique as a thinker in his own time. Although Boas opposed ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism without exception, he succumbed to the romanticization of Native Americans when he wrote that they were capable of affecting one through "emotional appeals". In another instance, he discredited the word "primitive" but then explained that the only difference between "advanced" and "primitive" societies was that the former's esthetic approach was more complex, since the culture had such a variety of interests and a superior quality of experience. Despite his intentions, dominant ethnographic thought and popular ideologies dictated his thinking. The ethics of his methods of research may also be said to conflict with his opposition to the dehumanization of human beings. (Refer to the discussion of surveillance of the "other" in chapter on theory). When he published his treatise on Indian Physical Characteristics in 1891, he had taken measurements of 263 aboriginal people. "Only a short series of measurements of each individual was taken, such as could be made by the removal of only a small portion of the clothing". Charts and graphs documented fifteen bodily measurements: finger reach, height of the seventh vertebra, length and width of head, distance from root of

nose to mouth, height and width of nose and others. Age and gender were considered, and differences in traits as they occurred between the sexes, between same-sex individuals, and between bands were duly noted. Though not a photographer, Boas and other ethnographers, travellers, and photographers were fascinated with ethnic difference and with varying portrayals of men and women. These inevitably caused native individuals of unlike origins, preferences, beliefs, and practices to be judged, valued, and categorized according to standards upon which European nations ruled their subjects and treated them according to race, class, and gender. Boas at least did not profess to adhere to an evolutionist perspective as did his greatest opponent at the time, Mason. In fact, Boas brought anthropology out of the evolutionist perspective and moved it in the direction of history after the nineteenth century, when support was given to social Darwinism and ideas about the survival of the fittest.

12. Richard Huyda, Camera in the Interior, 1858. H.L. Hime, Photographer (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1975), p. 5-6. The first instance of Canada's use of photography for official recording purposes was in 1857, when a Hamilton photographer was paid by the Provincial Secretary to create a series of views of the Great Desjardins Canal Railway Disaster. The U.S. and other governments, according to Huyda, used photography for official purposes as early as 1852.

13. *Ibid.*, p.6.

14. Blackman, Copying People, p. 92. In Edward Dossetter's 1881 works depicting Haida men and women, the men and Chiefs who are photographed face the camera directly, but the women do not. This may be consistent with Tagg's discussion of the significance of the frontal photograph as evidence of lack of importance or status as human being in the eyes of the non-native photographer and audience. The fact that Haida men faced the camera while the women did not, however, may make reference to the photographer's or subject's feeling that frontality also connoted assertiveness and strength as opposed to subordination. Also, in art historical terms, frontality signifies scientific intent, while the oblique posture suggests artistic intent. America's aboriginal people first viewed the camera as "spirit-catcher", a negative and fearful element from which some women are reported to have fled in fear. Some early native subjects of photography may have considered facing the camera an example of bravery or confrontation. Lutz and Collins' statistics in which they discuss the gaze, do not seem to coincide with these Haida images. The authors discovered that in National Geographic magazine photos of non-white subjects, women, the poor and those of lower class and status more frequently face the camera than do men and those of high rank

15. These images were repatriated to Canada in 1994 from a collector in France

16. See Mieke Bal's discussion, in "Politics of Citation", Diacritics, 1991, of the representation of African women in postcards and of the analysis of these images by three male critics.

17. For illustration, see Greenhill, plate 41.

18. For discussion of this image, refer to researcher Andrea Kunard's unpublished essay, "The Photography of Humphrey Lloyd Hime and the Colonization of the Canadian West (1858)".

19. Blackman, Copying People, p. 89. See illustrations, p. 89. Hannah Maynard's husband was also a photographer, and together they operated a studio in B.C.

20. Ibid, p. 3. Also see finding aid : Adele Stalmach (intern archivist) Government Fonds Description Project National Archives of Canada, Carleton University Practicum Project, 1993-1994

21. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, joint DIAND collections 1973-357 and 1974-366, Burwash album.

22. Henry Leeson's images are in the Archives' Patent and Copyright Collection (1966-094). The collection is composed of mostly political photographs taken by a variety of photographers between 1872 and 1921. Once implemented in Canada, the copyright law allowed photographers to write their own names, the date of the taking of the image, and sometimes their title for it, on the photograph itself. These works were officially recognized by the department of Trade and Commerce and were recorded in The Canadian Patent Office Record. Both images (#37194 and 37199), as well as a dozen or so others of relevance to this subject, are located in Box 2704.

23. Stalmach, Government Fonds Description Project, p. 21.

24. Miller, p. 45. Pierre Berton, in Hollywood's Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975) discusses the film industry's stereotyping of Canadian aboriginal people. The techniques which he describes were also employed in NFB still photographs. The Indian maiden or princess wore a standard costume, or "Instant Indian Kit", as the author calls it, consisting of buckskin dress, braided hair parted in the middle and held in place by a beaded headband, and a single eagle feather. Berton writes that the headband was a Hollywood invention required to hold the standard wig in place. During the 1960s and 1970s, some native youth adopted the accessory, unknowing of its origin, in the hope of salvaging some visible remnant of tradition. This complete image, the author stresses, was a Hollywood Indian and not a real one. In terms of character, Indian women "were portrayed as victims of unrequited love, who nursed white men back to health". Half-Breed, or Metis women, Berton writes were similarly dressed and met similar fates in movies, but they were portrayed as immoral, "sneaky spitfires" (Berton, p. 97) whereupon the men would marry white women at the happy conclusions to the films.

25. See Curtis' own The North American Indian.

26. Francis, p. 24.

27. Malmshemer, p. 59. The recent issue of Aperture contains meditations on the portraits taken of such Indian School children. Until the 1950s, they were definitely not smiling.

28. Francis, p. 36.

29. According to Martha Langford, former director of CMCP and editor of Contemporary Canadian Photography from the Collection of the National Film Board. (Ottawa: National Film Board, 1984).

30. Fagg, p. 13.

31. Ibid, p. 14.

32. Personal communication with Edward Tompkins, May 1995.

33. Joyce Nelson, who takes a critical stance towards Grierson's Imperialist ideologies, and D.B. Jones write about the Board and about Grierson's legacy with the NFB. Authors Martha Langford, former director of the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, and Rodney C. James, concentrate their discussions of NFB history on the significance and evolution of the Still Division which was established in 1917.

34. Grierson noted that in the 1930s, it was considered subversive to make "work an honoured theme, and a workman, of whatever kind, an honourable figure" because workers were seen as symbolic of the lower classes. During these years however, workers were also gaining influence because of unions and violent labour strikes. Grierson was inspired by the Soviet film director, Eisenstein, to "champion the dignity of work".

35. Ibid., p. 11.

36. Nelson, p. 11.

37. Grierson's uniqueness as a filmmaker lay in his use of corporate sponsorship, especially from oil companies such as Shell Oil which Nelson shows to have had a controversial right-wing history. As a result, documentary film-making was soon accused of being willing to serve the government and major industries.

38. Ibid., p. 33.

39. Ibid., p. 28.

40. Ibid., p. 27.

41. Grierson wrote, "individual adventure becomes less important than co-operation. In fact, the individual outlook becomes less and less valuable and more and more harmful unless it is transmuted into the corporate outlook". Also, Grierson recognized the potential power of the media in his desire to bring about assimilation.

42. Nelson, p. 27.

43. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, National Film Board Collection, photo #38797.

44. In 1945, Grierson resigned his position because J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, was apparently suspicious of his intent and of films made from a potentially communist perspective. Through his secretary, Grierson was subsequently indirectly connected to the Gouzenko spy scandal in 1946. Nevertheless, in the final years of the war, the innovator was called to advise the U.S., Canada and Britain on "post-war media needs" (Nelson, p. 147). In the year of his resignation, to justify his efforts at assimilation, which curiously, were not as overt in NFB photos as they might have been, Grierson stated of the Board "For the old flags of exploitation it substituted the new flags of common labour, for the old frontiers of conquest it substituted the new frontiers of research and world-wide organization". It applied

to Canada's aboriginal population, assimilation, the message stated, would make aboriginals more like white people, which denoted "improvement". Following his departure from the NFB in 1945, Grierson took over the Motion Picture Bureau of the United States.

45. George Woodcock A Social History of Canada (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), p. 331.

46. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, National Film Board Collection, photos #11349, #11353, #11355.

47. D.B. Jones, Movies and Memoranda - An Interpretative History of the National Film Board of Canada. (Ottawa: T and I Best Printing Co., Ltd., 1981), p. 213.

48. Special Committee on the NFB. Minutes Proceedings and Evidence No. 4. Tues, June 3, 1952/June 24, 1952. Chairman, W.A. Robinson, Esq. Ottawa: House of Commons Sixth Session - 21st Parliament, p. 91.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 21

51. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, National Film Board Collection, photo #11343.

52. Langford, p. 7.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Interview with Andrew Rodger, photoarchivist at the National Archives of Canada on the third of May, 1995.

55. Horn, p. 8.

56. Woodcock, p. 350.

57. The Colliers, authors of Visual Anthropology, write about their photographic records of cultures in Mexico and about their anthropological methods. They stress the importance of recognizing that "Western people . . . perceive the written word as reality and visual imagery as impression" [John Collier, "Picturing Cultures", Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), p. XV.] but that not all societies do so. The authors believe that the literary is narrow in comparison to the all-encompassing nature of the visual image, which employs a culturally learned context. The grammar of vision is complex, since it requires that references to all that is relevant to the subject be made by the viewer, and that attention be given to the possibility of manipulation of meaning by the shifting of the authenticity of the visual context. Fieldwork involved in visual anthropology, and the process by which identity is given to the subject of each study, are described: first, the photographer researches the assignment, identifies the people to be "studied", and their roles within their own communities, then he or she names them or asks to have their names. This stage is crucial, since naming is the assignment of identity.

Finally, the anthropologist approaches and wins the confidence of the subjects by engaging them in discussion about themselves and their work. The result, which depicts them at work and at play, creates the illusion of reality, especially since the subject may have become a willing participant in his or her own depiction. (ibid., p. 25)

58. One woman, for instance, is portrayed holding her child and standing against a barren landscape. A hand holds a plaque of identification with a number on it before her body. The impression it creates is that she is an entirely helpless participant in her own depiction which portrays her as a prisoner and object. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Arthur Tweedle Collection.

59. Francis writes that by the 1950s, thanks to the control of epidemic diseases, the aboriginal population was growing faster than the general one at a rate of 4% per annum. Regardless, the "Vanishing Race" idea persisted, appealing to sentimentalists, social critics, expansionists and racists. (Francis, p. 55).

60. Non-ethnographic fifties photography was influenced by television, and the contextless image rose in popularity as did pictures of women's bodies and faces used to sell objects. The popularity of sexuality, coyness and funniness in advertizing was a response to the success of such magazines as Look and Life. With the liberated 1960s still to come, these portraits of women selling objects were daring. Advertizing was informed by psychoanalytical theories, and the influence of surrealist painting was everywhere.

2

PM-1 3 1/2" x 4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

CHAPTER 4
DIAND PHOTOGRAPHS
"HELLO GIRLS...":
REPRESENTING NATIVE WOMEN AS WHITE WOMEN

4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE DIAND COLLECTION

In 1976, a collection of photographs was transferred from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1976-281) to the National Archives of Canada. This massive collection is composed of 7,478 photographs, both black-and-white and colour, taken between 1950 and 1970. It was created for the purpose of recording the successes of the department with regard to the assimilation and transformation of aboriginal Canadians. Higher education, aspiration to success in non-native society, and moral improvement, are illustrated as positive values brought about by two factors: Christianity and education. Convent, non-religious education, and the influence of religions in other areas, resulted in the potential for achieving a previously "impossible" success, as well as "new-found" family values. Native women are portrayed as "better" in this collection of photographs when they are "whiter" in their appearance and behaviour and thus less "Indian". They are shown to conform to models of ideal white feminine demeanor: the image of woman as self-sacrificing angel, of attractive object on display, and of obedient wife, homemaker and mother. The DIAND photos do not hide their bias, although they do also attempt to record how aboriginal people across Canada lived and worked during a particular time period. Accompanying texts reveal, on the one hand, contempt for poverty and

lack of education, and, on the other, support for people who achieve material success.

According to Edward Tompkins, the archivist who organized the collection in January 1993, the photographs in their original state were contained loosely in boxes and had no specific arrangement. The identification or meaning of a photograph was occasionally present in the form of a caption typed on loose paper, which was sometimes glued to the appropriate image. No research tools or finding aids accompanied the collection. One might conclude that, at the time of acquisition, such general disarray indicated the Department's lack of interest in providing access to the collection. A parallel suggestion is that the importance of the collection in the eyes of the department lay in the individual image as an object of interest, and not in the specific identification of location, person, activity, photographer or date.¹

In order to make the collection accessible for archival purposes, the prints have been arranged by province, east to west across Canada, and within that categorization they are arranged by nation or band name, and then even more specifically by subject. The latter classification identifies a person's degree of education, occupation, trade or craft, or a social event in which he or she participated.²

The majority of the black-and-white photos, most of them 8x10 glossies, were generated by the NFB or the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. They illustrate various facets of Indian life, with a very small amount of material related to the Inuit, as seen from a

governmental and official point of view several decades ago.³ The photographs were taken not by departmental photographers, but by professionals who also contracted for other government departments.⁴ At some time close to the year of acquisition of the DIAND photographs that date between 1950 and 1970 (accession 1976-281), an unknown DIAND employee probably chose the images for 1976-281 from the department's own selection of images, as well as from the collections of other departments. The collection therefore reflects the department's mandate with respect to Canada's native populations. When the images were brought together, the department's internal collection had more than 1,000,000 items. Its large photo area was then associated with another government sector, Historic Sites. Ed Tompkins, who has taken an interest in the collection, says that the facts surrounding its acquisition remain a mystery, although Andrew Birrell, then Chief of Photography at the National Archives, was probably involved in its arrival at the National Archives.

The collection illustrates departmental management of aboriginal affairs across the country in the areas of treaty-signing, settlement, and building projects in communities. Photographs that depict the positive effects of religion and education from the perspective of the government are the most common; approximately fifty percent of the photographs depict successful high-school, college or university graduates, as well as individuals who have met with success in their work. Some are shown displaying trade skills such as sweater production and woodworking.

Usually in these photographs, non-native departmental officials, teachers, supervisors or co-workers are present to illustrate their roles as leaders or mentors. In other cases, non-native Canadians are shown giving instruction in non-native religion, personal hygiene, health services, alcoholism workshops, handicrafts workshops, domestic skills and homemakers courses, and in leadership, vocational and secretarial training (fig 20). Residential school training courses illustrate the government's interest in having native teachers introduce non-native ways to aboriginal students. Traditional activities such as bead work, fishing, harvesting wild rice, and snowshoe and canoe manufacturing are also depicted although captions indicate the economic importance of this work to the government. Native councils and organizations represented are the National Indian Advisory Council for the Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67, the Community Planning Association of Canada, and the Temporary Committee of the new National Indian Council of Canada (1961). Non-Canadian native people are also depicted in ways similar to the portrayal of Canada's native subjects.

The Department probably used these photographs to illustrate, through departmental records and reports that may have been seen by Departmental employees,⁵ the administration of Departmental policy and successes in the assimilation of native populations into non-native culture. Pictures of native people at work serve best to prove the favourable effects of government intervention in the lives of native Canadians. Such visual "evidence" enabled governments to counter the

fact that mass culture has most often portrayed aboriginals as lazy, as Lutz and Collins write with respect to National Geographic Magazine photos of Aboriginal people in America.⁶ This DIAND collection does include a selection of images of poverty. A concluding series in the collection contains 277 colour photographs that were taken during the late 1960s. The album's title is "Contemporary Indian Life, Manitoba and Ontario, c.1967, Showing Urban and Rural Problems". Some depict skid row in Winnipeg; to judge from the lack of focus, the unbalanced placement of subjects who often wear expressions of irritation or anger, the photographer may have taken the pictures furtively without the consent of those he was photographing. For example, one photo of an angry-looking woman bears a blunt and disrespectful caption about her lifestyle on the street, "Woman on skid row"⁷ (fig 21). Other captions read, "Indians going in and out of Beer Parlour"⁸; "Reserve shots of new Indian home smashed to pieces by Berserk Indian - Damage to house and complete wrecking of interior";⁹ and "Close-ups of Indians arriving by boat from distant reserve showing *good strong faces*"¹⁰. Within this collection, the album appears to indicate whom the department will next determine to "help" and "change" or whom it has targeted as "unchangeable".

One final series in the collection is entitled "Report on Adult Education Courses for Indians: 1965", (six b x w prints included). The structure of the report illustrates that of the entire collection: first it describes and illustrates the education of students who "are to a large

extent unfamiliar with city life and modern amenities".¹¹ For example, a classroom shows five adults and one teacher. It is noted that the instruction they are given will allow them to accomplish certain tasks and to achieve success in a white community. The methods by which they are taught are outlined, and, finally, photographs illustrate their "success stories", since the students have found employment as a result of the education they were offered.¹²

This DIAND collection dates from 1950 to 1970. By the 1960s, write Lutz and Collins, travel was not such a novelty, and the mass media ensured that people were more socially and politically active and aware. Such awareness changes how photos are taken, because the photographer can assume that dominant thought about a subject, in this case, native people in Canada, is general knowledge. The very idea of "native" and "woman" would, at one time, have conjured up particular images in the minds of an audience, and new ideas were then added to this well-known general picture to embellish it. In the NFB photos, the older stereotypes are still reinforced, in part because the agency served the public and produced films and photography for internal and external departmental purposes. DIAND, however, catered to itself as a Department whose members would have been familiar with official views about native people, and with political and legal relations with them. Despite this, the collection conspicuously avoids self-criticism, yet shows an effort to mimic its presence. "Mirror and camera are tools of self-reflection and surveillance," writes Eric Wolf.¹³ Wolf is further cited in

Reading National Geographic as stating that a "lack of self-awareness implies a lack of history: he or she is not without consciousness but is relatively without self-consciousness".¹⁴ Photography changes as a result of the de-colonization process, write Lutz and Collins, because this process threatens the given empire's established perspective of itself. The risk of exposure of the very items of contradiction sought in this analysis is a reality for the makers of the photographs and of the caption.

Photographs can bring about self-awareness and act as documents of de-colonization. Since these collections were to serve as evidence and visual "proof" of the way of life of native people in Canada and of DIAND's participation in their rehabilitation, two functions would be dispensed with: the need to examine the real work and living conditions of native Canadians, and the obligation to allow all people to speak for themselves. These photos were permitted to stand alone and to provide irreversible evidence to support the government's perspective, which, on the surface, in its support of aboriginal people and their pursuit of the improvement of the material conditions of their lives, may have appeared to be positive. In retrospect, such a collection is tremendously useful because of what it illustrates about governing perspectives and because of what, to those with adequate critical references, it can reveal about native lifestyle and accomplishment during the mid-twentieth-century. As promotional records, these photographs provide only minimal evidence of how native women and men lived, were educated and worked during a given time and in a particular location in Canada. Rather, they reveal how the

government perceived and valued aboriginal citizens. The photos mirror, support, confirm and entrench the official policies and relations with aboriginals that were enforced during the 1950s to 1970s. The captions represent tacit confirmation of and consent to these policies through the consumption of the images; whether an institutional employee delivered the image, caption, and accompanying services to the native populace or to the general public, the important consideration is that these collections ultimately portray civil servants feeling good about their work because the photographic "evidence" they produce "proves" that they are helping Indians. When coupled with contextual information about actual native accomplishments and goals and Departmental goals, and with official and popular views about women, such photographs become records of evolving relations between the government and native women.

If the DIAND collection was made for internal DIAND purposes, then one can surmise that the majority of its audience would have been non-native male employees of the very departments delivering assimilationist policies and services. This may illustrate a case of employees "enjoying" the photographs for their visual appeal instead of for their implication in native-white relations. Women in photos in this collection seem to have been chosen for their appearance, since captions remark on their measure of attractiveness. Nurse , teachers, secretaries, homemakers and mothers alike are sexualized and beautified. During the 1950s, women were portrayed in advertizing as objects valued for their beauty and their ability to attract buyers. Often in DIAND captions they

are discussed as if they were picturesque models being used to sell a product. The product here is social and private behaviour, composure, mannerism and attitude. A photograph of two native women serving coffee at a homemaker's church meeting is one example of this.¹⁵ The department is to be taken to task here for its depiction of its own effective "intervention" as evidenced by the behavioural and physical "transformation" seen in the "success story" photograph.

The collection as a whole supports the then popular view that a woman's ultimate goal was to succeed at motherhood and in the working world without forsaking her femininity. One portrait of a young woman has been taken for her appearance before her employment, though the caption attempts to prioritize her work. The caption reads: "Miss June Franks, an attractive Indian of the Six Nations Reserve, acts as a special Indian police off and on the reserve".¹⁶ (fig 22) Women were and are, according to literary theorist Linda Hutcheon, accustomed to seeing other women and themselves through a male gaze, at once sexual and maternal. Although these DIAND photographs were selected to be seen by a male audience, and, accordingly, address the male gaze, their captions seem to address women, encouraging them to pursue certain kinds of work. This indicates that not only did men determine how women were to be portrayed, and what types of jobs were appropriate for them and would meet with approval, but that men were also to disseminate these instructions about behaviour to women everywhere.¹⁷ A number of authors have addressed the question of whether such instruction had an

effect on Canadian women, or if both instruction and commentary about women's lives by men and women, and statistics about women, were pure fabrication or theory, as opposed to a reflection of lived experience. Instructional photos such as DIAND's had, as "containers" for the promulgation of normative codes, a purpose similar to that of magazines such as Ladies' Home Journal, Chatelaine, and Good Housekeeping. Such advice books, Margolis writes, "are no more than male formulations of ideal female behaviour".¹⁸ The resulting social statistics can be relevant only in terms of male behaviour, since many women may not have heeded this advice, and the number who did is undeterminable.

During the decades in question, (1940s through 1960s), many of the subjects of these images would not have found the pictures, captions or unwritten suggestions problematic, because the life referred to therein was an expected and common one to which young girls and women were encouraged to aspire; also, the political movement toward self-determination was still nascent. As the Colliers state in Visual Anthropology, the most successful images of people arise from the subjects' cooperation in their own depiction. In the absence of a political activism to stay "native", aboriginals wanted the same social benefits and privileges offered to whites in an industrialized capitalist system, and therefore collaboration in their own depiction was to take a step towards modernization and success. It would be useful, however, though beyond the scope of this study, to examine how native men and women who were not assimilated into Euro-Canadian social norms, have perceived the

portrayal of native women who had adopted and appreciated education and a non-native way of life as their own.

4.2 CONSIDERATION OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS

Three photographs have been selected for examination partly because they are representative of the tone of the collection and thus of the Department's attitude. Also, each image is accompanied by a caption that, in concert with the photograph, reinforces persisting stereotypes and attitudes about women of aboriginal heritage, and about women in general, during the 1950s and 1960s. The caption is in effect designed to bolster the positive and encouraging intention of the photograph, but, once the caption is understood, it is revealed that the treatment of the subject in the photograph actually subverts itself; perspective, angles, lighting, positioning of the subject and the subject's actions or dress can all expose the covert biases of the maker. The contextual relationship between caption and photograph is vital. Finally, each of the three photographs selected for discussion represents a widely current image of a woman in the 1950s, representing at the same time a portrait that has changed only superficially since the turn of the century. Elizabeth Matthews, as nurse, represents the self-sacrificing angel; Marie-Paule GrosLouis, a stenographer at her desk, is spoken of as a pretty and insignificant object, a type of "hello girl". Her accomplishments are discussed as being secondary to her gender; finally, Anna Whiteduck is presented as a wife and homemaker although she is a Chief. Her role, it is

stated, is to be a dutiful wife and mother.

(i) Elizabeth Matthews, nursing sister (fig 23)

In Folder 2, under the heading "Nova Scotia: Micmac", there are three images of Elizabeth Matthews, a young woman in the nursing profession typical of many of the images of nurses seen in the DIAND collection. One, depicting her with a patient, is a 5x7 black-and-white glossy, and the other two are identical 3x5 black-and-white glossy nursing graduation portraits. All had captions glued on the verso, although all of these have since come detached. The photo of Elizabeth Matthews with the patient was probably taken in 1962 or 1963.

In this photograph, the young woman stands by the bedside of a patient and takes his pulse. The photo is composed in the typical documentary style of the Department. The composition, being asymmetrically balanced, is aesthetically pleasing. All visual information may be absorbed by the viewer at a glance, because the focus, where their two hands meet, leads the eye towards the nurse's face and around to the face and reclining body of the patient. The image is not intended to be artistic, but rather as objective and factual a view of a situation as possible. A claim to realism is present in this style of photo, and yet, for today's viewer these images are imbued with the purposeful influence of the photographer and institution. A touch of the pious and melodramatic appears to be present in the composition, but this could also be interpreted as evidence of the nurse's dedication to her work and to its

importance.

The fictional nature of the image, and the creative role of the photographer are evident in the poses and expressions on the faces of the two subjects. The nurse's expression is serious as she takes the patient's pulse, contributing to the authenticity of the photograph as documenting a care-giving situation. She watches her patient with both concern and something resembling maternal affection. The wry grin on the face of the patient, who, however, looks neither at the nurse nor at the camera, but beyond it, suggests the presence of the photographer and the planned and prefabricated nature of the image which perhaps amuses him. The subjects' gazes may authentically indicate their different respective attitudes towards the photograph, the one subject viewing it as a serious endeavour, and the other, as a lark, or the gazes may reveal that the photographer met the demands of his employer.

Angles are important to the visual success of this image. While the camera, and thus the viewer looks down on the patient, the camera itself is actually positioned at the same level as Nurse Matthews, establishing her as authority and "saviour" in the situation. The man is symbolically grateful and dependent upon her care. Lighting is bright and originates from the end of the patient's bed at the right side of the image. Only pale shadows are thrown by the nurse's figure and by the bedframe onto the wall at the far left, but, more importantly, both faces are clearly illuminated. The cleanliness of the hospital and the purity of the situation - a soldier, wounded and recovering - are emphasized by such lighting.

since all pale colours appear to be white and starched. Contrasts are provided by the darkness of her slim necktie, his robe, which he apparently wears in bed, and their hair and eyes. The Canadian hospital itself is shown to be the ideal place to visit, and its staff, the most attentive. The typed caption states:

Elizabeth Matthews is a nursing sister with the Royal Canadian Air Force and is stationed at Clinton, Ont. A Micmac Indian from the Eskasoni Reserve in Nova Scotia, Miss Matthews is a graduate nurse from St. Rita's Hospital School of Nursing in Sydney, N.S.

RCAF PHOTO - Ottawa (Lee)
P2 140814 - 1963 ¹⁹

The caption's words reveal the purpose of the image: to boast of the Department's record with native women who have found success through their pursuit of higher education. Although similar emphasis might be placed upon the ethnicity of a person of non-Euro-Canadian descent, as in NFB photos, a white individual's race would not normally be identified as such.

The photo of Elizabeth Matthews was taken by the Lee Abbass Studio, Ottawa, in 1963, and is attributed by the caption to Department of National Defence and to the RCAF, although it was apparently commissioned by the Information Division of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.²⁰ It is of interest to examine inscriptions that are not considered a part of the actual caption, but that have been pencilled in below it by an unknown hand. They were presumably used in the composition of the caption and illustrate how the subject was turned into a statistic, and how the institution and individual that label and name

also control the subject. We see the significance of access to archival fonds in the revelation of intent from "extra" writing such as this:

Occupation - Nursing

Micmac
Eskasoni Res
N.S.

graduate nurse from
St. Rita's Hosp. Sch. of Nurs.
in Sydney, N.S.

Nursing Sister
Eliz. Matthews
RCAF
Clinton
Ont

These notes became the basis for organizing the collection and providing access points.

Two copies of Ms Matthews' official nursing degree graduation portrait are included in the folder. Many graduation studio portraits are in the collection; their reason for inclusion appears to be the provision of opportunity for appending captions citing the individual's academic achievement and scholarships earned. In this way, the department's successes in "transformation" are recorded, although the history of cultural changes and trial involved in a particular student's obtaining this recognition, are ignored. Instead, the few photos depicting women doing more traditional work presumably function as "before" pictures. Nevertheless these photos provide a positive record for native researchers seeking to discover the achievements of native Canadian women several decades ago. The caption on the verso of each of Nurse Matthews' two portraits provides more information about both the subject and DIAND's interest in her:

Elizabeth Mathews, 22, of the Eskasoni Band, Eskasoni Agency, Nova Scotia, is the 1961-62 winner of a \$250.00 nursing scholarship to attend St. Rita's Hosp. School of nursing, Sydney, N.S.

Cit and Imm photo by Abbass Studio.²¹

These images and others like them illustrate the extent of DIAND's participation in the training and education of native people in the Maritimes, Ontario and Quebec. They also correspond to the NFB'S efforts to present the lifestyle and work of native women as offering opportunity and comfort equal to those open to non-native women, since all women were subject to the same government admonitions regarding behaviour and expectations. We see an imbalance in the portrayal of all native women in this collection in that the work of some is shown as emblematic of the work of all, and of the same standard as that of non-native women; here, therefore, we have evidence of incommensurability. At the same time, against the general run of images of women working, Nurse Matthews' caption treats its subject with respect. The less "valued" the woman's job, however, the less consideration is given to her treatment in the caption, or the more condescension is distinguishable.²²

During the Second World War and well into the 1960s it was suggested that nursing was "a way station on the route to marriage"²³, and therefore it was not seen as a career, but as training for the nurturing role in marriage, which was an eventual, "expected" and unpaid career choice for young women. The images and captions in this collection suggest, however, that nursing was considered a career. This may support the argument that, through the encouragement of women to take

up such temporary professions, and to prompt them to believe in their value as workers despite their low pay in relation to the pay of men who performed the same duties, women were kept under the illusion that they were in no way held back from work outside the home. At the same time, they could not threaten men as workers, because temporary, non-unionized, shift-work-oriented careers such as nursing were formulated to suit the lives of women.

In the twentieth century, as vital production and service jobs such as food-processing, manufacture of beverages, catering, cleaning, laundering, nursing, child-care, and teaching infants and juniors moved increasingly out of homes, they became and remain low-paid, even in societies which have adopted the most up-to-date technologies.²⁴

The non-native male was thus still assured of appearing to be the primary breadwinner in the family. With such associations having a hold on public opinion, it is worthwhile to inquire how much value would be given a woman who supported a family by her work. Nursing, says Campbell, was attractive to women of all races and classes who needed money and wanted to help the sick, but it was most available to the middle-class white woman because women of non-white race were not always permitted the same privileges of education or choice of hospital in which to work.

The caption accompanying another photograph of a nurse, Grace Manatch of Maniwaki, Quebec,²⁵ states that a growing number of native women were choosing nursing as a career in order to escape from the desperate conditions on reservations and to embrace the opportunities

desperate conditions on reservations and to embrace the opportunities offered by education. Tuition grants and scholarships for those students wishing to study beyond the secondary school level were provided by the Department.

St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department of Antigonish saw the need for adult education in Indian Communities. Since 1957 Extension workers have worked with Micmac Indians in Cape Breton and Eastern Nova Scotia. Over 1500 Indians have benefitted in some way from leadership courses, study clubs, community planning groups, home nursing and homemaking instruction, sewing classes, courses in wood working and auto mechanics, and home visits by Extension field workers. Women's groups on the various reserves have sponsored suppers, teas, sales, and raffles to raise money for church and community projects.²⁶

A tone of Departmental pride is evident in the caption statement: "Miss Grace Manatch . . . displays a strikingly professional manner at a patient's bedside"²⁷. Nurse Elizabeth Matthews' portrayal, like that of other nurses shown in this and the NFB collection, shows her to be the caring and nurturing person that soldiers clamoured for during the war. NFB photos of white nurses portray the nurses in the same way visually, but captions establish the difference in the intention behind the taking of the picture, since often the patient is the subject of the photograph, while the nurse is just a pretty object. During the 1930's, writes Campbell, women were suddenly acknowledged to have a skill that was also officially perceived as profession and that meant being in the employ of the government. By 1942 women were accepted into medical schools because fewer men were available to enroll, and because women lobbied for this right after their service during the war. The technical training they received raised

their qualifications as medical professionals, but soldiers, when polled, claimed to prefer the "traditional" nurse who comforted and mothered the sick, to the technically proficient one, thus supporting male doctors in limiting women's professional rise to success. "Nurses were seen as heroines, achieving distinction while maintaining a feminine image".²⁸ During the war, too, soldiers began to accuse nurses of "sexual immorality".²⁹ As a result, women stopped enlisting, and after the war many left their work and married. It is apparent that control over a woman's paid work is related to her sexuality, which, in the public eye, can never be separated from her identity.

(ii). Marie-Paule GrosLouis, telephone operator (fig. 24)

Two other photographs are significant in showing women who, through their ambition and dedication to work, rose to positions of leadership and prominence among their peers. Marie-Paule GrosLouis, of the Huron Wendat Nation in Quebec worked as a telephone operator and eventually became president of Bell Canada Employment. The caption is typed on paper that is glued to the verso of the cardboard onto which the undated 8x10 black and white glossy photograph is pasted. A glossy finish normally indicates a planned publication:

Marie-Paule GrosLouis is an Indian girl from the Village des Hurons Reserve just outside Quebec City. For the past 10 years she has worked as one of the "hello girls" for Bell Telephone Company in Montreal. She became interested in Union Work and was elected secretary of the Montreal chapter of the Bell Traffic Employment Ass., then president. She has represented the Montreal girls at many bargaining

Photo by Graetz Bros. Ltd.
723 St. Antoine, Montreal (accompanied by green
stamp from DIAND)³⁰

The import of the caption's text will be examined, but first, the image itself bears comment. The image of Marie-Paule GrosLouis is a three-quarter length portrait of a young woman sitting before a switchboard and turning over her right shoulder to look at the camera without a smile. The photo itself conforms to expectations about the appearance of the "ideal" young Canadian woman. She is neatly and fashionably dressed, and she sits with relaxed poise, her hands resting on the desk. Light manual labour or service industry work were deemed appropriate for women in the 1950s and 1960s. The emphasis in both caption and photo, as in the picture of the police officer, is on the subject's physical appearance and good grooming. [Another portrait in the collection is also of a woman and illustrates the interest in beauty over anything else. Its caption is simply "female".(fig 25)]

Two groups of words in the caption need to be examined: the terms "Indian girl" and "hello girl". By referring to the subject as a "girl" in the first place, it is implied that once women are working to earn money, they immediately pose a threat and a challenge to the work of a male. Simultaneously, this may be admired, especially by younger women who look to their elders as role models. All women must be kept subordinate through language, which here, as a voice for the government, is a powerful tool. At the same time, the words are written with a pleasant air

disguising their controlling force. The words, which, by naming, are power, diminish Marie-Paule's accomplishments. The tone with which she is spoken of denotes affection and pride but is reminiscent of a parent speaking to a child or inferior who has finally achieved something that the handicaps of class, race, and gender previously made challenging. The fact that these conditions are treated and viewed officially as handicaps, while they are not innately so, remained unaddressed by DIAND through the 1960s. While DIAND's captions praise and glorify native men who are workers, men who do not work seem to be treated by caption and image alike in a manner similar to that of the depiction of native women. Worth, again, hinges on service to the country, and on what the country considers to be service.

The institution's gaze, as commissioned through another department's privately-contracted photographer, takes shape through the photographer's choices in interpreting superiors' instructions. An editor's choice of image and caption, and cropping and arrangement of each image, further influence the result. The caption statement becomes the "verbal fixing of a vantage on a picture's meaning".³¹ This can result in a multiple gaze. Here, the subject gazes at the camera with what might be indifference or friendliness.³²

Film during the 1950s, write Lutz and Collins, "[warned] of the feminizing effects of deference on men and, conversely, the masculinizing effects of ambition on women".³³ Margolis also writes that a search for a career was perceived as an act that "disguised the search for masculine

identity".³⁴ In Fig 24 the tone of the caption and its contents feminize the subject to ensure her acceptance by the viewer. The way her job is discussed ensures that her prominence within the company remains unthreatening to men. Her work is not employment that men would aspire to as long as it is associated with women, considered appropriate to them, and discussed with condescension. Luxton writes: "The . . . existing gendered division of labour is a major factor in women's oppression".³⁵ This would remain in practice so long as names such as "hello girls" were applied to female workers.

During the 1950s, women's chances for career advancement were limited, but progress "appropriate" for a woman in the workplace was evidently possible. This photo and caption, while revealing with what quiet desperation both men and women feared women's independence and progress in the work world, and how institutions such as DIAND strove to control, through words and pictures, the threat to the stability of society, also show what native women accomplished for themselves when given the opportunity after their positions as leaders, spiritualists, and decision-makers in their own communities, were taken from them. Green writes that Indian women in movies and photographs perpetuated the stereotype that "Indian women tend to play an insubstantial role relative to men in ensuring the survival of their culture".³⁶ In fact, although neither women nor men as rulers held absolute power (unlike the power wielded by European rulers), women often took part in decisions even when they did not officially have authority, especially in

North and South-Eastern tribes, writes Green. There, female rulers or Queens were more common, as was matrilineal inheritance. Those tribes that "practiced female-centered religions not only revered their women and treated them with respect but also placed a great deal of responsibility in their hands".³⁷

In the above picture, Marie-Paule GrosLouis has been made into an object of scrutiny not only because of her job, but because of her appearance. The term "hello girl" today may connote different meanings from what it would have in the year the photo was taken; nevertheless, it transfers focus from her job and her abilities as leader to her status as woman. It sexualizes her so that her individuality and identity are thrown aside as her sexuality is put to the forefront. This brings to mind the stereotype applied to native women prior to and well after the advent of photography: that of "Indian princess".³⁸ Marie-Paule GrosLouis is rendered unthreatening because, as object, she is present for the pleasure of men's gazes. As Hutcheon and Partington both argue, images of women are expected to provide pleasure because they are determined by the male gaze.³⁹ Marie-Paule is ultimately controlled as picture and human by a masculine agenda. Her ambition and success have become an interesting decoration with which to illustrate her photograph. Today her portrayal and her position may be seen as revolutionary despite the tone her contemporaries used to discuss her and her work. Her accomplishments would have been significant whether for a non-native woman or for a woman of another race. From her appearance, however,

she would have been considered more "white" than native in her day.

(iii). Anna Whiteduck, Chief (figs 26 and 27).

The photograph of Marie-Paule GrosLouis neutralized her position of influence in her job, and her being a representative of her co-workers, by placing emphasis upon her femininity. The next two images, which also depict a woman whose education and hard work brought her to a position of importance in her community, similarly remove her power and reduce her accomplishment by assigning her, through image and language, to the role of homemaker and wife rather than of Chief and leader. Two photographs of Anna Whiteduck were taken or commissioned by Citizenship and Immigration, and accompanying descriptive captions prepared, sometime after 1959 (exact dates are unspecified). There are two copies of the 8x10 glossy image, one mounted on cardboard on which is the title "Band Administration - Chiefs and Councillors", and one unmounted. The photo shows two women holding a newspaper as they stand before a brick home. One woman, Anna Whiteduck, reads it while Thelma Tenniscoe meets the eye of the viewer. The caption reads:

An Indian woman chief, Mrs. Anna Whiteduck, left, and one of her three councillors, Mrs. Thelma Tenniscoe, read the latest copy of "The Indian News: on their reservation at Golden Lake, 100 miles west of Ottawa. The husbands of both women have steady jobs - Robert Whiteduck works in the Canada Veneers plant at Pembroke, and Henry Tenniscoe, for McDonald Construction at Scarborough. Both women were elected to office in Sept. 1959 - the first time a woman had ever held office in Golden Lake.⁴⁰

Society allows her to be seen as successful to some degree by conferring

on her an identity as housewife and mother. The positive connotations of such employment justify her "other" work, but also treat it as though it were unpaid and unessential to the functioning of the community. Her husband is actually spoken of with more deference because his success indicates the success of "his" family, a family the linguistic connection makes him seem to "own". The reference to Anna's husband and the fact that he has a "steady job" betrays DIAND's intention with regard to the taking of the series of images. They are purely intended to document those native families and individuals who have surfaced from the reservation school upbringing and have proven the government "right" by their success in assimilating fully into non-native society.

The second and more significant photo is reproduced three times as an 8x10 black and white glossy and twice printed directly on cardboard, although the two versions bear different captions. Again, this appears evidence of intended diffusion into the public arena through publication. The photo shows Anna Whiteduck smiling at the camera and hanging her laundry outside. With trees in the background to the right and white sheets in the foreground before them, Anna Whiteduck's figure balances the portrait on the left especially by the curve of her right arm as she clips the clothes pegs to the line. The text with the photo on cardboard indicates the importance of the role of women in the Golden Lake Band, but suggests that it is a new role and not one that renews or continues the tradition.

Mrs. Anna Whiteduck is an Indian housewife but also *has been* an Indian chief. She headed the Golden Lake Band in Ontario. Mrs. Whiteduck is typical of the role that younger women are playing in Indian community life. The Mattagami Band, Chapleau Agency, Ontario, has an all-woman council. (my emphasis)⁴¹

This caption indicates her past role as Chief and her primary role as housewife. The third caption on the same photo framed with a white border and not cropped on the left side of the image indicates that she is still active as Chief, as the first caption suggested. It also reveals Anna's education as having been in a convent, and her subsequent personal ambition to have been strong. Her roles of wife and mother are emphasized:

Chief Anna Whiteduck of the Golden Lake Reserve, Ontario, was elected to head the band in the fall of 1959. She was educated in a convent in Pembroke, took a business course there, worked in a lawyer's office before going to Toronto to work in another office. Her husband Robert works for Canada Veneers in Pembroke, about 35 miles from the reserve. Mrs. Whiteduck, active in the reserve Homemaker's Club and the Catholic Women's League, has three young children to look after - *as well as her chief's duties*.⁴² (emphasis mine)

The significance of the Homemakers' Club was that it taught native women, in what appeared to be a communal and therefore positive atmosphere, how they were to behave within their homes and in relation to their families. The frequency of DIAND photos of women at Homemaker's Club functions illustrates with what vigour such instruction was handed down to non-white women in order to integrate them into white cultural practices and in order that they in turn, influence their families in that respect.⁴³

In contrast to the importance the captions place on her work, this photograph shows Anna Whiteduck hanging laundry. A literal reading of the images would conclude that she is happy in her work and proud to be photographed in such a manner. It is unknown to what degree any subject of DIAND photographs had control over his or her photographic depiction. The photographer in this case certainly ensured that in her role as mother, Anna Whiteduck would appeal to Canadian viewers and would illustrate to the world that Canadian native women, like non-native women, worked outside the home, where they found great success, but that they did not fail in their duty to home and family while seeking advancement elsewhere. Should she have had a hand in her depiction, one might interpret the result as evidence that she also wanted to ensure that others saw that she did not sacrifice home and family for a career. It is suggested by the statement that Anna Whiteduck's husband has a steady job, that Anna's work as Chief is in fact unnecessary. The fact that she does not need to work to support herself would have been recognized by the public as a "status symbol, proof that a man's earnings are sufficiently high to enable him to keep her and her children, and proof to a wife that she has so competent a husband".⁴⁴ The woman is no doubt busy with work in the home with children, and in organizing social life in hopes of advancing her husband's success, Lewenhak states. As with the "PTA" work then in vogue for white women, Anna Whiteduck's chiefly duties are rendered as community support rather than political or administrative power.

What is conveyed by this photo and caption is that, despite their paid labour and responsibilities outside the home, women in the 1950s and 1960s were reassured by official sources such as the media of their greater value as mothers and workers and their suitability for certain jobs. Women, as mothers and those who raise children and order the house, are said to exercise power over their husbands', families' and childrens' lives. "The hand that rocks the cradle is said to rule the world".⁴⁵ In non-native middle-class homes in the 1950s, this belief provided the illusion that control and power were in the hands of mothers; the reality here was a tactic by propagandists to mask women's lack of power in the world. Where women felt appreciated and worthwhile doing particular work, they and the general public would cease to question women's status, rights and portrayal by the media and by official sources and would instead accept a portrait of themselves that was published as ideal and that they could also fulfill. What remains unknown is to what degree unpaid work and low-status paid work done by women was advertised and glamourized through the cultural representations of woman's portrayal as housewife, worker or object. Unfortunately, the numerous women whose work did not approach the ideal at all were omitted from these photographic studies. Any identity can be manipulated through tricks of the camera and caption so that every person's existence can be justified or adjusted. In the photographic portrayal of native women, such an approach by government-sponsored photography ensured conformity to the dominant culture, that is, male power and dominance. If native

women and men are fashioned in terms of this image, then their fictional personalities are built on an unstable and manufactured foundation in the first place, and their real accomplishments undermined. Our social study thus becomes an examination of layers of fiction - a story of how Canadian officials wanted the country's people to appear to be to themselves and to the world. The so-called public and private spheres are, and, in fact, always have been, one.

Anna Whiteduck, like any woman portrayed in the DIAND collection, is identified as "Wife of . . .". Here, the appellation no longer refers to "wife of a husband", but ultimately to wife of a nation: Canada. Why is a woman who is Chief of a band, leader of a nation, a decision maker and respected citizen, shown doing her own or her husband's laundry? A similar photograph depicting a man shows a three-quarter outdoor and informal portrait of Alexandre Picard as he squints and smiles into the distance (fig 28). He wears a plaid shirt and casual pants, and leans his right hand and left elbow on a shovel or other gardening tool. On his head he wears a full feather headdress. The caption states: "Alexandre Picard, grocery store owner, is one of the Hurons of Lorette. Their reserve is just outside Quebec City".⁴⁶

As with the photo of Anna Whiteduck, Alexandre Picard's actual occupation is visually bypassed in favour of depicting him in another favoured role: that of agricultural worker. The presence of his feather headdress "reassures" the viewer of both his "Indianness" and therefore, of his "nobility", and it indicates his supposedly neutered status as Chief,

since by becoming more "white", the individual may be perceived to have become less "Indian". Both his appearance and occupation suggest that his assimilation into white society is "complete". At the same time, the headdress indicates that his status as an Indian is a past or obsolete identity. Just as Anna Whiteduck's identity as Chief is controlled by her representation as wife and mother, Alexandre Picard's, as successful store-owner, is controlled through the stereotyped image of "Indian", which first conjures up images of myth before allowing his actual identity as a worker to be acknowledged

Images such as figs 26 and 27 reflect the dominant philosophy of the 1950s: the work of the woman was lesser than that of men, even though it involved far more than child-rearing. Child-rearing though, was deemed the exclusive domain of the woman and mother, was nevertheless not paid work, and therefore failed to entitle women who were mothers to the respect given to those who were paid for their work. On the other hand, mothering was exalted beyond the "petty" concerns of paid work.⁴⁷ (fig 29)

In the persona of housewife, Anna Whiteduck's work as Chief can be perceived as "volunteer" work, which in turn is viewed as less worthy. How would a native author have depicted Anna Whiteduck, and with what text? As a native woman and human being she is most accepted by the non-native administration, and later, by the public, when she is portrayed as wife, mother, or homemaker regardless of her public role and responsibilities. At the same time, her inferiority, her "place" is

sustained: first she is wife, second, she is Chief. Of these two images, one is sexual and the other, maternal.⁴⁸ Both approaches work to dull the woman's public success and make her above all, a stereotype. They numb her uniqueness by refusing to acknowledge how she has made progress for all women through her efforts.

Reward in the form of attention and congratulation is necessary and reasserts the male-driven political systems that still controlled the heights which women were permitted to attain. Men can safely, without threat to themselves or their position, afford to bestow attention and congratulations, "[diverting] girls from dreams of careers and [making] the low pay more acceptable to them".⁴⁹

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 4

1. Langford writes that during the 1970's, the trend was to put up exhibitions, publish books as the NFB did, or distribute annual reports as DIAND did, in which neither subject nor photographer was identified. The audience was to appreciate the image at face value and without judgement.

2. As a result of the collection's present cohesion, in March of 1995 three people of the Mintawasis band from Saskatchewan successfully found and identified photographs of their grandfather, a Chief, and of other relatives among photos from the selection. Information provided by Irene Van Bavel, reference archives, National Archives of Canada.

3. See finding aid created by Adele Stalmach during student practicum, 1993-1994.

4. According to Andrew Rodger, some archives DIAND collections primarily include images taken by civil servants asked to capture required images on film. They would have employed the dual as opposed to the single lens reflex camera in which the photographer holds the camera at waist height and looks down into the screen on top of the camera. The image lens puts the photo onto an emulsion. Without knowledge, explains Rodgers, of the height of the photographer and of the type of camera, it is difficult to discuss angles, perspective and horizon line. This may not, in fact, be a hindrance to the examination of photographs, since even with such knowledge, the movements and positioning of the photographer, whether lying, kneeling, or standing on the ground or on a higher object, remains unknown. Aspects of images may be discussed according to their effect.

Two earlier DIAND collections (DIAND collections 1973-357, 1974-366 (1917-1957), are fused into one) which include 77,217 photographs of native and of non-native individuals in the north, illustrate the non-native visitor's photographic record of his or her perception of the people encountered during travels. In these instances, photographers, mainly civil servants sent out with cameras, were asked to create records for the oil and mining companies or for government departments whose work brought them to areas settled by native communities. The few women photographers whose works are included were, according to captions, accompanying their husbands on expeditions. Many images have ethnographic intent as can be seen in albums, such as the previously mentioned Burwash album, whose subjects appear to have been asked to pose for "mug shots". Edward Tompkins states that, although it is lost, a DIAND collection corresponding in volume and importance, but depicting "Indians" rather than Inuit people, must also exist. Evidence of its existence has been found in DIAND annual report photographs dating to the late 1800's.

5. They may also have been used to illustrate annual reports, although since DIAND annual report photographs did not always include names of subjects, photographers, dates or geographic locations, identification of images common to publications and to the collection would be difficult. According to archivist Andrew Rodger, this collection was probably used for some public service. Photos may have been acquired just to "have a picture of a woman knitting a Cowachin sweater ..." he states, and thus to fulfill a need for a complete narrative among the images.

6. Lutz, p. 158. Native people in Canada have in the past been categorized in a general fashion as lazy, alcoholic, vagrant, uneducated, non-working and on welfare in films, photographs and literature. They have additionally been mythologized as savage, noble, brave and intuitively linked with the natural world. No single portrayal, however, can

define a nation or people.

7. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Collection, album, p. 5.

8. Ibid., p. 18.

9. Ibid., p. 20.

10. Ibid., p. 21, emphasis mine.

11. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Collection, Report 5.

12. This document was submitted by the Regional Education Division on February 12, 1965, for inclusion in the Manitoba Indian News.

13. E. Wolf in Lutz, p. 207.

14. Ibid., p. 207-208.

15. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, folder #35.

16. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, DIAND collection (1976-281), folder 56.

17. An interesting study would address the subject of "instruction books" written by men for women.

18. Margolis, p. 8.

19. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, folder #2.

20. When contacted, Debbie Farnand, Chief of the Public Affairs Branch at Citizenship and Immigration, stated that although the department has collected photographs that pertain to its own history, it possesses no photographs commissioned by the department itself or taken by department photographers at any time, nor was the department aware that any existed. (Debbie Farnand contacted May 1995.) Consistently in this study, written and oral information has proven that during the years in question, those who were authorities in the making of still photographs, and those who were informed about such projects, did not necessarily leave an administrative trail about the photographic collection. Today, the only leads towards such information are through those who at one time saw or heard about the use of such images.

21. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, folder 2.

22. Condescension is most often used in situations where the subject is not perceived to be working, or is simply not educated or assimilated. Condescension is also a weapon in instances in which the subject's expertise is a threat to traditional views of women.

23. Campbell, p. 50.

24. Sheila Lewenhak, The Revaluation of Women's Work, (London: Earthscan Publications Limited, 1992), p. 25.

25. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, folder 8.

26. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, folder 2.

27. Ibid., folder #8.

28. Campbell, p. 61.

29. Ibid., p. 57.

30. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Collection, folder # 12.

31. Lutz, p. 195.

32. Lutz and Collins observed in their studies of National Geographic Magazine's photographs that women were more likely to smile at the camera than men.

33. Ibid., 178 from Traube, 1989.

34. Margolis, p. 77.

35. Luxton, p. 58.

36. Green, p. 16.

37. Ibid., p. 23-24.

38. See today's Pocahontas.

39. Partington, "Feminist Art and Avant-Gardism" p. 9. Hutcheon, p. 151.

40. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, folder #37.

41. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, folder #37, emphasis mine.

42. National Archives of Canada, Photography Collection, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and Development, folder 37, negatives included, emphasis mine.

43. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, DIAND collection, (1976-281), folders 35, 88, and 91.

44. Lewenhak, p. 23.

45. Luxton, p. 32.

46. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, DIAND collection (1976-281), folder, 12.

47. Luxton, p. 15. Across Canada at this time, women were both encouraged and expected to have willingly abandoned war-time jobs in the public sphere in order to return to the kitchen and family. Their work during the war was temporary and, though necessary at the time, certainly not appropriate to women once men were able to resume manual labour. As discussed in Chapter 2, home appliances were manufactured and marketed for women in the 1950's in order to provide them with special reason to return to the home, where they could reign as experts in the economics of the home, assume the role of mother, and be beautiful for their husbands especially after a few sessions in "Charm School". Given that native men also participated in the wars, a similar sequence of events would have been expected of native women whose husbands served. Housework, with technological advancement, was less and less associated with production. This justifies, feminists argue, the false and harmful notion that a housewife does not work. Not less, but more, is the housewife an example of "the integration of work and leisure in everyday life" (Ibid., p. 74) than the working man.

48. Partington, p. 12. The author states that, as wives, women are first sexual.

49. Lewenhak, p. 2 :

CHAPTER 5
NFB PHOTOGRAPHS
"WIFE OF ...":
REPRESENTING NATIVE WOMEN AS THE OTHER

National Film Board films and stills, which were used across the country for educational purposes, created a pleasant and positive narrative about Canadians. Even when private or Departmental organizations requested or commissioned images, as was the norm, since any official film-making within Canada required approval and permission of the Board, the post-war style through to the 1960s required wholesome people, poses and compositions that did not shock or confront, but instead encouraged a common spirit and goal. The reason for the consistently positive and elevating messaging was Canada's realization of itself as a nation distinct from its former status of dominion and part of the British Empire prior to the Second World War. Although the NFB professed to depict "all" Canadians, all Canadians were not depicted without prejudice. "Nobility", "simplicity" and the "legendary" nature of aboriginals in picturing were encouraged, and the subjects were even allowed to tell their own histories as in the case of the Forest Theatre Company's production of a play about poet Pauline Johnson. Captions and pictorial composition, however, are encoded intentions of these photographers to illustrate the slow change in the identities imposed by the dominant culture.

The National Film Board created and selected for distribution, photos and captions relating to native women. These, as educational and

informational material, were intended to teach Canadians and others about native culture and to send messages about contemporary native assimilation at the same time as advocating traditional lifestyle. However, these images and words actually illustrate how native women should live and behave as workers according to official perception, and not necessarily how they did live and work either within their own communities or as people assimilated into Canadian society. Also, additional connotations of "difference" have been ascribed to photos of women of native heritage. When photographs show that the lives of native women emulate those of middle-class non-native women, the white female viewer is portrayed as a role model and reaffirmed in her role in Canadian society as wife, mother, and homemaker.¹ In the NFB still photographs, native women are predominantly portrayed in mothering and handicraft roles. Although assimilation is clearly noted as favourable at all times, highly skilled native women appear rarely as against DIAND portrayals.²

The exploration of the original context of the collections, and of how the images were made to conform to expectations or to form the ideas of audiences, is central to this thesis. The collections' purpose was originally to function as an educational and informational tool that, in the form of illustration and accompaniment to the written word, was to be viewed by people within and without Canada. Due to their altered context in the archives, photographs that were once a tool of influence are today static and serve a high archival interest but less wide circulation.

Although the NFB monopolized the Canadian film industry for several decades, NFB photoshoots were nevertheless made by different people or organizations, all with varying intention and individual biases. The NFB's still photos illustrated texts, magazines, journals and newspapers in Canada and world-wide. The following sections examine how the makers and their contemporary audiences would have perceived and received the photographs at the time of their making, as well as how today's public views the same pictures. The photographic and textual analysis that follows notes the role of the photographer, the purpose of the photoshoot if it is known, the image's use by the Board, and conclusions that can be drawn about the makers as individuals and as part of an organization that worked to represent a nation.

5.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE NFB COLLECTION (1971-271)

Transferred by the National Film Board to the National Archives of Canada in 1971, the NFB Collection (1971-271) illustrates many aspects of Canadian life from the perspective of the government. Economic, social, and political scenes, as well as private domestic views and examples of cultural events, are included.³ This particular collection of NFB still photography material is especially valuable as an example of the motives and intentions of its source because it was compiled by the Board itself.⁴ The National Archives accession file describes the collection as showing both rural and urban locations across Canada. Well-known Canadians as well as international figures are represented, as are special

events such as the Royal Tours of 1939 and 1951 and photos illustrating various government departments. Images illustrating the federal management of aboriginal affairs depict settlements, communities and building projects, religion, education, and home economics from the perspective of an assimilation policy. Traditional activities such as fishing, trapping, snowshoeing, canoeing, preparing for the annual Indian pageant, and participation in the Calgary Stampede Parade, are also featured.⁵

The archival description of this massive collection also includes details about the number and type of images and their provenance. The collection, which includes a total of 128,290 images (110,790 black-and-white and 17,500 colour), spans the years 1925 to 1965, according to records compiled since the acquisition of the photographs, but the majority of photographs of interest to this research appear to have been taken between 1940 and 1965. Since both collections contain similar photographs, it is comparable to DIAND's collection (1973-281), which includes many images produced by the NFB.⁶

The bulk of the collection has been reproduced on microfiche, where the images are juxtaposed with their original captions, which are typed on catalogue cards placed to the right of the photographs. In these copied images, identification numbers have been placed to the right of the photograph, just above the caption. The prints and negatives stored in boxes have captions, though these may differ from captions on microfiche. A study of the tone and style of caption writing during this

era creates a narrative about the perspective of the government towards Canadians and towards its own departments and their purposes in serving, or more accurately, directing and instructing, the Canadian public. The consistency of the captions' style, which is unfailingly upbeat, suggests that NFB photograph captions were probably written, or at least edited, by departmental staff members and not by the photographers. Photographers were hired for individual assignments and, writes Langford, supplied the Board with some information about images they took.

Access to the collection was determined by its corporate creator, who organized the images according to an alphabetical system which leads to a numerical one. This arrangement must be deduced by the archivist or researcher to locate equivalents to more contemporary key words. The alphabetized headings under which photographs might be found according to subject, indicate that images of people are often locatable through the naming of an object with which they work or through an identified location. Organization of the photographs and their subject headings indicate the Board's priorities and concerns.⁷ (see Appendix B)

The importance of employment emerges as a central theme of this still collection. Some subject terms that lead to photos of people at work are "wood", "fish rack", and "muskrat", as well as the names of some of the provinces. "Negro", "Italian" and "Ukrainian" are names used to indicate the identity of Canadians of particular backgrounds, while

"Indian" is a term applied to people of Native American heritage as well as to people born in India.⁸ One finds images of native women in the collection first through access points under "Indian", and then under such headings as "fur", "trapping", "homemakers", and "education". Frequently, women are discussed under the titles or names of their husbands or fathers and not their own. The term "squaw" is used liberally to identify older women of native heritage. The abundant use of the phrase "wife of" indicates the relational significance of a woman's identity in the eyes of the Board, whose views were a reflection of, as well as an influence on, society's perspectives.

Although the NFB's mandate altered over time, its representations consistently lauded the value of work. In a society flooded with a myriad of cultures, religious practices, and languages, labour became the one constant that, despite other differences, could continue to command respect in the eyes of the government and, in turn, the public. So much was the work ethic valued, that, from the NFB's perspective, the ratio of pay to work could become irrelevant. Images depicting hard work for which the individual is not fairly paid, are usually accompanied by captions stating variously that the person happily survives on the nobility of hard work. It is not surprising, then, that NFB images of native women which were designed to project favourable examples of the native way of life and of the role of the woman in society, were images that portrayed the subject as successfully integrated into a working environment.

This environment was often one that was considered "traditional"

in the eyes of Western photographers, since frequently the subject was shown doing work that fulfilled romantic expectations about native people: men were shown trapping, and women tending to children, preparing food and preparing animal hides.⁹ Although this work was, for some native people, a reality, it by no means represented the lifestyle of all native people in Canada or of all native women in the Maritimes. The work depicted by the NFB as representative of lived experience, consisted of labour that a Euro-Canadian viewer would recognize as emblematic of native life and of non-native expectations of women. The written or subliminal suggestion about the nature of the work, and the woman's place in it, was an image that the Euro-Canadian viewer would consider (and hence absorb) as necessary and honourable, since it reflected primarily Euro-Canadian notions about the place of the woman in the home, family, and work situation, and such notions about non-white women.

In seeking to portray their subjects to suit popular or ethnographic interests, non-native photographers reveal, through their perceptions, how, in some cases, women were to be treated differently from men as subjects of a visual medium. Men are more frequently identified by their hard work, identifiable with the physical labour of "any" man.¹⁰ Women, on the other hand, are shown at the traditional work of the native woman, which is unlike that of the non-native woman. When depicted in a contemporary work situation, the native woman remains in the role of the caretaker: nurse, homemaker, cook, or seamstress, or in the role of

the beauty queen or of a subordinate to a white person. While these women did not necessarily report to white male or female superiors or rely on them for direction, the NFB captions' tone suggest that this state of dependence was present. Such manipulation enabled the Board as well as DIAND to allow attention to be given to women who defied gender and racial expectations. At the same time, it stifled and diminished their actual accomplishments.

In order to illustrate these patterns, three photographs will be examined in detail: a woman and a girl in an Indian Pageant; a woman skinning a beaver while her son watches; and a Mi'kmaq couple making baskets. These photographs have been chosen from about three dozen in the collection that depict native women working in the Maritimes, Ontario and Quebec. I selected these images either because they illustrate the NFB mandate well, or because the contradiction and inconsistency between visual image and written language is revealing of departmental and official prejudices that the caption writer has attempted to neutralize. Either way, these representations of women are typical of the collection. Many more such images could be cited from Central, Western, and Northern Canada. Other images of women in these geographic locations are portraits, and some illustrate men at work and women in positions of support to them. Both the portraits and the images of women as support to the working man are worthy of further research, but are beyond the scope of this thesis. A further group of photographs show their subjects in healthy and comfortable living conditions. Such images,

accompanied by directive captions, suggest to the viewer the favourable effects of work and of government policies toward Canada's aboriginal people.¹¹

5.2 Consideration of the photographs

(i) Forest Theatre (fig 30)

A photo taken in August 1961 by Gar Lunney, a prominent NFB photographer born in Winnipeg in 1920, shows a young woman and a young girl¹² taking part in the Indian Pageant and Forest Theatre on the Indian Reservation at Brantford, Ontario. Several of the photographs in the selection of twenty-three¹³ images, which Lunney made for the assignment and which were compiled into photostory format, will be mentioned, but one particular photograph has been selected for detailed discussion. In this portrait, a young and attractive woman probably in her early twenties, wearing a leather dress, a feather headdress, and braided hair held in place by a headband, faces the viewer as she sits in a canoe by the shore of a lake. A pole hung with rows of drying corn husks frames the image on the right, and the giant pestle and the young girl who holds it as she looks at the woman in the canoe, frame the woman, who is the focus of the photograph, on the left. The photo is taken from a high vantage point, and the viewer looks down slightly on the girl in the foreground, and looks down even more onto the one in the canoe, creating a relationship of superiority and inferiority, of voyeur and object, between the viewer and subject.

The accompanying caption states:

Birch Bark canoe - Indian - girl - child - corn - Indian Pageant - forest theatre - Indian reservation - Brantford, Ont - Indian implements

Photograph shows a little girl in the foreground in the act of grinding corn; Various Indian implements can be seen. In the background can be seen an Indian girl in a typical birch bark canoe.

G. Lunney - 8/61

Miss Julia Jamieson was director of the Forest Theatre during 1961 for this play about Pauline Johnson, famous Mohawk poet and songwriter who was best known for her travelling dramatic presentations. Interestingly, she is said to have concocted her own manner of "Indian" dress and her manner along with her poetry and other presentations, knowing that an image that pleased non-native audiences with its conformation to stereotypes would garner her more attention.¹⁴ Public attractions and historic sites have used the same thinking to market their products. An NFB photostory entitled "Historic Past Recaptured" illustrates this by the depiction of a young woman dressed as an Indian Princess, complete with tomahawk¹⁵ (fig 31). In a similar fashion, the photographer pictured, and a writer labelled, the subjects of the Forest Theatre photoshoot in a stereotypical manner. For instance, two photos are portraits: one depicts a man in a feather headdress, and the other, a young lady. The former's caption states: "Photograph is a close-up study of a Mohawk Indian"¹⁶, and the latter, "Photograph is a close-up of an attractive Indian girl in her native

costume".¹⁷ (fig 32) In fact, both depict actors dressed for their respective roles in the play, and neither contextualizes the image by mentioning this fact.

The twenty-three photographs seen in sequence reveal the bias of the photographer and the writer, and the organization for which both work. Some of the earlier images depict the actors dressing and applying makeup for their roles.¹⁸ This is a visual attempt at contextualization on the part of Lunney, but it is subverted in the individual photo due to visual and written treatment. One is a furtive snapshot taken from behind the subjects:

Photograph shows some young Indian children on the reserve standing beside an automobile. In the foreground is an Indian girl with her back towards the camera, and wearing shorts.

Lunney 8/61.¹⁹

The taking of the image, as well as the fascination with the girl's manner of dress evidenced by the caption, indicates the immersion of the author and photographer in fantasy about native life: they are unable to separate fiction from lived experience and therefore express surprise that an "Indian girl" would wear contemporary clothing.²⁰

The image of the "Indian Princess" (fig 30) has been seen by various audiences in various contexts since the time of its making. It was used as a still image within the context of the photographs of the Forest Theatre group; was distributed and published as an image in a photostory about the Forest Theatre; appeared as part of a photographic collection within the entire context of all NFB photographs, and as of 1971, formed part of

a boxed, microfiched and catalogued series of images in an archive.²¹ The eye of the viewer is drawn first to the woman in the canoe, who, at the centre of the image and facing the camera, is the focal point, and then it moves to the figure of the girl at whom she smiles. An interior gaze is established, one that travels between the two figures and one that indicates an understanding and feminine or mother-daughter rapport between them. Although it is not directly stated that the woman is the child's mother or older sister, the caption both suggests that the girl imitates her mother's work, and indicates by the words and by the positioning of the two figures, a relationship of trust, learning and leadership. This approach is consistent with the approach of the NFB to the representation of all Canadians, and particularly of women. Therefore the stamp of the photographer reflects the didactic messages of both the NFB and society, as well as expectations about women's work and behaviour, which are all well-ingrained ideas by the 1960s.²²

The fictional aspect of this series of photographs is significant. This approach (viewing the photographic images as fiction) separates the photographs from their status as images of actors playing parts. The series is no longer merely a fictional account (the photograph) of another fictional situation (actors posing), but rather it has become a fictional account (the photograph) of a situation that the maker wanted to represent as a lesson in life to other young girls, and therefore as an example of what should be non-fiction.²³ The twenty-three images that comprise this photoshoot are therefore doubly fictional: firstly, because as

photographs they represent the photographer's interpretation of a scene, and, secondly, in the majority of the photographs the subjects are actors playing roles. Their acted portraits of actual aboriginal individuals of the past are based on a history that to a great degree was determined by manipulation of identity by a dominant culture as well as by the very actors themselves.

The Forest Theatre image (Fig 30) is a simulacrum²⁴ - a photograph of a fictional event and therefore a fictional representation of fiction itself, the stereotype of the Indian Princess - and has here been interpreted as an instructional guide, for the viewer, to three stages of womanhood: childhood, youth, and motherhood. The roles played by the above actors in performing idealized versions of their own cultures are vital to the effect of the photo. While the Forest Theatre images suggest how women come to behave both as actresses and as women, other images in the NFB collection situate native women, and, by implication, women of all other cultures, races, and religions, within similar settings of the domestic scene, and within work related to the health and comfort of the family.

If we disregard the theatrical setting, we see that the roles the actors play, the organization of the photograph, and the caption, illustrate the NFB's thoughts on the expected roles of both native and non-native women within Canadian society, for women, regardless of race, are often expected to fulfill romantic ideals. Even though native individuals are shown here as fictional representations of historical fact, effort has still

been made to draw parallels between native and non-native women's roles and their behaviour. Although native individuals have been shown, native society has not.²⁵

Within the context of the Forest Theatre photos, and within the context of the entire NFB collection, this particular image (Fig 30), addresses varying issues in the eyes of the critic. Because of the prominence of women in the play, this selection of images alone would provide an interesting study of non-native, specifically NFB, perceptions of women in Indian society. Within the collection as a whole, Fig. 30 becomes an emblem of what, for non-native viewers, it is to be Indian and a woman. It also reinforces the "traditional", "necessary", and "required" role asked of women in Canadian society and it becomes the NFB's statement to the non-native viewer in the 1950s about how native people live and what they believe. Though a play about Pauline Johnson, the story is biographical and purports to recall history, which though written by white men, was then respected as accurate. Here native people supposedly re-create the life of a heroine of their culture and simultaneously abide by behavioural codes that are deemed appropriate to Canadian women in general. For instance, the image and caption suggest that homemaking is the dream of the young girl in the picture who will model her life on that of the older girl.

The child, whose work, grinding corn, is addressed in the caption, works with her back to the audience. Although the subject heading accompanying the image states that the people in the photo are actors of

the Forest Theatre, the caption states that a young woman, who might as well be named "Indian Princess" in the caption because of the obvious reference to this stereotype, faces a little girl who is working presumably as her mother does and as she will when she is older. Simultaneously, this idea is intended as instruction and encouragement to all young Canadian girls regardless of race, because all Canadian women were to fulfill certain expected roles in society. The romanticization of a necessary role gives it greater public appeal. Out of the context of the theatre, the caption and image become emblems of non-native romantic visions of the brand of work appropriate to native women. Nineteenth-century constructions of femininity were still at work during the 1960s, when such traditional work was no longer the norm for a woman of native ancestry. This image, used as an educational and informational tool throughout the country, distorts the reality of the lifestyle of the majority of native women living in Canada at the time, and resurrects the romantic vision of simplicity and purity of life in the wilderness. Additionally, a female audience would here find reinforced the idea that work appropriate to women carried the stamp of nobility. The subliminal narrative states that the child in the picture aspires to be like her mother, someone whose honour and duty lie in her ability to nourish and nurture her family. She must aspire to cook as her mother does and to belong within the home, where woman's place was then biologically seen to be.²⁶

Another photostory illustrates and discusses the role of the woman

in the home. It is entitled "Housekeeping School", and the images show young women learning about everything from child-care to cooking" (fig 33). Another photo of an aboriginal woman emplaces the subject within traditional lifestyle and treats the image and the person, because of the work that is executed, as a curiosity or anomaly: G. Lunney, in Koksilah, B.C. in 1956, photographs a woman. The caption reads: "Photo shows Miss Margaret Charlie washing the wool in a primitive fashion, with water heated on an open fire in two tubs"²⁸ (fig 34). Old-world assumptions about women's roles examined by Luxton and fellow authors are first, the myth of "natural maternity and domesticity"; secondly, the myth that the family household is a "haven in a heartless world"; thirdly, that women who are home full time do not work; and finally, that "women in the home exercise significant power and influence in the world".²⁹ Feminist research during the 1960s and 1970s disproved these myths, which by their statements about women undervalued the role of the male as parent, caregiver and husband.³⁰

Somewhere in between the child and the mother lies the status of "Indian Princess", represented by the girl in the canoe. A woman who fits this stereotype is sexual and virginal, has wisdom and innocence, and above all, possesses beauty and allure, though she is quite unaware of her "powers" as a woman. She exists in a state apart from labour, or if it is depicted, it is work that is portrayed as leisurely and noble. Her job is to please the eye and to be an object of desire: a model for every woman. In the DIAND album, several photographs depict native women in the "Miss

Canada Indian Princess Contest"³¹ (fig 35). Homi Bhabha discusses the subversive power of language which, once offensive and controlling, infuses itself into discourse until on the surface it appears to lose its negative connotations.³² At this moment, however, it has acquired absolute control through the power of naming; it appoints identity to people who were once made victims by the same words. These victims are ultimately made prisoners by language. Although aesthetically pleasing, the perspective suggests the subordination, and perhaps heightens the beauty, of the central figure: the "Indian maiden". The correlation between subordination and allure are not foreign to art, photography, or advertizing in the depiction of the female body. Angela Partington writes, "the purpose is often to reclaim the sign - woman's body - from masculine fantasy, de-colonize it and reintegrate it to express aspects of female experience"³³

(ii) Anne Kistabish skins beaver while son watches (fig 36)

The second photo is remarkable for what it reveals about the NFB perspective of a woman at work as homemaker, mother, and teacher. It is taken from a series of twenty-seven photographs ³⁴ taken by F. Hunter in 1948 of the Kistabish and Isik families in Northern Quebec. In each case, the men are trappers and the women process the furs. The title accompanying the photostory about this theme is "Abitibi Beaver Pay Dividends", so it is perceived to be a narrative about trapping in Quebec. Within that context it discusses native women's roles from the perspective

of a non-native government.

Anne Kistabish, wife of Noah Kistabish, a Hurricane River Indian trapper, skins beaver while son Alfred watches.

Photo by G. Hunter, March 1948 ³⁵

Two photos of this scene are in the collection. Each one is taken from a different angle, but both show the same scene of a woman, accompanied by her small son, seated on the ground next to the wall inside her home as she works. This particular photo is taken from a higher vantage, so that the viewer looks down on Anne. One of these photos is included in a photostory which illustrates how the NFB presented the image with other photographs and captions prior to sending it to Canadian newspapers for publication. A second photo in the photostory is similar in its treatment of the woman, Mary Anne Isik. The accompanying caption reads:

Mary Anne (left), wife of Etienne Isik, a Brindle Lake, P.Q., Indian Trapper, sews up leg holes of beaver pelt stretched on drying rack while children Monique, Mary and Catherine look on.³⁶

In both instances, the women's identities depend upon those of their absent husbands. D'Ann Campbell, author of Women at War With America, writes that the naming of woman as "wife" can, in such a context as this one, be negative and confining.³⁷ "Wife of Noah Kistabish" connotes the ownership that Noah has over Anne. Not only as a woman does she belong to him, as is verified in the stipulations of the Indian Act, which ensured that the husband presided over legal ownership of property and identity regardless of actual division of labour in the family, but also as a worker, who cannot be seen as autonomous. Her work is presented as an

extension of her husband's, who is the trapper. Women's work is often shown to be more arduous, man's as more necessary and honourable, write Lutz and Collins, and they cite the phrases, "man, the hunter", "woman, the labourer".³⁸ A previously mentioned NFB photo which shows three teenage girls cutting wood before a log house in the winter, and a woman and two small children standing and watching the camera from the door, illustrates this point as well as showing an example of the use of the derogatory term, "squaw", which is never used to describe contemporary native women. The caption states:

Photo shows the squaws and children taking over household duties such as woodcutting while the men are away on the busy trails trapping or fishing through the ice of Lac La Rouge in Northern Saskatchewan. ³⁹(fig 12)

B. Gluntz - 3/45

Similarly, in the photo of Anne Kistabish the woman does the necessary work by preparing the animal for use, while the man, unseen, performs the noble act of hunting. In the tradition of the photography of native people, this image conforms to the romantic and traditional representation of their culture and portrays her as a curiosity. Historically, this division of labour is accurate according to Rayna Green, although its interpretation by the department is deemed positive only because it conformed to non-native society's sense of propriety. This photo can be interpreted as both a romanticization of the hard-working woman or as reinforcement of what is already expected of a woman in Anne's place. An aboriginal reading might refer to it as a visual record of the work and techniques of many Indian women in the past and into the

1950s. As well, the photograph would act as a record of NFB treatment of native women in its photography.

Racism cannot be understood apart from sexism,⁴⁰ writes Luxton. She states that the government has had different policies towards native women and non-native women. "When dealing with whites, governments perpetrated a notion that home and family are the most important concerns for women".⁴¹ The assimilation project that was in effect between the 1880s and the 1960s involved removing native children from homes and sending them to be educated in Christian schools far from their families and familiar language and culture or sending them for adoption in white families. "In both cases, the outcome for native communities was an assault on and a destruction of family life totally at odds with the pro-nuclear family ideology cherished in white communities".⁴² The images produced by the NFB therefore, not only portray native women as parallel in their success as workers and mothers to white women (racism is eliminated as a concern), but the e didactic and propagandistic images ignore the history of the treatment of native communities by the government. Assimilation, these images affirm, has been successful or very nearly so, and no harmful effects have been sustained by anyone, least of all by the family structure, which, in most of the images portraying women, is reinforced as being healthy, positive, and unblemished. The long-term effects of Reservation schools are ignored in captions, or captions indicate that they were a positive influence. The results shown by the camera are here displayed for the

public to see: healthy, intelligent, educated and ambitious young adults who are assimilated and fit the best stereotypes of the ideal white man, woman, or child, fill the frame of each picture. The image being discussed, that of a woman working in the home and surrounded by her children, was an image of motherhood and cultural tradition that probably appealed to an audience that, like nineteenth century collectors of such images, preferred the image that suggested romance to any photograph that illustrated an uncomfortable truth.⁴³

In their analysis of National Geographic Magazine's photographs, Lutz and Collins discuss the gaze and its significance. It is significant, though it cannot be analyzed without mention of its being the author's interpretation of the gaze, that the woman in the photograph does not look at the camera nor does she exhibit any sign of pleasure, or even interest, in having her photograph taken. This reinforces the notion of panopticon, or of the observing eyeball. As the subjects do not acknowledge the presence of the camera, the image is even more convincing as a document.⁴⁴ Instead, the gaze by both members of the image is turned inwards to the subject and focus of the photograph, the work, which is the act of skinning a beaver.

Because of her presence in the home, with her son and with her work, the photo could be mistaken for an image of domesticity by the non-native viewer seeking visual reference points. With her son in the photograph, her autonomy as worker is taken away and she is made mother above all. Although in itself the image was positive in the 1950s,

it disempowers the autonomous working woman's influence. The mothering image is not synonymous with independence, but with "Universal human values", which Lutz and Collins write, are often used to depict women.⁴³ This is a lie, of course, because the women were deprived of mothering when their children were taken away from them and sent to the residential schools where many died of tuberculosis. Universal human values include family love and appreciation of female beauty. This particular image of mother and son represents love, trust, security, enclosure, leadership and learning: all the positive connotations of the home and the relationship between a mother and her children which the mid-century viewer would have appreciated in such an image. For a viewer today in search of references to native history in these images, such a photo might suggest, through the relation between mother and son, the specific roles of the Indian women in her own family and with her children. Her responsibilities as woman were deemed oppressive by non-native observers, and Indian women were stereotyped as ugly and hardworking because the men were lazy and immoral. In fact, Green writes, among her own people, especially among men, a native women's place was one of honour, and she commanded respect.⁴⁴

During the 1950s, the North American male and female audience would have seen the image differently from how we see it today because certain types of work were much more highly approved of for women than others. Margolis, author of Mothers and Sons, says,

... women's roles are neither grounded in biology nor

indeterminate in nature, fluctuating through time for no apparent reason. Ideas about women's capabilities and proper place in the scheme of things do not change at random, they are ultimately shaped by a society's sexual division of labour, which in turn is causally related to its productive and reproductive imperatives.⁴⁷

A paradox might have existed in the minds of the non-native middle-class man, woman, or child who saw this image two or three decades ago. The sight of a woman doing such "traditional" Indian work while dressed in a contemporary, almost masculine, fashion may have been confusing or disturbing.

The importance of the physical placement of the woman and her son outside the boundaries of the home and yet within its shelter is vital. The photograph brings to mind the duality of the private versus the public self. Luxton argues that since ideas in the home and outside of it are directly related to one another, there are not two spheres in place: one "a feminized domestic oasis called 'home' and the other a hard-bitten masculinized arena of competition called 'work' "⁴⁸ The notions of the private and public spheres, however, were accepted formulae for living during the years represented by the NFB; therefore, this ideology becomes integral to the interpretation of the images. The notion of the private sphere as the domain of the woman, rationalized the behaviour of women in the home and with their children. In a parallel fashion, the compatibility of the man and the public sphere, reinforced by his daily distancing from the home and family, ensured that the correlation would persist.

This paradigm is reproduced in a photostory ⁴⁹ under the title: "Abitibi Beaver Pay Dividends"(fig 37). Although captions indicate emphasis on the woman's role and link her work to her gender, the title of the photostory indicates that the importance of the article is related to the fur industry. This photostory includes the images of both Anne Kistabish and of Mary Anne. The captions differ from microfiche (card catalogue) to photostory. The latter states the following:

Under the watchful eye of *her son, the wife* of an Indian trapper skins beaver. In line with conservation program, federal and provincial biologists, through special beaver colony at Lethbridge, Alta., are attacking the problem of beaver diseases, chief of which are tularemia and pseudo-tuberculosis.⁵⁰

Unlike the caption accompanying the microfiche image, this caption fails to name Anne by her first or last name, referring to her instead as "wife of an Indian trapper". The paternalism is doubled since she is not "observed" by her young son, but she is under his "watchful eye". In the photostory, her husband is also featured. It is interesting that in the photostory, the photograph is significant for its illustration of the fur industry, while in the microfiche selection of images, the caption indicates the importance of her role within her family. The final sentence of the caption indicates once again the management of Indian affairs by the government. As a native woman within a native community, her naming might have been dealt with differently by a photographer and writer of native origin and differently yet again by male and female authorship.

I selected this particular image for analysis because it must have failed to conform to either one of the two expected cultural images for women during the time of its making and distribution: Anne's contemporary dress brings to mind the manner of the working man, and this in turn may have been a contingent association made with non-white women: they were hard workers, but were unattractive and unfeminine in terms of the white middle class standards of their time.⁵¹ Anne's arduous work would probably have been deemed positive by the NFB and the viewer because of its association with the preparation of food, then perceived to be a woman's role.⁵² While the NFB was directed at all of Canada's people, its ideals arose from a distinctly middle-class perspective. The photographer and mandate may strive to show difference as something to be accepted; the fact that such difference is stressed still elevates the middle-upper non-native class to a position of influence, and the woman in the image becomes an example of a display of interest, consumption and scrutiny, but also of "otherness". Nevertheless, since the concept of work is a favourable one, such an image as this also illustrates how the subjects of the picture and presumably those people related to them, are self-sufficient through their work and thus are worthy of being considered Canadian citizens.

(iii) Mr. and Mrs. Bartlett weave baskets (fig 38 and 39).

A photograph of the Bartletts, who are pictured making baskets at their home in Nova Scotia, was taken by freelance photographer Bob

Brooks in 1959.⁵³ Several captions describe the photograph of Mr and Mrs Abraham Bartlett. Each one's wording differs with context. The NFB caption describes the scene as follows and shows a discrepancy regarding location, since NFB states that they work at the Hants County Fair, while the DIAND caption that follows states that they work at home:

Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Bartlett weave birch strips into baskets
for sale at the Hants County Fair at Windsor, N.S.

Bob Brooks

while the DIAND caption takes a title from an article in the Halifax Chronicle Herald by Joe Leblanc: "Indian Basket-makers find ready market for products". The article, which incidentally is included in the DIAND version of the photograph but not with the NFB version, illustrates how the place of women is defined within a description of a preconceived visual image:

Yarmouth: When housewives in Western Nova Scotia hang out the family wash on a Monday morning chances are that the large basket they are using was made by Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Bartlett, a well known and respected Micmac Indian couple, whose wares in the basket-making art have been a household word in this district for many years.

Veterans at Art

Mr. Bartlett was born in Tusket, Yarmouth County, while his wife was born in Shelburne. Taught the art of basket making by his father, Abraham has been fashioning his products out of Nova Scotia wood since he was 14 years old. Mrs. Bartlett has been turning out various types of baskets for over 20 years. One large store in Yarmouth handles as many baskets as it can obtain, but Mr. Bartlett is better known as a house-to-house salesman of the family products and in this capacity he travels as far as a hundred miles from Yarmouth to dispose of his wares. Most of his journeys are made on foot. The financial reward from these exhausting travels and long hours spent in the back breaking intricate work, is meagre to say the least,

but this Indian couple carries on philosophically in their chosen lot.

Four tools are used, a pulp saw, axe, strip cutter and knife.

Hoops and handles are made from ash while the main basket is maple. Orange, red, green and blue dyes are used for colouring. Besides clothes baskets, other types are the bushel basket used by farmers, the 1-2 bushel basket used in the valley for apple picking, and smaller blueberry picking containers, etc.

Birch bark canoes, clothes poles and axe handles are produced by Bartlett.

A large clothes basket takes them an entire day to produce and this art is an object of admiration by hundreds of people each year at the fall exhibition where Mrs. Bartlett is usually present to demonstrate how it is done.

Photo by Bob Brooks -
Yarmouth, N.S.

caption: "Basket-weavers at work - Mr and Mrs Abraham Bartlett are shown in their home working on baskets while surrounded by products of their labours. Mr. Bartlett is working on a small berry basket, and Mrs. Bartlett on a clothes basket.⁵⁴

The art, Joe Leblanc explains, was learned from Abraham Bartlett's parents. Although Mrs Bartlett herself had been weaving baskets for twenty years, little importance seems to be allotted to her participation in the couple's joint venture. Strangely, the learning, practice and success of the art seems more to be attributed to Abraham than to his wife despite her experience. Perhaps this is due to the fact that while Yarmouth's store sells the baskets, Abraham must also travel many miles on foot to sell enough of them to survive. Several DIAND photos show women who earn their living by doing crafts. Perhaps the tone of captions with regard to craftspersons may reflect the fact that in 1947 the Welfare division became responsible for "welfare, family allowances, Veteran's

Land Act administration, and handicrafts".⁵⁶ Trudy Nicks, in "Marketing of an Image", states that the mass production of handicrafts caused native women to be associated with particular roles and stereotyped. Handicrafts also ensured survival of some cultures due to their insistence on the reproduction of the same patterns and images. DIAND helped artists to market, produce and sell their works since the 1960s.⁵⁶ If the making of handicrafts was deemed by the government to be non-work or charity, something the otherwise unemployable were able to do, this might explain why the caption and article express no remorse or concern for the fact that despite the arduous work involved in the process, the Bartlett couple are barely able to earn a living, and, clearly, white middle-class citizens profit from their work. Langford, in her essay about the NFB, mentions that the Board portrayed Canada as "the living museum of traditional lifestyle and craft".⁵⁷

The process of basket-making is then described, and the following statement is used to justify the arduous work and minimal pay of the couple:

The financial reward from these exhausting travels and long hours spent in the back breaking intricate work, is meagre to say the least, but this Indian couple carries on philosophically in their chosen lot.

The concept of choice stated in the caption is misleading. The implication is that since people can get their wares for very little, prices, and hence wages, cannot be raised. The absence of commentary by the department on the Bartlett's standard of living suggests that the writers

and photographer found their way of life appropriate to "Indians". Also, the statement that the Bartletts were undoubtedly content with their work despite its harshness, salves the conscience of those who buy baskets. Evidently, an aesthetic and documentary approach has been taken, and it nods its approval of the couple's depiction. By the caption's tone, the reader might erroneously be led to believe that the people depicted enjoy their lives and do not seek change, when in fact, it is the option to change that is absent. Their internal gaze indicates both concentration upon their work and disregard of the instrument of observation and intrusion. The unsmiling and oblivious gaze might also suggest a demonstration and a willing, accustomed or coerced stance as worker on display. Captions attempt to demonstrate an absence of bias, but, since subjective intent is inevitably present, here they become evidence of the DIAND's methods of documenting a human situation.

Basket-making was practiced by the Mi'kmaq prior to the programs and standardization of production offered and encouraged by the government in the twentieth-century. Some historians such as Ted Brasser, author of A Basketful of Indian Culture, believe that it was introduced as a money-making venture that would help to redirect native tradition and work from a hunting to an agrarian society, and that its origins were European. Others dispute this, saying that baskets, which tell about a maker's culture and in some areas were used as an unspoken means of communication and resistance, did have Native American origins.⁸ Their purpose differed from one culture to another, but their

making was related to work, economic need, social relations, and cultural identity.⁵⁹ Basketmaking seems to be perceived by the author of the caption as a natural talent or art and therefore not worthy of high reward or regard, though it is admirable as a sort of artifact or display. The rationalization is that since the basket-makers are so good at what they do, and their talent comes naturally, as craftspersons they haven't the right to ask to be paid in excess.⁶⁰

A parallel photograph in the NFB collection depicts a non-native couple working at a craft. Within the photostory, the photo is entitled: "Maritime couple Make World Famous Pottery"⁶¹ (fig 40). It may at first glance suggest that the image of the Bartletts and that of the non-native couple, are parallel and realistic, and that both portray craft and craft-work done for a living as something positive. No distinguishing visual feature is immediately discernible when comparing the images, and therefore the issue of race, gender, or class differentiation might appear to dissolve should the images be judged literally. However, it is the caption, in the end, that reveals how the maker and institution differentiated the subjects of these images. The institution's gaze is indicated by the editor's choice of subject and then by the formal aspects of the photograph and its cropping and arrangement. The caption statement becomes the "verbal fixing of a vantage on a picture's meaning".⁶²

This image demonstrates what the mandates of both the NFB and DIAND required of pictures of native women and men: the NFB assures its

audience of the health and unsullied tradition of Canada's native craftspeople, while DIAND shows cleanliness, skill, and craft in the workplace and, at the same time, a combination of tradition and a degree of assimilation. Viewers may have felt relief that native cultural tradition was not entirely eradicated. The National Geographic researchers document that non-native viewers respond to the images of native people who, according to photos, appear to be undergoing change, first with pity that the change from "innocent" and "spiritual primitive" is taking place. But by being shown that change is barely occurring and not disturbing the "natural order of things", people are reassured that the innocence attributed to native culture has not died. Non-native guilt is thus relieved. Secondly, some viewers adopt an ethnocentric perspective, noting difference of race, class and physical appearance in the photograph of a woman, and ascribing a hierarchy of race accordingly.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 5

1. The social determination of women's place in Canada was supported and disseminated by the NFB during the decades following the Second World War because of the increasing power of mass media as the official disseminator of ideologies to the public. In 1939, parliament passed a law that stated the following: "... the NFB is a coordinating board whose purpose is to monitor the film activities of government departments, with an aim to making departmental film production and distribution efficient, (National Film Board Administrative Outline (unpublished material to be used within reference archives), p. 1.) This bill was to be implemented during and after wartime, and the NFB's role was to create representations of Canadians to Canada thereafter. It was fully in effect until 1965, when the NFB recommended that "private Canadian producers and freelancers on contract" (ibid., p. 5) make their own films. The official nature of the Board's high-quality and, in many ways, innovative, products gave credibility to images that were lauded as educational and documentary.

2. Stills were selected for photostories which, along with essays about a given subject, were sent to cities in Canada in the form of booklets or pamphlets of a few pages. These could be inserted as they were into newspapers or reproduced and reprinted at the will of the publisher. Textbooks were illustrated with NFB stills, and films were shown in schools. Andrew Rodger states that virtually all school texts as well as newspapers and magazines - any publication that was to represent the overseeing vision of Canada - were illustrated with NFB photographs. The NFB sent its work without charge around the world, and its still photographs and films were respected as advertisement for the country's tourism. In this respect, the NFB was enormously effective in reinforcing already embedded views of Canadians and in particular of the role and place of Canada's aboriginal people.

3. For further descriptive information about the collection, refer to finding aid in appendix.

4. Rodger states that, to create the collection, the NFB selected images that were most successful from the Board's viewpoint or that were most widely published. Jim Burant, states that as a student, he spent a summer selecting specific images for the collection from the files of the Still Division. "It is what we term an edited collection ... the information in there is what was determined by the organization," states Rodger. The Board selected images that had been most successfully circulated, published, and seen by the public, and ones that the NFB considered to be emblematic of its efforts and success in portraying Canada to Canadians.

Also see C. Rodney James.

5. Information gleaned from the online description of the NFB Collection.

6. The NFB collection is described online and in a finding aid created by Adele Stalmach, intern archivist in 1993-94. It analyzes the portrayal of Indian people by the Board. The entire collection is accessible to the researcher on microfiche cards and in the form of prints and negatives stored in boxes. Refer to Appendix B for further discussion of photo-archival arrangement.

7. Despite this sort of direction, and the consistent efforts of the department and photographers to represent Canada's people as happy in their work, viewers will still interpret the same photographs in their own way.

8. The headings and captions under which people of native, African-Canadian, Japanese, Jewish, and Ukrainian origin are discussed reveal that although the department sought to illustrate their equal integration with Euro-Canadians into society, the caption language discloses the social orders that actually existed in the minds of middle-class Canadians and the government during the mid-century. At the same time, during the decades in question, the government recognized that ethnic communities were important to national development and sought to accept them into society.

9. Photos of women in Ontario, the Maritimes and Quebec do not show them in mothering roles as often as do photos from Western Canada. Also, more often, women in the Maritimes are shown working outside the home in non-traditional employment as in the DIAND collection, but as images move westward, fewer aboriginal women are shown in these roles, and more in traditional ones.

10. "Any" suggests that every man could aspire to the work or accomplish it. For this to be feasible, however, "any" would have to be synonymous with "equal opportunity".

11. A photo which may have proven useful, and entitled "women of Lennox Island, P.E.I. (41914), is missing from the microfiche index.

12. Possibly Mrs. MacDougall and her daughter, who appear in two other photos. Photos from National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, NFB Collection, 1971-271, photos 100300 and 100301.

13. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, Collection 1971-271, photo # 100277 - 100300.

14. Doxtator, p. 23.

15. National Archives of Canada, reference services, NFB collection (1971-271), photostory #31 in Vol 1 photostory album in finding aid.

16. Ibid., photo # 100305.

17. Ibid., photo # 100279.

18. Ibid., Tom Hill, today director of the Brantford Cultural Centre, applying makeup to actor in photo # 100289.

19. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, NFB collection (1971-271), photo 100280.

20. Photos near the end of the shoot show a white audience watching the play from seats in the forest.

21. It is #297 in the photostory collection.

22. Another photo in this series bears the caption: "Photograph shows two Indian women pounding corn in the traditional manner" (National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, National Film Board, photo # 100335) and illustrates how, without indication of the context of the making of the image, such a photograph and caption do not acknowledge that the subjects perform, but only reinforce stereotypes about aboriginal women as workers.

23. Tagg writes that a photograph is like an entire sentence which is composed of many signs, has multiple meanings, and is constructed. Without text, however, he regards "the purely visual image [as] nothing but an Edenic fiction... Photographs are not ideas. They are material items produced by a certain elaborate mode of production and distributed, circulated and consumed within a given set of social relations; images made meaningful and understood within the very relations of their production and sited within a wider ideological complex which must, in turn, be related to the practical and social problems which sustain and shape it." (Tagg, p. 188)

24. The term simulacrum is here referred to on the authority of Webster's Dictionary and does not rely on the critical theory of Jacques Lacan, Julia Kristeva, or others.

25. Despite its educational and documentary intentions, the NFB was able to make photographs that sensationalized, exaggerated, and encouraged stereotypes often "on the grounds that they were picturesque or otherwise piqued interest". (Ibid., p. 24) Images could be validated because they were educational, and old prejudices could easily be reinforced when they were presented in the guise of "document". In her essay, "The Museum as a Way of Seeing", Svetlana Alpers examines how a culture's way of life is offered as theatre to museum-goers who are of a variety of other cultures. (Svetlana Alpers, "Museums as a Way of Seeing") It is by the control of visual and written language that what is a depiction of theatre can also be offered to the viewer as actual event or way of life. These photos and captions are evidence that without the provision of context, in this case of how the actors actually lived at the time of the making of the photograph, such official statements by the government as uttered through the photos and captions, presume to present part of the plot in the guise of the entire narrative.

26. The connotation here, according to Luxton, Rosenberg, and Arat-Koc, authors of Through the Kitchen Window, is that because the woman is biologically the one who carries and gives birth to the child, she is therefore better suited to raising children, cooking and cleaning house.

27. National Archives of Canada, reference services, NFB collection (1971-271), finding aid, photostory #45, vol 1 of photostory album.

28. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, NFB collection (1971-271), photos 77179.

29. Luxton, p. 32.

30. Ibid., p. 33.

31. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, DIAND collection (1976-281),

album, p. 5.

32. Bhabha, p. 293.

33. Partington, p. 9.

34. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, NFB collection (1971-271) photos 38823-38850.

35. Ibid., photo 38833

36. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, NFB collection (1971-271) photo 38844

37. Campbell, p. 52.

38. Statement made with reference to National Geographic Magazine photos.

39. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, NFB collection (1971-271) photo 11332.

40. Luxton, p. 18

41. Ibid., p. 18.

42. Luxton, p. 18.

43. Clifford, on the psychology of collecting, writes that "In the West, collecting has long been a strategy for the deployment of a possessive self, culture, and authenticity . . . an exercise in how to make the world one's own" (Clifford, p. 218.)

44. The term panopticon is here referred to on the authority of Webster's Dictionary. It is not borrowed from the context of the writings of contemporary theorists.

45. Lutz, p. 116.

46. Green, p. 48.

47. Margolis, p. 3.

48. Luxton, p. 9. The first printing in 1989 promoted the difference between the two spheres while in this most recent edition, the authors have refuted their former claim.

49. NPC, FA 80, Vol 1.

50. National Archives of Canada, Reference services, NFB collection (1971-271), finding aid, photostory 45. (emphasis mine)

51. Madge Macbeth's writings about a woman wilderness guide twenty years previously illustrates the social thought that preceded the photograph of Anne Kistabish. The guide's work was thought to be distinctly unfeminine, and yet the author, Macbeth, justifies her career choice by continually emphasizing the woman's girlishness, natural beauty, daintiness and femininity, despite the fact that she wore pants, could ride any horse, and led groups of men through the Rocky Mountains. She was clearly an expert and innovator in her field. Information found in archival manuscript and photographic collections and compiled in an essay in 1994.

52. This is reflected in literature and in the sound and visual media both within and without the NFB; NFB film productions about women in the kitchen illustrate this.

53. Brooks, established world-wide as documentarian and portraitist, worked for many newspapers, magazines and books and also did advertizing and private commissions. He made the following personal statement about photography: "Photography is an expression of the photographer's PERSONAL impression of what HE sees and tries to interpret through his camera. I think Canada but primarily the Maritime Provinces are virgin areas where the photographic subject matter has yet to be promoted or CREATIVELY & WITH THOUGHT - yet touched." (Brooks' own statement, June 23, 1968, taken from his resume, CMCP. His emphasis.) Ironically, Brooks writes that communications and creativity are at the heart of his love of photography, since photographs only communicate a biased perspective which Brooks acknowledges. Between 1948-1968, he worked on occasion for the NFB's Photostory Division, Still Division, and Book Division. No subject was barred from his repertoire. In his own words, he was the "only photographer East of Montreal having photographs accepted for NFB Books". (resume, June 23, 1968)

54. National Archives of Canada, Photography Division, DIAND collection (1976-281) folder 2.

55. RG 10 file at reference archives. Unpublished material.

56. Trudi Nicks, "Marketing of an Image" Tawow Vol 2, no 3, p. 5. This publication was edited in its first years by Tom Hill, today director of the Brantford Cultural Centre. It was an arts and cultures magazine distributed to native communities across the country and sponsored and funded by The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It profiled native artists, writers, poets, and craftspersons and articles; reviews and interviews were also conducted for the most part by native authors. Due to lack of consistency in its production as well as lack of funding in its later years, its quarterly publication spanned only 1970 through 1978.

57. Langford, p. 9.

58. A Key Into the Language of Woodsplint Baskets, Eds. Anne McMullen and Russell C. Handsman. (Washington: American Indian Archaeological Institution, 1987), p. 23

59. Ibid., p. 25.

60. Ruth Whitehead looks extensively at the tradition of Micmac basketry, and Lewenhak traces the history of art and craft being considered work for pay. The wealthy and powerful employed and paid specialists in the arts and crafts because these products ensured "the maintenance of their power and their well-being".(Lewenhak, p. 17) Since these practitioners were compelled to devote all of their time to the production of aesthetically pleasing and useful objects, they relied on others to provide food and other needs. "They became customers of each other".(Ibid.)

61. National Archives of Canada, Reference Services, NFB collection (1971-271), finding aid, photostory 51.

62. Lutz, n. 195.

CONCLUSION:

The aim of this thesis is to illustrate how documentary photography acts as a barometer of progress and crucial social relations. The unequal balance of power revealed by evolution of photographic dialogue can only be righted when white people begin to examine and understand past white motives and actions, which photographs can help to illustrate. Berkhofer writes that the manner in which white culture represents native culture indicates how white people see themselves, and the evolution of this imaging reflects changes in the defining culture's self-perception. It is also affected by how Indians see themselves.

Between about 1940 and 1960, through their respective efforts to teach Canadians about other Canadians and to mend or alter past relations between the government and native women by encouraging modernization, DIAND and the NFB in fact reinforced stereotypes and myths about the lifestyle and character of native women in Canada. As well, new stereotypes derived from contemporary depictions of white women were imposed on the image of native women. The photographs produced by the two organizations differed: generally, DIAND portrayed the woman "assimilated" into non-native culture, while the NFB preferred to honour their subjects by preserving their image in traditional working roles, yet showing how their values were contemporary to illustrate how "adaptive" natives could be. Both groups of photos document assimilationist policy at its height. Native women were re-named and their identities re-written by their visual transformation into the

normative codes of white women, regarded as "superior" individuals. Their identities as aboriginal women were further erased by these images following several centuries of non-native dictation of cultural practice that had already forbidden their status and lifestyle. Provided with minimal opportunity as "Indians", many aboriginal women chose the life offered by education in reservation schools and made significant achievements. Yet the more they adhered to white practices and met with success, the more they were accepted and considered as white and the less as "Indian". They had become evidence of the success of assimilation.

Due to the two organizations' mandates and approaches to photographing people, their respective visual collections present encoded portraits of many groups in Canada. The portrayals share a perspective that, not surprisingly, favoured non-native imperial and colonial ideologies about the behaviour of men and women in given situations and environments. While these government-produced photographs may depict women and men of many races, classes, and religions, as photographs which were apparently seen by a broad spectrum of people, they are directed at the values of a white Anglo-Saxon, middle-class and Christian audience. Some images display all people in the guise of the "ideal" middle-class white individual, while others display people in "traditional" ethnic roles. But the captions and visual tone of all the images make reference to the subject's search for perfection or improvement. After the Depression and during the Second

World War a high regard for the work ethic reigned and was reflected in writing, advertizing and photography. Necessity dictated that official organizations deemed the industrious to be of greater value as human beings. Even during the more leisure-oriented 1950s, while non-native people were more often shown in recreational scenarios, the aboriginal subject of the photograph who was not hard at work would have been named "lazy". Native women, whether poor or well-educated, were therefore shown in the ideal categories assigned to women of the dominant culture: mother, housewife, homemaker, nurse, educator, or some other job suited to "any woman", the "perfect woman" of the era. The "positive" image of a woman invariably depicted someone feminine in appearance, who, the caption indicated, had a "natural" understanding of home economics, child-care and femininity. The place of women was established through image and caption, which together indicated where women belonged and how they were to get there. "We'll place you" is the message that was enforced.

The work of native women in their own communities, if it did not emulate contemporary standards for Euro-Canadian women, was considered inappropriate - appropriate roles for aboriginal women were in themselves considered inferior - and therefore, reflected upon the individual an equal brand of inferiority. The portrait might, at the same time, have been romanticized. The portrayal of native women by the NFB and DIAND was therefore an attempt, however damaging, to urge public and world-wide acceptance of the country's "unfortunates" or to

introduce the public to the new and improved relationship between official policies, organizations supported by the government, and the native women to whom they were directed. Whether such a portrayal was accurate or idealized, it was certain to be accepted by a non-native audience whose interest was in learning about native people in Canada through the filter of its own culture.

EPILOGUE

In the decades since the making of the DIAND and NFB photographs, official treatment of aboriginal people in Canadian photography has altered, illustrating a diminution of paternalism and a change in the attitude of the Canadian government towards the First Nations. Expo '67, seen and praised by the most prominent magazines as the best world's fair to that date, demonstrated, according to Robert Fulford, the newest innovations in architecture, art, science, education and cinematography. The Indian Pavilion, though curiously not mentioned in several reviews of the event, was organized and run by aboriginal Canadians whose role in Expo '67 was the genesis of the self-determination movement. Photographs such as those produced by DIAND and the NFB were used to help illustrate how the government had, over the years, created and encouraged false and incomplete identities for people of the First Nations. In the late 1960s, the NFB, in projects in the Maritimes and in Quebec, put the camera into the hands of the subject on several occasions, producing films and stills that also reflected the subjects' views of themselves. As employees of the NFB in the 1970s, Alanis Obomsawin and Studio "D" played a significant role in the education of non-native Canadian people by aboriginal Canadians.

Today, photography aims for a greater realism. Photographers are taking pictures of themselves, and native photographers, of their own cultures in order that the harm of naming and assigning identity be minimized and so that aboriginal subjects of photography might be

represented by other than Euro-Canadian authors. An example is the work of Shelley Niro, creator of Mohawks in Beehives, in which she photographs members of her own family, ironically flaunting the 1950s styles seen in NFB photos. Jane Ash Poitras uses photography in her art to discuss issues concerning native women. The writing of aboriginal women also voices change. Marie-Anne Battiste, author of "Mi'kmaq Women's Dialogue", writes in Canadian Women's Magazine, that the dialogue is with the future. She cites examples from her own community of women who should be recognized for their work or their studies, particularly in education.

Photography is potentially a vehicle towards the production of mutual understanding. In television and film, contemporary representations of aboriginal people have gained popularity. Television shows such as "Northern Exposure", "Destiny Ridge" and "North of 60" seek to represent a non-stereotypical image of native individuals and communities in Canada. While Euro-Canadian portrayal of aboriginal people has become more sympathetic, more importantly, native people are ruling their own depiction and examining past representations of themselves by other cultures. Collections of photographs are made in the first place to preserve and record an idea, or in this case, a people, at a specific stage in its development. Ironically, the greatest loss occurs to culture when change and so-called amelioration at the expense of personal values and practices, are forced upon one culture by another, making collecting a necessary evil. Brock Silversides in his recent

publication, The Facepullers, writes that if more researchers had access to and examined collections of photos, then the role of those who created and reinforced visual stereotypes would become more evident, and a more complete perspective of the naming culture would be understood.

APPENDIX A

The daguerreotype, the early one-of-a-kind process produced by the expert, was made on a silver-plated, highly polished copper plate. Silver, combined with iodine, to which the plate was sensitized, would reduce to silver at contact with light. This, in combination with mercury, formed the one-of-a-kind image. The calotype, the first of the negative-positive processes, was also reproducible by the expert. It was developed by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1841 and involved the creation of negative images through the sensitization of paper to light. In 1847, the wet-plate collodion process marked further advancement, since it involved the production of a negative on a plate sensitized with chemicals. It required immediate development and was then processed on glass, not on paper.

One-of-a-kind ambrotypes dating from the 1860's, as well as the mass-produced cartes-de-visite, sometimes depicted subjects of native origin as serious, commissioned portraits of identified people, but more commonly as titillating exotica. The ambrotype was a unique wet collodion impression in reversed tonal qualities with a piece of black paper behind it to render it in positive tonalities. The audience for these particular images was the non-native collector both in Canada and abroad. Margaret Blackman writes that cartes-de-visite "were little used or collected by natives" (Margaret B. Blackman "Copying People": North West Coast Native Response to Early Photography" B.C. Studies p. 88). Images of celebrities were frequently traded between acquaintances and it is of particular importance to this paper to note that romanticized portraits of unidentified Native American

people were very popular, since they were evidence of unsullied purity and spirituality.

In 1861, the carte-de-visite, "a small paper photograph made from wet-plate negatives and mounted on cards four by two and a half inches"(Greenhill, p. 44), was introduced in Canada after making its debut in Paris in 1854. This was the era of popular distribution, in which mass dissemination of images from the expert to a non-specialist audience began. The practice of giving cartes-de-visite to friends, according to the authors, had originated with Napoleon III in 1859. With photography becoming less cumbersome and quicker, photographers became interested in capturing the essence of the sitter, and thus photography became more than a chemical process. The composite print, using two negatives combined for one picture, and the "set-up" shot, such as practiced by William Notman, allowed for creativity. Edward Muybridge conducted studies of locomotion using several shutters, and by 1878 the dry plate gelatin process, ancestor of today's photograph, was invented. With the invention of the Kodak camera and the popularization of the "snapshot" in 1888, photography for the average citizen became possible. As well, pictorialism, which was eased through manipulation of the image in the dark room, crept into photography. (Henry M. Sayre *A World of Art* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1994), p. 248-253)

APPENDIX B

The original finding aid (FA 80), a valuable tool for the researcher because it reveals the NFB's priorities regarding structure and content, although it does not lead one logically through the subsequent arrangement of the collection, is composed of the following eight parts: a box labelled "Vol. 1-8"; a text entitled "Royal Tour 1939, Tobacco Farming, CG MPB Rodger's Report Contact sheets by Lo # and Neg #."; two binders entitled Vol 1 and Vol 4 in which images are organized according to series description in English, and typed captions for images WR-1 to WR-2409 which are from the wartime period; three boxes of photo story layouts, which are assembled loosely and without order. These comprise sheets of photographs related by subject and accompanied by a descriptive and explanatory essay by Jim Ough, who composed photostories and worked for the department between 1958 and the late 1960s, according to Rodger. Some have original typed essays attached; six boxes of index cards which cite captions and finding aid numbers, one box of "finling" books; seven books entitled "Canadian Picture Index", which are really bound copies of the photostories. The portion of the finding aid that is on microfiche includes a numerically organized index that is also arranged according to subject. It can lead the researcher to the photos both on microfiche and in their print format. However, key words by which one may search for images are not always ones obvious to the present-day researcher and make many images inaccessible for the researcher who does not stumble upon the correct

leads.

Fig 1

Fig 2

Fig 3

Fig 4

Fig 5

Fig 6

Fig 7

Fig 8

Fig 9

Fig 12

Fig 13

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
Information Division

Indian women of the Cote Reserve School are benefitting from a home economics course. They are packing more nutritious lunches for their families. The women started the course yesterday afternoon in the Indian School building.

As a result of the course the women are packing more nutritious lunches for their families and are packing more nutritious lunches for their children. The women started the course by asking Indian Affairs Branch for an adult education program on the reserve.

The section of the Indian Affairs Branch is to promote conditions of the reserve. The girls used can be found in the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were done on a visit to the Indian Affairs Branch. In the Indian Affairs Branch, the girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch.

The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch.

The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch. The girls were available to women of the Indian Affairs Branch.

Fig 14

Fig 15

Fig 16

Fig 17

Fig 18

A. 12.

A. 13.

A. 14.

Fig 19

10-12-66-11

3219

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND EDUCATION
Information Division

In 1958 grade eight students attending Waialeale Island Public Reserve schools became classes in neighbouring Wailesburg. In the next three years grades five, six and seven were integrated into town schools. (High school students have been attending Wailesburg and District High School for some years). The Wailesburg with practically no exception, welcome integration. In spring 1960 the public school board held an Indian parents night to show them round the three public schools, introduce them to the principals and teachers, and tell them about the school system generally. In order to accommodate the 50 pupils from Waialeale Island, the Wailesburg board has had to build new classrooms. The Indian Affairs branch has contributed \$20,000 towards this new construction.

In the classroom and in the playground, Indian children are accepted by non-Indian youngsters. Children are not here with prejudice and acquire it - if at all - from their parents or their older people. In Wailesburg integration is working well.

1. 100. photo

Fig 20

36

part of the year, the
of the members of the
women's club, the
the women's club, the
for the year, the
the improvement of the
year, the women's club, the
representatives of the
compare notes on their
and to benefit from suggestions and ideas from
other Clubs.

Mrs. Mabel Seemage, of Garden Village, was one of the workers in the kitchen of the Community Hall on the Garden River reserve when meals were served to the delegates attending the Annual Convention of Homemakers' Clubs of the northern Ontario region in August 1959. Members of the Garden River Homemakers' Club billeted visiting delegates in their own homes.

640. & 641. photo.

Department of
Indian Affairs
Northern

Fig 21

Fig 22

3

OF / DE

3

PM-1 3' x 4' PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

FIG. 1.

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
INFORMATION DIVISION

Elizabeth Matthews is a nursing sister with the Royal Canadian Air Force and is stationed at Clinton, Ontario. A Micmac Indian from the Eskasoni Reserve in Nova Scotia, Miss Matthews is a graduate nurse from St. Rita's Hospital School of Nursing in Sydney, N.S.

AF PHOTO - Ottawa. (Lee).
1. 1. 14

Document of
1972

M - 100 des
1972

DEPARTMENT OF CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION
Information Division

Elizabeth Matthews, 22, of the Eskasoni
Indian Agency, Nova Scotia, is the
winner of a \$250 nursing scholarship from
St. Rita's Hospital School of Nursing.

Fig. 25

Fig 26

Fig 27

Fig 28

Fig 29

"Charm" Schools a \$2 Million Business

Fig. 30

Fig. 31

Photomicrograph board of Canada: Sheet No.

Huron Indian Village

Historic Past Recaptur

Fig 32

Fig 33

Housekeeping School

Fig 34

Fig 35

Fig 36

Fig 37

Fig 38

Fig 39

Fig. 40

Maritime Couple Make World Famous Pottery

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