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**"These Things Are Our Totems:" Marius Barbeau and the
Indigenization of Canadian Art and Culture in the 1920s**

by

Sandra Dyck, B.A.

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

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

18 April, 1995

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
"THESE THINGS ARE OUR TOTEMS:" MARIUS BARBEAU AND THE
INDIGENIZATION OF CANADIAN ART AND CULTURE IN THE 1920s
Submitted by Sandra Jayne Dyck, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

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Ottawa, Ontario
May, 1995

Abstract

In the late 1920s, National Museum anthropologist Marius Barbeau brought eight Euro-Canadian artists from Ontario and Quebec to the territory of the Gitksan First Nations peoples, on the Skeena River in north central British Columbia. Barbeau encouraged these artists to create images of Gitksan peoples, villages and art forms. Barbeau identified Gitksan culture as a unique part of Canadian patrimony, and thus viewed images of Gitksan subjects as one means of developing a distinctive national art. In this thesis, the colonial appropriation of aspects of Native (aboriginal/indigenous) culture in the service of native (distinctly Canadian) culture is called *indigenization*. This indigenizing activity occurred not only in painting, but in many fields, including design, architecture, art education, craft, literature and music. In chapters two and three, I explore the origins, nature and scope of Barbeau's collaborative work with artists in Gitksan territory. In chapters four and five, I examine the wider indigenization of Canadian art history and Canadian culture. In so doing, I situate Barbeau's work in a broad cultural context.

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FOR

C.B.F.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	1
Notes to Chapter One	26
Chapter Two: Barbeau and Canadian Artists in Gitksan Territory	34
Notes to Chapter Two	60
Chapter Three: Images of Gitksan People and Territory	71
Notes to Chapter Three	98
Chapter Four: The Indigenization of Canadian Art History	108
Notes to Chapter Four	126
Chapter Five: The Indigenization of Canadian Culture	135
Notes to Chapter Five	161
Conclusion	171
Notes to the Conclusion	177
Figures	178
List of Figures	227
Bibliography	231

Chapter One: Introduction

In a recent Canadian Airlines advertising campaign, featured in Saturday Night magazine and on the walls of major Canadian airports, the caption "We bring Canada to the rest of the world" accompanies photographs of "typically" Canadian objects transplanted to foreign places. One advertisement depicts a Canada goose standing among pigeons in London's Trafalgar Square (Fig. 1); another features a Northwest Coast aboriginal totem pole positioned awkwardly in a European courtyard. (Fig. 2) This campaign is basically an exercise in nationalist semiotics: Canadian Airlines is banking (literally) on the assumption that certain things—Canada goose, totem pole—are accepted signs of Canadian identity which can be readily decoded by the viewing public.

Unlike the goose, however, the entry of the totem pole into a nationalist iconography and its common usage as a national symbol is founded on a decades-old history of Euro-Canadian appropriation and commodification of Northwest Coast First Nations cultures. This thesis locates the origins of that history in the 1920s, and reveals the ways in which totem poles, and in a wider sense, coastal aboriginal cultures and arts, came to be used as symbols for the political creation called Canada. In 1933, Arthur Lismer wrote of the need to assert the expression of nationalistic pride through "pictorial devices interpretive of achievement." "After all," he concluded, "these things are our totems, expressive of the people we are."¹ It further documents how these Native (aboriginal) traditions were utilized by members of the Canadian governing and cultural elite in their quest to identify and develop a native (distinctly Canadian) art and culture. This thesis explores the convergence of art, economy and appropriation—both real and symbolic—of coastal aboriginal culture in the service of Canadian national identity which underlies the Canadian Airlines images. In the 1920s, the confluence of these forces was effected by Marius Barbeau at the Skeena River, in British Columbia.

Barbeau was an anthropologist at the National Museum of Canada, now the Canadian Museum of Civilization, from 1911-49.² His eclectic and prodigious professional interests, including the fine and folk arts, music, language, and mythology of French Canadians, and the Northwest Coast, Huron and Iroquois First Nations, were united by his vision of a "civilized" Canada with a strong national

identity based on "distinctly Canadian" cultural traditions. For Barbeau, however, "distinctly Canadian" encompassed all things aboriginal. Throughout his career he documented, preserved and popularized many aspects of the art, life and culture of the Gitksan First Nations peoples, whose traditional territories centre on the Skeena River in north central British Columbia, in order to demonstrate Canada's possession of an "indigenous" patrimony. (Fig. 3)

Barbeau concurred with the scholarly and popular view, widespread in the 1920s, that First Nations people in Canada were a "vanishing race." If the Gitksan people were doomed, so was their art. Barbeau thus identified the future of Gitksan art in its potential usage in the evolution of a uniquely (Euro)Canadian art. In the late 1920s he brought eight avant-garde artists from Quebec and Ontario—A.Y. Jackson, Edwin Holgate, Anne Savage, Florence Wyle, Pegi Nicol MacLeod, George Pepper, Lowrie Warrener—to Gitksan territory, and encouraged them to use Gitksan people, art, villages and the surrounding scenery as themes and subjects for their work.

These paintings were part of Barbeau's wider vision to develop the Skeena River region as a tourism destination and to generate nationalist sentiment in Canada. His "program" included the *in situ* preservation of standing totem poles in Gitksan communities along the Canadian National Railway (CNR) line³ and a proposal to establish an "Indian National Park of Temlaham" in Gitksan territory. The paintings, used in CNR publicity campaigns and featured in major shows such as the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*, shown in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal in 1927-28, functioned on a practical level to generate national awareness of the region (with concomitant tourism growth) and indirect support for Barbeau's program.

In artistic terms, Barbeau believed that avant-garde paintings of indigenous (Gitksan) themes and subjects were intrinsic to the development of a distinctive national art. The underlying acts of cultural appropriation are a fundamental aspect of what literary critic Terry Goldie calls the process of "indigenization." In this process, members of the colonial majority appropriate aspects of aboriginal culture in an effort to establish their place in and claim to a new land, to become "native" to it.

This thesis argues that Barbeau's encouragement of Euro-Canadian paintings of Gitksan art and culture, and his larger "program" for the Skeena River region, can be viewed as a major indigenization of 1920s Canadian art, national identity and visual culture. In the colonial context of that decade, the indigenization process is inextricably involved in claims (both Gitksan and Euro-Canadian) to cultural, political and territorial sovereignty. In my effort to document and reveal the multi-faceted nature of Barbeau's indigenizing activities, I have adopted an interdisciplinary approach characterized by an inclusive use of a broad range of historical and art historical sources. In this introduction, I provide a more detailed explication of the biographical, historical, cultural, political and methodological constructs underpinning the process of indigenization.

The theme of indigenization finds varied expression throughout the following chapters. In chapter two, I summarize Barbeau's views of Northwest Coast aboriginal art, document the background for and evidence of his early collaborative work on the Skeena, and introduce the artists, Gitksan territorial geography and the nature of the painters' interaction with Gitksan people. In chapter three, I analyze the Euro-Canadian representations (genre scenes and portraits) of the Gitksan people and their culture in the context of artistic practice, colonialism and the growth of tourism. I limit this discussion to the paintings of central-Canadian artists, and do not exploit the obvious comparative possibilities represented by the work of Emily Carr.⁴ Nor do I explore the origins and extent of Carr's association with Barbeau.⁵

The works of Victoria-based Carr, however, were included with those of the central-Canadian painters in the 1927 *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*, in Ottawa. In chapter four, I widen the context for this exhibition by relating it to two mid-1926 Toronto shows—the Group of Seven exhibition and *Art in French Canada*—and the 1927 *Exposition d'art Canadien*, in Paris. My analysis of Barbeau's and Brown's definition of aboriginal art at the Paris and Ottawa shows situates the art in terms of the developing teleology of the Euro-Canadian artistic canon. In the final chapter, I broaden my focus by documenting contemporary indigenizing

activities (of Barbeau and others) in several realms of Canadian culture: industrial design, craft, art education, architecture, literature and music. This thesis thus moves beyond a narrowly-defined art historical approach to place Barbeau and the Skeena paintings in a wider popular and cultural context.

I. Biography

A detailed critical appraisal of Barbeau's personal and professional life has not yet been written. Nancy Swayze's brief biography of Barbeau (1960), while an adequate starting point, is largely anecdotal and rather general.⁶ Born in Beauce County, Quebec, in 1883, Barbeau was educated at home until age twelve.⁷ His earliest influences were thus his parents: his father was a carver and fiddle-player who knew many folk songs and stories; his mother was an educated woman and trained musician who taught him to sing.⁸ At age fourteen, Barbeau began six years of study leading to the priesthood at Ste. Anne de la Pocatiere Classical College, but decided instead to study law. He earned his law degree from Laval University and was admitted to the Quebec Bar in 1907 at age twenty-three, but never became a practising lawyer. He then won a Rhodes Scholarship, the first French Canadian to do so, to Oriel College at Oxford University. There, he studied anthropology, a science in its infancy, under the evolutionist Robert Marett. During the summers, he studied at the Sorbonne with the renowned French anthropologist Marcel Mauss.⁹ In 1910 Barbeau received his degree in anthropology.¹⁰

Perhaps it was Barbeau's experience in the rarefied atmosphere of Oxford and his summers in Paris that caused him to "youthfully turn his back on his rural Quebec origins."¹¹ He had intended to become an Egyptologist, but Marett felt that educated scientists such as Barbeau were needed back in Canada. A letter of recommendation from Sir William Osler, an Oxford-based Canadian professor of medicine, secured for Barbeau a position in the newly-established Anthropology Section at the National Museum in Ottawa.¹² Of this period, Barbeau later said:

While in Europe, I grew into a citizen of the world...Upon my return to Canada and after becoming an anthropologist at the National Museum of Man, I began to explore the Northwest Coast, Ontario and Quebec, and I became a citizen of Canada.¹³

This exploration of and direct experience in these (and other) regions of Canada was thus formative in establishing Barbeau's self-declared nationalism, a defining characteristic of his identity in the 1920s and beyond.

II. The 1920s: Context and "Background"

Barbeau's identification of Gitksan art and culture as Canadian patrimony occurred in the 1920s, a decade in which issues of national character and identity were of central concern. For members of the Anglophone intellectual elite, the end of World War One signalled their country's "coming of age."¹⁴ In 1925, Ryerson Press editor Lorne Pierce characterized the onset of the World War in 1914 as the "crowning hour of our full adulthood" and argued that,

to this very hour of self-supporting, self-conscious, independent nationhood, we have earned the right, by every token of body and mind, to be called a nation.¹⁵

Politician Loring Christie wrote that the deaths of tens of thousands of Canadian soldiers on the European battlefields lent weight to Canada's possession of a "separate individuality, a will and power of her own, a self-respecting national consciousness...."¹⁶

Rapid economic expansion in the early twentieth century bolstered Canada's status as a mature nation-state. Although the war had interrupted the flow of immigrants to Canada,¹⁷ the extensive economic and population growth seen from 1900-1913 was based on settlement and development of the west¹⁸ and the construction of transcontinental railways.¹⁹ The image of the 1920s as a buoyant economic era is in fact erroneous; the years 1921 through the autumn of 1924 were a time of widespread economic hardship.²⁰ The remainder of the decade, until the stock market crash of October 1929, however, was characterized by a massive boom based on the pulp and paper industry, mining and the generation of hydro-electric power.²¹ Domestic growth was

accompanied by a steady rise in the value of Canadian agricultural and industrial exports, which reached a peak in 1928.²²

Through the 1920s, Canadian external policy was characterized by a drive for an autonomous position within the British Empire, led by William Lyon Mackenzie King, Liberal prime minister from 1921-30 and 1935-48. At the Imperial Conference of 1923, for example, King consistently argued against the notion of a centralized Empire.²³ The informal transformation of the Empire into a "looser commonwealth" at the 1923 conference²⁴ was formalized in the Balfour Report of 1926, which defined member countries as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another...."²⁵ In the late 1920s independent Canadian legations were established in Washington D.C., Paris and Tokyo.²⁶ The 1931 Statute of Westminster capped King's push for sovereignty; Canada's formal status was changed from a "British colony or possession" to an "independent monarchy."²⁷

For Barbeau, as for other nationalists, Canada's political, economic and international maturation were not in question. As he asserted in 1929, however, national cultural growth lagged far behind:

If Canada looms large on the map, if it has already proved its political and economic vitality, it has not yet progressed beyond spiritual infancy. In the world of art and thought, it is still what is used to be in the age of Voltaire, "a few acres of ice and snow."²⁸

Barbeau's icy appraisal is typical of opinions expressed by his peers in the intellectual community, many of whom saw Canada as lacking a major attribute of mature nationhood: a unique and developed national culture.²⁹ As Arthur Lismer said, "After 1919, most creative people...began to have a guilty feeling that Canada was as yet unwritten, unpainted, unsung."³⁰

Art was seen as an integral aspect of a developed nation state. In 1924, National Gallery of Canada director Eric Brown asserted that "there was never a great nation that had not a great art." A national school of art, Brown argued, could advertise Canada's greatness abroad "in a way

which no claim to merely natural wealth and territory can ever do...."³¹ A.Y. Jackson concurred with Brown's close linkage of art and national identity in his statement that, "Egypt, China, Greece, Rome, have expressed their greatness through their art. Art is the voice of a nation speaking through time."³² In a 1925 public speech, Brown contended that art is "an inseparable part of a nation's growth" and "interwoven into its character, aims and ideals...."³³ Years later, he asserted that the emergence of a "more indigenous" movement in art since 1910 had "roughly paralleled the development of Canadian nationality...."³⁴

Barbeau's indigenization of Canadian culture took place in a decade of significant cultural development. The Group of Seven, founded in 1919, set themselves the task of creating a Canadian school of painting based on "new" stylistic responses to the Canadian landscape.³⁵ Toronto architect John Lyle's public call for a national style motivated his development of an ornamental vocabulary based on uniquely Canadian flora and fauna.³⁶ By 1930, more than eighteen hundred amateur theatre groups came together under the aegis of a burgeoning Little Theatre movement.³⁷ Composers including Ernest MacMillan and Claude Champagne advocated the use of distinctively Canadian sources in the creation of new music.³⁸ Members of the Canadian Authors Association (CAA), founded in 1921, were dedicated to the idea that a "national literature was essential to a true sense of Canadian nationhood."³⁹ The nationalist journal, Canadian Forum, was founded in 1921 to provide coverage of "distinctly Canadian" arts and letters.⁴⁰ National Museum archaeologist Harlan Smith advocated the development and production of products of purely Canadian design for export to foreign markets opened by the war.⁴¹

While these people may have been united by their dedication to the goal of a cultured Canada, what they were doing, through self-conscious effort, was "creating a background" for Canada. The need for a Canadian "background" was consistently articulated throughout the 1920s. As Lawren Harris argued in 1923:

We in Canada are only commencing to find ourselves...We are about the business of becoming a nation and must ourselves create our own background. This can only mean a complete exposure of every phase of our existence....⁴²

Harris' comment suggests that a Canadian background in fact existed, and only needed to be identified. Jackson obviously agreed; he asserted that Barbeau's wide-ranging investigation of Canadian culture and heritage was "giving this country a background...and...bringing to our attention the fact that our past is not as meagre as it seems."⁴³ Barbeau wrote that through his research in Gitksan territory he had "unraveled [sic] the strands of the aboriginal past...."⁴⁴ Lismer linked the idea of background to heritage and environment in his statement that "Canada in its art is in this position of becoming acquainted in more abundant measure with its background—a glorious heritage." By responding to its seasonal vagaries and diversified landscapes, Lismer argued, Canadian artists could thus make "us nationally conscious with our environment, setting a stage for true nationality."⁴⁵

As is clear thus far, the development of a distinctive Canadian culture was of vital importance to Anglophone nationalists. The recurring mentions of the same names throughout this thesis—Brown, Lyle, Harris, Lismer, Jackson, MacMillan, Smith, Graham Spry, John Murray Gibbon, Vincent Massey, Fred Housser, Henry Thornton, Duncan Campbell Scott, Lorne Pierce, J.B. Harkin—speaks to the existence of what Mary Vipond has called the "nationalist network" of 1920s Canada.⁴⁶ These individuals shared, with their colleagues in politics and academia, a common socio-economic class and British background.⁴⁷ More importantly, however, they shared a central preoccupation with Canada, "its past, present and future, its relationship with other nations and empires, its culture, its unity, and its identity."⁴⁸ The many interconnecting relationships and patterns of communication between these individuals, Vipond asserts, constituted an informal "network" which enabled them to work towards their common vision of a cultured, autonomous nation.

Members of the Anglophone elite, however, were profoundly isolated from their French Canadian counterparts.⁴⁹ Vehement French Canadian opposition to conscription during World War I fuelled an inward-looking Quebec nationalism through the 1920s. As Thompson and Seager have

observed in Canada 1922-1939, English- and French-Canadian nationalisms were,

different in content and mutually exclusive in their objectives; the English-Canadian goal of building a "Canadian national spirit" was the antithesis of the French-Canadian resolve to survive as a French Catholic nation.⁵⁰

These divergent ideologies both found expression in the person of Marius Barbeau; his intensive, career-long efforts to preserve and promote unique aspects of Quebecois culture existed alongside his wider nationalist vision of a cultured, distinctive Canada. As a Francophone who supported the Anglophone nationalist agenda and as a fully integrated member of its "network," Barbeau is literally singular.⁵¹

The indigenous background which Barbeau and his colleagues sought to identify could not be created in a vacuum. "Raw materials," in the form of stories, songs, myths, art forms and histories, were needed. In his efforts to collect, document and popularize the traditions of both First Nations and French Canadian peoples, Barbeau can be likened to a kind of cultural banker whose work was to gather these raw materials, or, as he liked to call them, "national assets" which could be invested, accrue interest over time, and serve as resources for present and future generations of Canadians. He wrote in 1928:

When we take stock of our national wealth, we usually limit our inventory to whatever can be appraised in hard cash and sold over the counter - trade, goods and real estate. We overlook other assets which, for not being listed at the stock exchange, are nonetheless tangible and important; the assets that appertain more closely to the people themselves, that belong to the mind and the spirit and have come down as heirlooms from the past. That we possess such a patrimony, that it can be made productive for our material and spiritual benefit as a nation, can hardly be doubted.⁵²

For Barbeau, the art of the Gitksan, whose culture and history he studied most intensively, were tangible and important examples of Canada's patrimony. As this thesis makes clear, Barbeau's explicit definition of the Gitksan past as the possession of Canada underlies his use of it in the identification of a larger Canadian past, or background. Following his 1926 trip to Gitksan territory, A.Y. Jackson agreed. He wrote in 1927:

Here is country rich in what most of Canada is lacking - a background. It has a history of invasion and conquest, adventures, myths and legends old enough for history and legend to become one. The whole setting is dramatic; its sharp peaks, its rushing rivers, its gorges...along with this there is an imaginative side of life that delighted in dances and ritual, in painting, weaving and carving or other forms of art....⁵³

Jackson describes in detail the region Barbeau simply and consistently represented as "An Indian Paradise Lost."⁵⁴ The phrase, resonant with literary and religious references in a Western context, was typical of the valorizing rhetoric which supported Barbeau's entire Skeena project, from paintings to park to totem pole preservation. Such valorization, however, was often expressed in economic terms.

In 1920s Canada a rhetoric of commodification was consistently employed to advocate the economic benefits of various "cultural" resources. The use of financial metaphors had obvious relevance in a country whose dramatic economic growth in the early twentieth century was fuelled by its all-out exploitation of natural resources, including fish and forests.⁵⁵ Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) president Cornelius van Horne's statement that, "if we can't export the scenery, we'll import the tourists" signalled the company's attempts to "capitalize" scenery.⁵⁶ The CNR billed the land within its "Triangle Tour" (Jasper/Prince Rupert/Vancouver) as Canada's "principal scenic possession."⁵⁷ Canadian National Parks commissioner J.B. Harkin considered his department to "be in the business of selling scenery."⁵⁸ Eric Brown placed a country's "art treasures" among its "greatest assets,"⁵⁹ and asserted that art collections were one "of the most valuable possessions a country can have."⁶⁰ In a speech entitled "Literature as a National Asset," CAA president Robert Stead publicly described Canadian literature as an "infant industry" and argued that the CAA touched "very closely the material prosperity of the Dominion."⁶¹ Barbeau described totem poles as economic assets because of their potential boon to local tourism;⁶² he later declared French Canadian and aboriginal songs as a national asset "comparative in value to the country's mines and wealth."⁶³ Barbeau's ultimate conflation of economics and history is revealed in this 1925 assessment of the Gitksan:

These people were a part of the nation's history and a valuable asset to the country in many ways. They possessed an art, a music and a literature - a national tourist attraction.⁶⁴

An essential step in the process of commodification is the fixing of a product's identity so that it can be effectively merchandised. Here, Barbeau fixes Gitksan identity in the past, and delineates the particular aspects of Gitksan culture which could be marketed by and for the benefit of Euro-Canadians in the present. Barbeau's empowered position as a member of the dominant society able to represent and objectify the "other" is implicit in this statement. As Daniel Miller says:

In as much as different groups in society have an ability to construct the world around them, they tend to do so in accordance with the perspective which emerges from their relative objective positions in the world. The material world around us is therefore likely differentially to reflect the relevant perspectives of those groups who have the power to construct cultural forms.⁶⁵

Barbeau's construction of Gitksan identity speaks not only to his own subjective power, but to the wider hierarchy of cultures in 1920s Canada. In a decade where tourism revenues increased by 300 per cent,⁶⁶ the power to define the Gitksan as a "national tourist attraction" had direct material ramifications.

III. The Indigenization Process

The Canadian cognoscenti justified the need for "winning a background" for Canada in terms of cultural history and nationalism. Since the 1920s, however, writers and critics have linked such self-conscious cultural actualization to more fundamentally human needs. Margaret Atwood's now-iconic question, "what do you do for a past if you are a white, relatively new to the continent and rootless?"⁶⁷ opens up an alternate field of inquiry. As is demonstrated in this thesis, the obvious answer for Barbeau, as for many Canadians before and after him, was to appropriate aboriginal (in this case Gitksan) art, history and culture for his own and Canada's benefit. In Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literature, Terry Goldie calls this appropriative process "indigenization" and locates its roots in white Canadians' "need to become 'native,' to belong here."⁶⁸

Goldie's use of the root word "indigenous" to coin the term "indigenization" has multiple resonances in the colonial context. "Indigenous" is defined in the Webster's dictionary as "having originated in and being produced, growing, living, or occurring naturally in a particular region or environment." The synonym "native" implies birth or origin in, and probable compatibility with, a place. Although the closely related "aboriginal" specifically refers to the original occupants of a place, "native" and "indigenous" have become synonymous through common usage. In the colonizers' attempt to identify with Canada, to become "native" to it, they looked to and took from the indigenous (original/Native/aboriginal) peoples. In so doing, they "indigenized" their relationship with and claim to the land, and thus their personal and collective identities. As Goldie argues in the context of literature, white writers' "only chance for indigenization seemed to be through writing about the humans who are truly indigenous, the Indians, Inuit, Maori and Aborigines."⁶⁹

The phenomenon of literary indigenization described by Goldie provides a suitable theoretical structure in which to situate Barbeau's appropriation of Gitksan culture in the service of Canadian art and national identity. Barbeau's belief that the "distinctively Canadian" character of coastal aboriginal art could "help form the basis of a national art" led him to encourage avant-garde artists to paint Gitksan people, art and themes. These works can be seen as one stream in the indigenization of 1920s Euro-Canadian art, and should be viewed in relation to the Group of Seven's concurrent development of a "native" school of painting. As will be seen in chapter two, Lismer argued in 1926 that this "native" quality of Canadian art was to be founded on painted images of the uniquely Canadian heritage and environment. Speaking of the Group's efforts to create distinctive representations of the Canadian environment, which provided an alternative to the European-influenced views of French scenes and Dutch windmills so popular in the 1920s, Barbeau said:

should we be so bold as to disclose to the world the...news that the land we live in is not France or Holland, but a virgin continent where man was reborn, grows into manhood and is now groping in the dark for self-expression?⁷⁰

Euro-Canadian and aboriginal writers have since articulated this specific identification of man's need to "grope" for "self-expression" on a "virgin continent" more generally as the colonizers' attempts to create roots and identity in the face of the persistent alienation they experience upon arrival in North America.

In 1933, Sioux Chief Standing Bear characterized whites' reaction to the continent:

The white man does not understand the Indian for the reason he does not understand America. The roots of the tree of his life have not yet grasped the rock and soil. The white man is still troubled with primitive fears, he still has in his consciousness the perils of this frontier continent.⁷¹

Aboriginal writer Vine Deloria, for example, states that "Americans are really aliens in North America, and try as they might they seem incapable of adjusting to the continent."⁷² Deloria, and Daniel Francis in The Imaginary Indian, conclude that colonial peoples' consistent response to the alienation of the "frontier continent" has been to look to the original inhabitants of the land—the indigenous peoples—and appropriate aspects of their culture. Although Francis does not call this process "indigenization," he describes it as whites' "taking on [of] Indian identities...spuriously, by appropriating elements of Indianness and making them representative of mainstream society."⁷³

As Francis argues, however, the appropriative process betrays an inescapable paradox at the heart of Canadian national identity. "On the one hand," he states, "the national dream has always been about not being Indian."⁷⁴ Whites thus define the Indian as the primitive "other" and establish their identity in opposition to this definition. On the other hand, whites' ability to become "native" inhabitants of this continent depends in part on their (our) appropriation of, and therefore implicit valorization of, aspects of aboriginal culture.⁷⁵ Goldie expresses this contradiction in more explicit terms:

The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada?⁷⁶

Indigenization therefore depends on what Goldie has called the "racial split" of self and other, a split connected to what I have termed "romantic primitivism."

Romanticism is a nineteenth-century philosophical tradition, one stream of which is founded on the glorification of "primitive" (peasant/folk) peoples and the assumption of a relationship between these "simpler" peoples and "more direct or purified [artistic] expression."⁷⁷ Rousseau's concept of the Noble Savage and established conventions of the pastoral in eighteenth-century literature and art were influential forces in the development of Romantic thought. At the core of Romanticism is the fundamental opposition of civilized and primitive. In "Primitive Art and the Necessity of Primitivism to Art," Daniel Miller links Romanticism to primitivism in terms of this oppositional problematic:

Primitivism stands for that aspect of the Romantic movement which is based on the assumption that there exists a form of humanity which is integral, is cohesive, and works as a totality. Since this totality is always defined as a critical opposite to the present, it is always a representation of a primitive 'other'.⁷⁸

Miller and Goldie both argue that the origins of primitivism predate colonialism. Miller asserts that primitivism should be understood more generally as a tendency for,

peoples to have images of themselves as inhabiting a cultural centre with the outside populated by wild, unnatural, and semi-human species....⁷⁹

In the colonial context, binary constructs such as self/other and civilized/primitive become aligned with other pervasive oppositions: city/country, ruler/subject, affluence/poverty and future/past.⁸⁰ Barbeau consistently represented the Gitksan as the primitive—albeit artistically superior—inhabitants of a glorified, Edenic past. This romantic primitivist identity was particularly attractive in a decade characterized by rapid urbanization and the accompanying pressures of city life. It functioned, however, to support indirectly the exploitation of the Gitksan for the benefit of the city-based colonial government.

My frequent use of the term "appropriation" in the description of indigenization demonstrates the close marriage of the two processes. In "Notes on Appropriation," Metis

filmmaker Loretta Todd provides a clear, comprehensive definition of cultural appropriation:

Appropriation occurs when someone else speaks for, tells, defines, describes, represents, uses or recruits the images, stories, experiences, dreams of others for their own. Appropriation also occurs when someone else becomes the expert on your experience and is deemed as more knowledgeable about who you are than yourself.⁸¹

Those who deny the idea or reality of cultural appropriation commonly cite in their defence the obvious notion that no "pure" cultures exist, and that "art of all kinds has always depended on the mixing of cultures."⁸² This position, however, effaces the extreme political and socio-economic inequities attendant on colonial art production and cultural mixing. As Richard Fung argues, "while some of this fusion may be celebrated as exchange, a larger proportion is the result of domination" which occurs in the process of establishing "cultural hegemony in the colonial context."⁸³ Barbeau's and the artists' overt appropriation of Gitksan art and culture occurred in a decade of concentrated governmental oppression of the Gitksan people. An implicit irony is thus manifested: while one arm of the government, the Department of Indian Affairs, continued the dispossession of the Gitksan from their land, other sectors (Barbeau, the National Museum and the CNR) were recording the results of that dispossession for the benefit of Canadian art and the Canadian nation.

IV: Gitksan Territorial Sovereignty

An art historical text which examines both individual and more broadly-based appropriations of aboriginal culture must recognize the symbiotic relationship between artistic and territorial possession. This relationship is implicit in a 1928 article, "West Coast Indian Art," in the Canadian Forum:

Perhaps all good Canadians are bound to have something of the Indian in them, having inherited his country and so put themselves in contact with that earth-memory of hers at which our mystics hint.⁸⁴

J.E.H. MacDonald links Canada's "scenic inheritance" and aboriginal peoples in a similarly euphemistic manner in his statement that, "thank the red gods we shall always have a background

of such things in Canada."⁸⁵ Scott Watson in the 1990s sees such relationships most effectively problematized in the writings of Northrop Frye.⁸⁶ Watson focuses on Frye's identification of "wilderness" as the central trope defining Canadian identity, and reiterates Frye's description of the Canadian wilderness as "the unknown, the unrealized, the humanly undigested." For Frye, the anxieties generated by the wilderness unknown are overcome through a "poetic or artistic possession" of it. Frye makes the linkage of creativity and proprietary interests clear in his statement that, "the creative instinct has to do with the assertion of territorial rights."⁸⁷ Similarly, Marcia Crosby argues that the Euro-Canadian arrogation of First Nations art and culture in the service of Canadian identity "should be considered within the context of the colonization of aboriginal land."⁸⁸ Crosby contends that Paul Kane's visual and textual images of aboriginal people as "savages" incapable of "understanding land title" reinforced the "myth of North America as an empty land to be 'discovered.'"⁸⁹ In her analysis of nineteenth century colonial representations of aboriginal peoples as a "dying race," Maureen Ryan demonstrates how the perpetuation of this constructed identity was used as "a rationale for land acquisition."⁹⁰

Crosby's concretization of the connection between artistic and territorial appropriation makes clear the need to understand, at least in outline, the realities of the 1920s dispossession of the Gitksan peoples from their land. Any discussion of the Gitksan land question must begin with the fact that the normal Canadian practice of making treaties which extinguished aboriginal title to the land in return for reserve allotments, financial compensation and annual payments was never carried out through most of British Columbia.⁹¹ The majority of B.C. First Nations people, the Gitksan included, have never formally ceded their land to the Crown, and the question of aboriginal title remains unresolved today. As white settlement advanced in late nineteenth century B.C., First Nations people were crowded onto small reserves which represented a fraction of their traditional territories.⁹² These reserves were created from 1876 to 1908 by the Joint Committee on Indian Reserves, empowered by the federal government to assign unilaterally reserve lands, using no

"fixed basis of acreage."⁹³ Reserves were established within Gitksan territory in the 1890s.⁹⁴ Premier Richard McBride's blocking of further reserve allotments in 1908, however, left major north coast valleys open to white pre-emption.⁹⁵ (Fig. 3) That same year, several Gitksan men travelled to Ottawa with a petition, addressed to Sir Wilfred Laurier and the Department of Indian Affairs, which claimed their title to the land.⁹⁶

From 1913-1916, the McKenna-McBride Commission travelled the province, holding hearings and examining reserve lands in an effort to settle the "land question." Like their peers throughout B.C., Gitksan chiefs present at the tribunals spoke of the economic and spatial pressures caused by foreign encroachment of their land, and constantly shifted the discussion from reserve allotments to the pressing issue of land title.⁹⁷ At Old Hazelton, [Mark] Holland declared: "We don't want no Reserve at all - we want to get our own land back."⁹⁸ At Kitselas, Chief Cecil's demand that "we want our own Indian title back again as it was before it was put into reserves"⁹⁹ was echoed by Gitwangak Chief Jim's assertion that "all we are asking for is to get our own land back."¹⁰⁰ In 1919, the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia (an aboriginal rights organization to which the Gitksan belonged) drafted a detailed rejection of the Commission's proposals.¹⁰¹ In 1920, the British Columbia Indian Lands Settlement Act (Bill 13) authorized implementation of the Commission's recommendations. That same year, the passage of Bill 14 allowed the government to enfranchise any aboriginal person without his or her consent. The constant pressure exerted on the federal government throughout the 1920s by the Allied Tribes resulted in the 1927 appointment of a special joint Senate-House committee to investigate the question of aboriginal land title. In its report, the committee rejected outright the existence of such title. An amendment to the Indian Act (Section 141) passed soon after made it illegal for First Nations people to hire lawyers to pursue land title; the amendment effectively ended land claims activity until its repeal in 1951.

The engineer of federal Indian policy throughout this period was Duncan Campbell Scott, deputy superintendent general of the Department of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932. Scott's

complete commitment to assimilation is encapsulated in his infamous 1927 statement that:

I want to get rid of the Indian problem. Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department.¹⁰²

As Brian Titley has demonstrated in his book-length study of Scott's tenure in the Indian Affairs department, Scott was vehemently opposed to the idea and the actuality of aboriginal title, and seized every available opportunity to implement laws which worked to effect the dispossession of First Nations peoples from their land.¹⁰³ These land seizures occurred during renewed governmental enforcement of the federal ban on the potlatch and other ceremonial practices.¹⁰⁴ Euro-Canadians' ebullient drive to realize their territorial autonomy, national identity and culture in the 1920s thus found its antithesis in their contemporaneous and concerted attack on those very same aspects of Gitksan life.

In 1991, Allan McEachern, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of British Columbia, delivered his judgement on *Delgamuukw v. the Queen*, a comprehensive land claims case filed by the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en in 1987. The case is immensely complex in legal, political and historical terms. Most important, however, is the fact that McEachern dismissed outright the "plaintiffs' claims for ownership of and jurisdiction over the territory, and for aboriginal rights in the territory...."¹⁰⁵ McEachern's judgement, riddled with overtly colonial rhetoric, is founded on the notion of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en as historically "primitive" peoples who barely "eked out a living" in a land they did not fully use or occupy.¹⁰⁶ McEachern's power to define and dismiss the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en peoples' claim to the land gives evidence of the continuing legacy of colonialism in 1990s Canada.

V. Literature Review

This thesis represents, on one level, my attempt to establish an inclusive, contextualized narrative of the numerous avant-garde artists who visited Gitksan territory in the 1920s. The

Skeena trips have been mainly documented in terms of individual artistic careers. What I call the "Skeena phenomenon" is also documented in Canadian art and cultural history texts, but only in a general, cursory fashion. The literature review which follows sets out the main sources in which the trips of individual artists and the wider context for these trips have been documented.

The artists' works are largely documented in monographs and exhibition catalogues devoted to individual artists. Jackson's 1927 article "Rescuing our Tottering Totems" is an invaluable contemporary account of his Skeena journey and his attitude to the "past history of a vanishing race."¹⁰⁷ Similar attitudes are evident in the brief narrative of his and Holgate's Skeena sojourn in the autobiographical A Painter's Country (1958).¹⁰⁸ In A.Y.'s Canada (1968), Naomi Jackson Groves provides an informal account of Jackson and Holgate's trip through a conversational analysis of selected Jackson drawings.¹⁰⁹ In the catalogue for his 1976 retrospective exhibition of Edwin Holgate, Dennis Reid cites Holgate's Skeena paintings and indigenized decorative scheme for the Chateau Laurier as evidence of "a great swell of interest in native west-coast art and culture" in late 1920s Canada.¹¹⁰ Ian Thom, in The Prints of Edwin Holgate (1990), evaluates Holgate's Skeena prints on stylistic grounds and places them in the context of the artist's oeuvre.¹¹¹

Anne McDougall's anecdotal discussion of Savage's journey west in Anne Savage: Story of a Canadian Painter (1977) confirms the importance of the trip and the resultant sketches to Savage as a person and artist.¹¹² Of several catalogues for Montreal exhibitions of Savage's work, Braide's Anne Savage: Her Expression of Beauty (1979) is useful for its placement of a major Savage Skeena canvas in the context of her artistic career.¹¹³ Sisler's 1972 biography of Wyle and her partner Frances Loring includes a brief description of Wyle's reception in Gitksan territory and in the Toronto press.¹¹⁴ In the catalogue for Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy (1987), Boyanoski provides a thorough historical context for Wyle's totem sculptures.¹¹⁵ Wyle's poetry, published in Poems (1959) allows an alternate understanding of her experience in Gitksan territory.¹¹⁶

Pegi Nicol MacLeod combines personal experience and Gitksan myth in a fascinating account of cross-cultural portraiture in her 1931 article, "Where Forgotten Gods Sleep."¹¹⁷ Joan Murray situates MacLeod's Skeena trip in the stylistic and geographic milieu of the Group of Seven in her introduction to Daffodils in Winter (1984).¹¹⁸ No specific studies of George Pepper yet exist; published documentation of Pepper's trip west is thus limited to more general sources such as the Dictionary of Canadian Artists.¹¹⁹ Of two recent exhibitions including Pepper's coastal work, the catalogue for Images of the Land: Canadian Block Prints 1919-1945 provides a brief stylistic and historical context for his woodcuts.¹²⁰ Lowrie Warrener's 1931 trip to Gitwangak is briefly mentioned in the catalogue for the 1989 Samia retrospective of his work.¹²¹ His 1937 linocut Indian House, Skeena River, B.C. accompanies John Flood's biographical sketch of the artist in Northward Journal (1982).¹²² John Byers' Skeena trip is as yet undocumented.

The relative lack of attention accorded the whole "Skeena phenomenon" is evident in a range of general Canadian art historical texts. Housser's A Canadian Art Movement (1926) confirms that Group of Seven members (like Jackson) travelled from "Halifax to Prince Rupert."¹²³ Brooker's Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, 1928-1929 includes reproductions of and short entries for Skeena works by Jackson and Pepper.¹²⁴ In Canadian Art (1943) Colgate places the Skeena trips in the context of "other painters from the East who have recorded their impressions of the West."¹²⁵ In Painting in Canada: A History (1966), A Concise History of Canadian Painting (1973) and Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art (1974), Harper, Reid and Lord, respectively, discuss Barbeau and the Skeena mainly in relation to Emily Carr.¹²⁶ Carr biographers Tippet (1979) and Shadbolt (1990) mention the Skeena phenomenon in the context of the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*.¹²⁷ Carr's oft-quoted account of her 1927 trip to Ottawa and her opinions of her peers' paintings of Skeena subjects are found in Hundreds and Thousands (1966).¹²⁸ In From Desolation to Splendour (1977), Tippet and Cole note only that the "Indian communities of British Columbia...attracted Jackson and Edwin Holgate."¹²⁹ Tippet, in

Making Culture (1990), cites the Skeena trips as a successful example of government patronage of the arts.¹³⁰ Francis, in The Imaginary Indian (1992), speaks of Holgate's and Jackson's Gitksan paintings in relation to the CNR's development of the Skeena River region as a tourism site.¹³¹ Lynda Jessup's Ph.D. dissertation, Canadian Artists, Railways, the State and "The Business of Becoming a Nation," (1992) is relevant to my own work, but the manuscript was restricted to public access at the time of writing this thesis.¹³²

VI. Ideology and Methodology

The advent of post-modern and post-colonial theory has facilitated critical studies of colonial representations of aboriginal peoples. In her 1990 M.A. thesis, Did the Spirit Sing?, Lis Stainforth analyzes the installation of the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern* and its nationalistic sub-texts.¹³³ Ann Morrison's approach in her 1991 thesis on Emily Carr and the 1927 show is more focused and overtly critical.¹³⁴ While my own thesis is clearly informed by Morrison's work, her observations are sometimes cloaked in a conspiratorial language which glosses over historical context and stereotypically represents the curators as manipulative power-brokers.¹³⁵

Similar tensions are present in the recent furor over Emily Carr. In 1991, Haida/Tsimshian scholar Marcia Crosby published an article "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," in which she asserted that Euro-Canadian (and specifically Carr's) depictions of aboriginal art and people, "deeply entrenched in the public arena and in institutional collections," are appropriative works which ultimately serve the interests of the artist and the national search for patrimony and roots.¹³⁶ Robert Fulford responded (in part to Crosby) with a strong defense of Carr in Canadian Art, in which he refuted the idea of cultural appropriation and argued against the use of post-modern theory in the critique of historic art.¹³⁷ Although Fulford is appropriately hesitant in applying 1990s standards of cross-cultural awareness to the 1920s, he did not address the actual socio-economic

and political inequalities inherent to the Euro-Canadian usage of aboriginal people and art as artistic subjects in a colonial context. When Scott Watson and John Bentley Mays entered the debate in 1994, the discourse shifted to a time-worn east/west polemic which did not further clarify its central issues.¹³⁸

In this thesis, I have attempted to create a balanced—neither polemical nor apolitical—narrative. It is certainly valid to view Euro-Canadians' historic images of aboriginal people through a present-day lens. Nearly seven decades of history provide a critical and temporal distance which allows us to analyze the political, cultural and artistic agendas supporting such representations. The danger in such studies, however, lies in the easy leap from a deconstruction of what individuals such as Barbeau and the artists *were* doing to a judgement of what they *should have been doing*. Such reductive critiques often rely on binary (present/past, us/them) oppositions which ultimately assign the scholar a position of moral superiority from which to judge the historic subjects of her study. For Crosby, the danger of Euro-Canadian academic studies of First Nations people arises from their potential reinforcement of the Western, colonial master narrative. She writes:

Despite the West's recent self-critique of its historical depiction of "the other," I am not entirely convinced that this is not just another form of the West's curious interest in its other; or more specifically, the ultimate colonization of "the Indian" into the spaces of the West's postmodern centre/margin cartography.¹³⁹

Linda Alcoff contends that blatant self-definition of the "I am a white, female graduate student" genre is an inadequate response to the complex problem of speaking for (or about) others.¹⁴⁰ Acknowledging my own subject position as a (white female) academic and heir to the master narrative and undertaking a critical interrogation of the agendas underlying Barbeau's project and the artists' images of the Gitksan may in some small measure militate against a further scholarly colonization of "the Indian." As Alcoff warns, however, no discourse is normative or value-free, and "all speaking about will involve speaking for someone...or something."¹⁴¹

My own discourse is founded on an essentially eclectic, interdisciplinary methodology which can not be classified as a particular methodological approach. I have instead combined several approaches—a close attention to contemporary primary and secondary texts informed by the discipline of history, the art historical practices of formal and representational analysis of visual images, and a wider incorporation of many discursive configurations (artistic, economic, institutional, political, journalistic, touristic, anthropological)—to situate Barbeau and the Skeena images in a broad cultural context.

In Orientalism, Edward Said writes of the complex nature of Europe's representation of the Orient in his statement that:

Orientalism expresses and represents that part [the other] culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.¹⁴²

In this thesis, I use a wide range of sources to document and analyze the multi-faceted nature of 1920s colonial Canadian representation of the other as described by Said. His characterization of Orientalism as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient," speaks to a similar "Western style" of indigenization in 1920s Canada.¹⁴³ His attempt to "show that European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient" is paralleled by my own positioning of indigenization in relation to the formation of Canadian national identity.¹⁴⁴

In order to explore the historical processes of indigenization, I have primarily utilized contemporary sources created by members of the colonizing majority. I am aware, however, that historical context is not "positive knowledge," but is itself a construct produced by personal interpretive choices.¹⁴⁵ As Julia Emberley warns in Thresholds of Difference, reliance on primarily colonial sources can reconfirm their role as the bearers of a "real Canadian past." She writes:

The historical discourse of nation-building deploys the colonial archive to establish the legitimacy of the colonizer, in the process effacing Native 'first nations' and the instrumental use to which they are put in order to facilitate colonization.¹⁴⁶

Emberley's linkage of the colonial archive to the discourse of nationalism summarizes the historical

and ideological processes giving rise to the representations of Barbeau and the artists. These texts (both visual and written) both enact, and become permanent records of, the colonial perspective. Critiquing the creation and usage of these sources, however, works against their further naturalization.

This present-day critique of historic colonial texts could be seen as evidence of a "post-colonial" moment in Canadian (art)historiography. In their introduction to Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory, Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman assert that use of the term "post-colonial" in relation to "former white settler colonies" such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand is by no means an accepted practice.¹⁴⁷ Emberley asserts that although repatriation of the Canadian constitution in 1982 confirmed Canada's status as a "post-colonial nation state," focusing on the Canada-England dynamic "occludes the internal colonization of Native people living within Canada."¹⁴⁸ Loretta Todd concurs, arguing that despite the apparent "rupture in the monolith of Western culture" represented by postcolonialism, Canada "perpetuates an assumed sovereignty over First Nations' lands and cultures," thus continuing the colonial legacy.¹⁴⁹ Even a cursory overview of McEachern's judgement for *Delgamuukw v. the Queen*, for example, demonstrates the persistent and pervasive influence of colonialism in Canada.

VII. A Note on Terminology

As a Euro-Canadian writing about aboriginal peoples and cultures, it is necessary to clarify my use of terminology. In referring to the original inhabitants of Canada, I have utilized "First Nations" or "aboriginal." The term "Indian" is occasionally employed in the context of direct historical quotations. I also use "indigenous," particularly when I want to emphasize the necessity of cultural appropriation to indigenization. I use "native" in the sense of "local to or typical of," to refer to the Euro-Canadian development of a "native" Canadian culture.

Although the Gitksan were in the 1920s often referred to in broader terms as Tsimshian,

Gitksan is the more specific and accepted contemporary term. The Wet'suwet'en were formerly known as the "Carrier." I frequently use the term "Gitksan territory" in an attempt to represent the area visited by Barbeau and the artists as occupied by specific, named people. I am aware that the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en presently make a shared claim to a specific territory, and that Barbeau and the artists did visit Wet'suwet'en villages, including Hagwilget. However, the majority of their time was spent in Gitksan settlements, a fact reflected in my choice of the term, "Gitksan territory."

Finally, the reader should be aware that there are numerous variant spellings of the main Gitksan villages. I have employed the Anglicized spellings used in *Delgamuukw v. the Queen*. These are: Gitwangak, Kitsegucla (Skeena Crossing), Kispiox, Kitwancool, Gitenmaax (Hazelton), Kuldo and Kisgegas.¹⁵⁰

Notes to Chapter One

1. A. Lismer, "Mural Painting," Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada X, 7 (July 1933), 134.
2. What eventually evolved into the National Museum of Canada originated in the Geological Survey of Canada in 1868. The "Act to Create a Department of Mines" in 1907 saw the transfer of the newly-created Museum of Geology and Natural History to the Mines Branch. In 1910, the Museum was moved to the new Victoria Memorial Museum Building, on Metcalfe St. in Ottawa. In January of 1927, the National Museum of Canada was created. In this thesis, the museum is simply referred to as the National Museum. See W.H. Collins, The National Museum of Canada, (Ottawa 1928).
3. Barbeau played a leading role in the totem pole preservation program, a project jointly sponsored by the National Museum, the CNR and the Department of Indian Affairs. Thirty poles were restored at Gitwāngak and Kitselas Canyon from 1925 to 1930. The program has been described in detail in: D. Cole and D. Darling, "Totem Pole Restoration on the Skeena, 1925-30: An Early Exercise in Heritage Conservation," B.C. Studies, 47 (Autumn 1980): 29-48. See also L.A. Dawn, 'Ksan: Museum, Cultural and Artistic Activity Among the Gitksan Indians of the Upper Skeena, 1920-1973, (Victoria 1981).
4. See Ann Morrison, Canadian Art and Cultural Appropriation: Emily Carr and the 1927 Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art - Native and Modern, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991; M. Tippet, Emily Carr: A Biography (Oxford 1978): 132-66; P. Blanchard, The Life of Emily Carr, (Vancouver 1987), 150, 169-92. N.J. Groves compares a Carr painting to a Jackson drawing in A.Y.'s Canada, (Toronto 1968), 161.
5. Carr's relationship with Barbeau is a much-debated aspect of her career. See M. Tippet, "Who 'Discovered' Emily Carr?" Journal of Canadian Art History, I, 2 (Fall 1974), 30-34; E. Hembroff-Schleicher, Emily Carr: the Untold Story, (Saanichton, B.C. 1978), 106-22 and P. Blanchard, The Life of Emily Carr, 150-51. A 1927 article, "To Hold Unique Exhibition of Paintings and Handicrafts at National Gallery," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 10 November, 1927, states that "It was not until this year that Mr. Barbeau...found her [Carr] and her brilliant work."
6. N. Swayze, The Man Hunters: Famous Canadian Anthropologists, (Toronto 1960), 101-40.
7. Except where noted, this biography is based on an unpublished text by Rémi Chénier, Historical Notes on the Unveiling of a Commemorative Plaque in Honour of Charles Marius Barbeau (Ottawa 1989), 5, Canadian Museum of Civilization (hereafter CMC), Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies Archives, (hereafter CCFCS) Marius Barbeau collection (hereafter MBC).
8. M. Barbeau, I Was a Pioneer, National Museum of Man Oracle Series, No. 44 (Ottawa 1982), 1.
9. For the importance of Marett and Mauss, see J. Honigsmann, The Development of Anthropological Ideas, (Illinois 1976); on the influence of Mauss, see J. Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, (Massachusetts 1988).
10. Barbeau's thesis is titled, The Totemic System of the North Western Tribes of North America.
11. R. Preston, "The Social Structure of an Unorganized Society: Beyond Intentions and Peripheral Boasians," in F. Manning (ed.), Consciousness and Inquiry, (Ottawa 1983), 287.
12. R. Preston, "C. Marius Barbeau and the History of Canadian Anthropology," in Canadian Ethnology Society Proceedings, (Ottawa 1976), 123.

13. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), "Speaker's Choice," Ronald Hambleton interview with M. Barbeau, 1956, acc. no. 1988-0247
14. J.H. Thompson and A. Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord, (Toronto 1985), 158.
15. L. Pierce, "Canadian Literature and the National Ideal," Canadian Bookman, VII, 9 (September 1925), 143.
16. Christie, as quoted in R. Bothwell et al., Canada 1900-1945, (Toronto 1987), 229.
17. Bothwell et al., Canada 1900-1945, 212.
18. Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 77.
19. Bothwell et al., Canada 1900-1945, 220.
20. Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 76-77.
21. Ibid., 77.
22. Bothwell et al., Canada 1900-1945, 219.
23. Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 46-47.
24. Ibid., 47-48.
25. Bothwell et al., Canada 1900-1945, 238.
26. Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 49.
27. Bothwell et al., Canada 1900-1945, 244.
28. Barbeau, "Ancient Culture, Vignettes Past," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XV, 7 (July 1929), 30.
29. Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 158.
30. Lismer, as quoted in Ibid., 158.
31. National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1923-24, (Ottawa 1924), 6.
32. W. Grier and A.Y. Jackson, "Two Views of Canadian Art," in Empire Club of Canada, (Toronto 1926), 112.
33. Brown, Canadian Art and Artists: A Lecture, (Ottawa 1925), 3.
34. Brown, "Canada's National Painters," Studio, CIII, 471 (June 1932), 314.

35. As Roald Nasgaard concluded in chapter nine of The Mystic North (Toronto 1984), the Group of Seven's interpretations of the Canadian landscape were greatly influenced by their Symbolist contemporaries in Scandinavia.
36. J. Lyle, "Canadian Ornament Goes Native," American Architect CXXXX, 2602 (December 1931), 34-39.
37. Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 171.
38. Ibid., 171.
39. M. Vipond, "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, VII, 1 (Spring 1980), 40.
40. Ibid., 42.
41. H.I. Smith, An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art, (Ottawa 1923), 1.
42. L. Harris, "Winning a Canadian Background," Canadian Bookman, V, 2 (February 1923), 37.
43. A.Y. Jackson, "Rescuing our Tottering Totems," MacLean's Magazine, (15 December 1927), 37.
44. Barbeau, "The Passing of John McCuish," Canadian Forum, X, 118 (July 1930), 362.
45. Lismer, "Canadian Art," Canadian Theosophist, V, 12 (15 February 1925), 178.
46. Vipond, "Nationalist Network," 32.
47. Ibid., 33-34.
48. Ibid., 40.
49. Vipond, "Nationalist Network," 34; Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 173.
50. Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 173-74.
51. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to suggest possible reasons for Barbeau's wider nationalism, his British education must logically be considered in any such discussion.
52. Barbeau, "Canadian Folksongs as a National Asset," Canadian Nation, I, 1 (February 1928), 19.
53. Jackson, "Rescuing our Tottering Totems," 23.
54. Barbeau, "An Indian Paradise Lost," Canadian Geographical Journal, I, 2 (June 1930), 132-48.
55. A.T. Weldon described Canada's forests as "Dollar Symbols Made of Wood," in Canadian National Railways Magazine, XV, 2 (February 1929), 19, 40.
56. E.J. Hart, "See This World Before the Next: Tourism and the CPR," in H.A. Dempsey, (ed.), The CPR West, (Vancouver 1984), 152.

57. W.L. Edmonds, "Over Million People Saw the Wonders of Triangle Tour at Canadian National Exhibition," Canadian National Railways Magazine, IX, 9 (September 1923), 13.
58. Harkin, "Canadian National Parks and Playgrounds," in Historic Landmarks Association of Canada, Annual Report, 1921, (Ottawa 1922), 37.
59. National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report for 1923-1924, (Ottawa 1924), 6.
60. National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report for 1927-1928, (Ottawa 1928), 5.
61. "Literature as a National Asset: A Radiographed Message," Canadian Bookman, VI, 12 (December 1923), 343.
62. "Totem Poles Are Asset to Canada," Ottawa Journal, 11 March, 1926.
63. "Ancient Folksongs of French Canada Beautifully Sung," Globe, Toronto, 8 March, 1929.
64. "Describe Indians," Montreal Daily Star, 6 April, 1925.
65. D. Miller, "Primitive Art and the Necessity of Primitivism to Art," in S. Hiller (ed.), The Myth of Primitivism, (London 1991), 57-58.
66. Thompson and Seager, Decades of Discord, 88.
67. M. Atwood, Survival, (Toronto 1972), 104.
68. Goldie, Fear and Temptation, (Montreal 1989), 13.
69. Ibid., 13.
70. Barbeau, "Ancient Culture, Vignettes Past," 30.
71. Chief Standing Bear, as quoted in Francis, The Imaginary Indian, (Vancouver 1992), 224.
72. V. Deloria, as quoted in Francis, Ibid., 189.
73. Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 190.
74. Ibid., 223.
75. Ibid., 223-24.
76. Goldie, Fear and Temptation, 12.
77. G. Perry, "Primitivism and the 'Modern'", in C. Harrison et al., Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century, (New Haven 1993), 6.
78. D. Miller, "Primitivism and the Necessity of Primitivism to Art," in S. Hiller (ed.), The Myth of Primitivism, (London 1991), 55.
79. Miller, "Primitivism," 57.

80. This is based on J. Clifford's analysis in "On Ethnographic Allegory," in Clifford and Marcus (eds.), Writing Culture, (Berkeley 1986), 113.
81. L. Todd, "Notes on Appropriation," in J. Bradley and L. Johnstone (eds.), Sightlines: Reading Contemporary Canadian Art, (Montreal 1994), 413.
82. R. Fulford, "The Trouble with Emily," Canadian Art, X, 4 (Winter 1993), 38.
83. R. Fung, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation," Fuse, XVI, 5 and 6 (Winter 1993), 17.
84. "West Coast Indian Art," Canadian Forum, VIII, 89 (February 1928), 525.
85. J.E.H. MacDonald, "A Glimpse of the West," Canadian Bookman, VI, 11 (November 1924), 229.
86. Watson's discussion of Frye is found in "Race, Wilderness, Territory and the Origins of Modern Canadian Landscape Painting," Semiotext(e) Canadas, No. 17, XI, Issue 2 (New York 1994), 94.
87. N. Frye, The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination, (Toronto 1972), i, as quoted in Watson, "Race, Wilderness," 94.
88. M. Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," in S. Douglas (ed.), Vancouver Anthology, (Vancouver 1991), 277.
89. Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," 275.
90. M. Ryan, "Picturing Canada's Native Landscape: Colonial Expansion, Native Identity, and the Image of a 'Dying Race,'" RACAR, XVII, 2 (1990), 141-44.
91. The one exception is Treaty 8, which was extended to encompass the north-east corner of British Columbia in 1898.
92. As Charles Wesley of Kispiox said in 1915, "The land marked off for our ancestors was from mountain to mountain, and this is what the Government has picked up into small pieces - This is where our inheritances came from and where they were handed down from generation to generation, but now these have all been sold." NAC, Commission Respecting Indian Lands and Indian Affairs Generally in the Province of British Columbia RG 33/104, Vol. 1, p. 44.
93. W. Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, Vol. 1, (Victoria 1969), 67-68.
94. P. Burns, "Delgamuukw: A Summary of the Judgement," in F. Cassidy (ed.), Aboriginal Title in British Columbia: Delgamuukw v. the Queen, (Lantzville, B.C./Montreal 1992), 29.
95. Except where noted, this discussion of the aboriginal land question in B.C. is based on Paul Tennant, Aboriginal People and Politics, (Vancouver 1990), 84-113.
96. NAC, Commission Respecting Indian Lands, pp. 1-2, 41, 44, 73.
97. Even a cursory review of the verbatim transcripts of the hearings in the Babine Agency (which included Gitksan/Wet'suwet'en land) makes this point clear. See NAC, Commission Respecting Indian Lands, pp. 1-173.

98. Ibid., 41.

99. Ibid., 1.

100. Ibid., 14.

101. The rejection was based on the proposed "cut-off lands" and included a comprehensive claim to aboriginal land title. The Commission recommended that 74 square miles be "cut off" from existing reserves, while 136 square miles be added. The value of the added land was \$5.10 per acre, in contrast to the \$26.52 value per acre of the "cut-off lands," most of which was regarded as "highly desirable by white farmers, ranchers, developers, speculators, and municipal officials." Tenant, Aboriginal People and Politics, 97-99. In the Babine Agency, 19.59 acres were cut off, while 5,734.93 acres of new reserve lands were assigned. See Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, (Victoria 1916), 177.

102. Scott, as quoted in B. Titley, A Narrow Vision, (Vancouver 1986), 50.

103. See chapter eight of Titley, A Narrow Vision. Tennant makes Scott's personal role clear in chapters seven and eight of Aboriginal People and Politics.

104. For a brief overview of the impact on and reaction to the ban in Gitksan territory, see L.A. Dawn, 'Ksan: Museum, Cultural and Artistic Activity Among the Gitksan Indians of the Upper Skeena, 1920-1973', (Victoria 1981), 29-33. The potlatch was banned in B.C. from 1884-1951.

105. "Delgamuukw v. the Queen; An Excerpt," in F. Cassidy (ed.), Aboriginal Title in British Columbia, 318.

106. See R. Ridington, "Fieldwork in Courtroom 53: A Witness to *Delgamuukw*," in Aboriginal Title in British Columbia, 212-20.

107. Jackson, "Rescuing our Tottering Totems," 23, 37.

108. Jackson, A Painter's Country (1958; rpt. Toronto 1964), 109-12.

109. N.J. Groves, A.Y.'s Canada (Toronto 1968), 152-69.

110. Reid, Edwin Holgate, (Ottawa 1976), 14-15.

111. I. Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1990).

112. McDougall, Anne Savage: Story of a Canadian Painter, (Montreal 1977), 72-76.

113. Braide, Anne Savage: Her Expression of Beauty, (Montreal 1979), 33-34. Other exhibitions featuring Savage's Skeena work are: L. Sherman, Anne Savage: A Retrospective, (Montreal 1969); D. Andrus, Annie D. Savage: Drawings and Watercolours, (Montreal 1974) and B. Meadowcroft, Anne Savage: Retrospective Exhibition, (Montreal 1992).

114. Sisler, The Girls, (Toronto 1972), 41-42.

115. C. Boyanoski, Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy, (Toronto 1987), 50-51, 90-91. N. Luckyj makes brief mention of Wyle's "small intimate totem sculptures" in Visions and Victories: Ten Canadian Women Artists, 1914-1945, (London, Ontario 1983), 94.

116. Wyle's "Your Hands" and "The Owl" in Poems, (Toronto 1959), 11-13, were inspired by her Skeena trip.
117. P. Nicol, "Where Forgotten Gods Sleep," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XVII, 1 (March 1931), 25, 52.
118. J. Murray, Daffodils in Winter: The Life and Letters of Pegi Nicol MacLeod, 1904-1949, (Moonbeam, Ontario 1984), 24-25. MacLeod's Skeena trip is mentioned in Luckyj, Visions and Victories, 59 and in G.C. McInnes, "Contemporary Canadian Artists: No. 8—Pegi Nicol," Canadian Forum, XVII, 200 (September 1937), 202. Only one confirmed Skeena work (Skeena Landscape) was included in the 1949 National Gallery exhibition, Memorial Exhibition: Pegi Nicol MacLeod, 1904-1949.
119. C. Macdonald, "Pepper, George Douglas," A Dictionary of Canadian Artists, V (Ottawa 1977), 1590.
120. The two exhibitions are: Printmaking in British Columbia 1889-1983, (Victoria 1983), no pagination; P. Ainslie, Images of the Land: Canadian Block Prints 1919-1945, (Calgary 1984), 51.
121. L. Daniels, Lowrie L. Warrener, (Samia 1989), 14, 23.
122. J. Flood, "Lowrie Warrener," Northward Journal, 25 (1982), no pagination.
123. F.B. Housser, A Canadian Art Movement, (Toronto 1926), 156.
124. B. Brooker, ed., Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, 1928-1929, (Toronto 1929), 238-41.
125. W. Colgate, Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development, (Toronto 1943), 179.
126. J.R. Harper, Painting in Canada: A History, (Toronto 1966), 292; D. Reid, A Concise History of Canadian Painting, (Toronto 1973), 156; B. Lord, Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art, (Toronto 1974), 175.
127. Tippet, Emily Carr, (Toronto 1979), 139-40; Shadbolt, Emily Carr, (Vancouver 1990), 107-09.
128. Carr, Hundreds and Thousands: The Journals of an Artist (1966) in The Emily Carr Omnibus (Toronto 1993), 655-667.
129. Tippet and Cole, From Desolation to Splendour, (Toronto 1977), 85. See Reid, Les Groupe des Sept/The Group of Seven, (Ottawa 1970), 228-31, for a brief sketch of Holgate and Jackson's trip.
130. Tippet, Making Culture, (Toronto 1990), 77-78. Donald Buchanan made the same point in a 1943 article, "The Story of Canadian Art," Canadian Geographical Journal, XVII, 6 (December 1938), 282.
131. Francis, The Imaginary Indian, 184.
132. Dr. Jessup kindly provided me with transcripts of two unpublished articles based on her Ph.D. dissertation which gave me an idea of the scope and nature of her topic.
133. Lis Smidt Stainforth, Did the Spirit Sing? An Historical Perspective on Canadian Exhibitions of the Other, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1990.
134. A. Morrison, Canadian Art and Cultural Appropriation, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991.

135. As Morrison says on p. 93 of the curators' mingling of Euro-Canadian and aboriginal art in the exhibition, "These artistic concerns put forward by the National Gallery and the National museum, were a pretext and disguise for the underlying socio-political issues of nationalism, self-definition and the conscious formulation of a distinctly 'Canadian' culture...."
136. M. Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," 287.
137. Fulford, "The Trouble with Emily," 33-39.
138. Watson, Letter to the Editor, Canadian Art, XI, 1 (Spring 1994), 5; Mays, "Squabble over Carr the Woman Muddies Critique of Her Paintings," Globe and Mail, 9 April, 1994, C5.
139. Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," 267.
140. Alcoff, "The Problem of Speaking for Others," Cultural Critique, 20 (Winter 1991-92), 17.
141. Ibid., 30.
142. Said, Orientalism, (New York 1978), 2.
143. Ibid., 3.
144. Ibid., 3.
145. M. Bal and N. Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," Art Bulletin, LXXIII, 2 (June 1991), 175.
146. Emberley, Thresholds of Difference, (Toronto 1993), 101.
147. Williams and Chrisman, "Introduction," Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory, (New York 1994), 4.
148. Emberley, Thresholds, 102.
149. Todd, "What More Do they Want?" in G. McMaster and L. Martin, (eds.), Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives, (Vancouver/Hull 1992), 71.
150. See "*Delgamuukw v. the Queen*: An Excerpt," in Aboriginal Title in British Columbia, 313.

Chapter Two: Barbeau and Canadian Artists in Gitksan Territory

Although the struggle to identify and develop an indigenous cultural heritage for Canada was waged on numerous fronts in the 1920s, artists were at the fore of such activities. Brian Osborne's general analysis of the potential role of artists in the process of self-conscious cultural actualization fits the Canadian scene well:

They have attempted to nurture a sense of nationalism by intervening formally in the creation of a discrete cultural identity and national consciousness. They have marshalled their imagery in a campaign to create a national imagination.¹

In order to create this "discrete cultural identity" for Canada, artists needed "raw materials" or "resources" to act as a foundation for that background. They needed, in other words, to identify a national heritage or patrimony. Barbeau firmly believed in the existence of such a patrimony in Canada, and asserted that it could "be made productive for our material and spiritual benefit as a nation...."² As discussed in the introduction, Barbeau located this patrimony not only in Gitksan art and culture, but also in that of the Quebecois.³ Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore systematically the parallels between Barbeau's representations of French Canadian and coastal First Nations peoples, obvious links will be suggested where appropriate.

Writing of the general potential of aboriginal arts and themes to function as "source material" in the development of a new, national culture, Barbeau stated that:

A rich vein for poetic inspiration lies within native themes and surroundings. The writer, the painter and the musician may discover treasures in this virgin field of human endeavour, so far untrodden...The door is wide open for all to enter, who would rather venture into new avenues than blindly follow the herd in the beaten trails.⁴

In Barbeau's view, he was stepping, together with the Euro-Canadian artists who accompanied him westward in the 1920s, over the threshold of this "open door" to find "poetic inspiration" in, and render interpretations of, the "virgin field" of Gitksan people, their art "treasures" and their territory. In this way, Gitksan heritage, redefined by Barbeau as Canadian patrimony, could be "made productive" for a new Canadian art.

This chapter explores Barbeau's work with Canadian artists in Gitksan territory as part of a wider process in which Native (indigenous) art forms were employed by the Canadian cultural elite in the service of their goal to develop a distinctly Canadian (native) art and culture. First, I survey Barbeau's varied views of Northwest Coast art. I then demonstrate how these views supported his identification of Gitksan art and culture as "raw materials" for Euro-Canadian artists. Finally, I establish the general dimensions of Barbeau's "Skeena program" by exploring Barbeau's work with the American painter W. Langdon Kihn, and conclude by documenting the various Skeena trips in a more detailed manner.

I. Barbeau's Views of Northwest Coast Art, People and Culture

Barbeau's conviction that Northwest coast aboriginal art could serve as the foundation for a new national art was based in part on his belief in its high degree of sophistication and aesthetic accomplishment. Barbeau documented and celebrated the art and culture of Northwest Coast aboriginal, particularly that of the Tsimshian and Haida, in many books and articles. His monographs include, for example, The Downfall of Temlaham (1928), Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Upper Skeena River, British Columbia (1929), Totem Poles, 2 vols. (1950), The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music (1951), Haida Carvers in Argillite (1957), Medicine Men on the North Pacific Coast (1958) and Tsimshian Myths (1961). While it is not feasible to summarize the range and complexity of Barbeau's views of Northwest Coast art here, it is important to establish the generally positive nature of his opinions.

Barbeau's admiration for coastal wood carvers is evident in Totem Poles (Vol. 1), where he stated:

Their genius has produced monumental works of art on a par with the most original the world has ever known... Independent of our great moderns, from Turner to Gauguin, Van Gogh and Cezanne, they were nevertheless their contemporaries.⁵

Several pages later, he declared of totem poles:

The excellence of their decorative style at its best is nowhere surpassed by any other form of aboriginal art, and as an expression of native personality and craftsmanship they are impressive and unique.⁶

Elsewhere, Barbeau wrote that aboriginal artists, manifesting an "amazing sense of decorative fitness and beauty," created an art of "extreme complexity."⁷ In Haida Carvers in Argillite, Barbeau took pains to record the names, family histories and particular stylistic practices of over forty Skidegate and Massett artists at a time when aboriginal arts were still regarded as the anonymous specimens of collective tribal groups. As he said, "neither would anonymity satisfy a French historian of the Barbizon school of painters concerning Millet, Rousseau...."⁸ Barbeau's writings thus make clear his view of aboriginal arts as intrinsically brilliant expressions which properly belonged in the realm of high/fine art.⁹

However, in the same breath that Barbeau extolled the art's magnificence, he also declared its death.¹⁰ In a series of public lectures delivered at the University of British Columbia in late 1926, Barbeau articulated his account of the historical processes which had brought about the art's so-called demise. He said that, "The results of the white man's coming have been ruinous and devastating for the native tribes of British Columbia...."¹¹ As "contacts with the whites were fatal to native pride and ethics at a very early date,"¹² he reasoned, coastal aboriginal people had "long since lost that national pride that makes possible great feats in the field of art."¹³ Barbeau concluded unequivocally that native art was "dead forever,"¹⁴ and that the possibility of a revival seemed out of the question.¹⁵

Barbeau elsewhere contextualized this apparent "death" of First Nations art in a wider assessment of the state of creative endeavour in Canada:

In the early stages of useful and folk arts in this country, there was no lack of aesthetic values and appreciation, but most of what was worthy in Indian and French-Canadian arts unfortunately belongs to the past.¹⁶

In this reductive analysis, the generalized labels of "Indian" and "French Canadian" are made to stand for a complex diversity of peoples. A levelling also occurs here, in the sense that the arts

of the original inhabitants of (what is now called) Canada, and the arts of French immigrants to Canada, are valued equally as contributors to the creative pulse of a new nation: Canada. Finally, both Indian and French-Canadian arts are identified as static forms whose authenticity and quantitative "worth" are located in a fixed past.

Barbeau's view of aboriginal art is consonant with his opinion of the general fate of First Nations peoples. He fully concurred with the widespread scholarly and popular belief, held in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, of aboriginal people as "vanishing races," doomed to certain cultural extinction.¹⁷ He consistently expressed his belief in the demise of aboriginal peoples and their cultures with such statements as: "Racial customs and stamina are on the wane everywhere....,"¹⁸ "What now survives is but a shadow, a memory;"¹⁹ "The ancient customs have disappeared one by one...The thread of tradition has broken long ago,"²⁰ and "the Canadian Indian is now a creature of the past, who can be studied mostly in books and museums."²¹ In a 1931 article entitled "Our Indians, Their Disappearance," he concluded that, "at present the indications point convincingly to the extinction of the race."²²

For Barbeau, "authentic" aboriginal people were those who existed in a genetically "pure" and unchanging "traditional" past prior to Euro-Canadian colonization. Generations of intermarriage had "mixed and diluted" the blood of First Nations people to the extent that Barbeau doubted the existence of any "real Indian[s]."²³ Barbeau thus defined "aboriginality" in relation to a spurious definition of authenticity, and not in relation to actual demographics.²⁴ First Nations people (self-defined and those defined under the Indian Act) obviously continued (and continue) to thrive and adapt to the impact of foreign immigration.

Despite his rather myopic interpretation of the future of aboriginal peoples, Barbeau displayed an empathetic awareness of the very real dangers they faced. He acknowledged the fatal impact of past wars and epidemics, the continuing problem of disease and the government's "false promises and rank injustice."²⁵ He decried the wholesale depletion of animals and fish by Euro-

Canadians and the "instant and irretrievable" ruin brought by the short-sighted practices of the "casual sportsman."²⁶ Missionaries working among the First Nations, he contended, had "in most cases done more harm than good," and he located this harm specifically in the residential school system.²⁷ Barbeau characterized the process in which coastal First Nations peoples had been forced to renounce their territorial rights, hunting grounds and lands for the confinement of reservations as "the most painful experience of the century...no less than an exile."²⁸ Barbeau's 1926 proposal for a monograph on the historical property rights of aboriginal people on the Northwest Coast demonstrates his affirmation of their complex systems of property rights and concepts of land ownership.²⁹ And although Barbeau did not take an active stand against the potlatch ban, he did approve of the status quo of government non-enforcement of the ban in the late 1910s and early 1920s.³⁰ As Chief Justice McEachern's complete dismissal of aboriginal rights in *Delgamuukw v. the Queen* demonstrates, such rights are by no means recognized today.

In Barbeau's final analysis, however, the aboriginal people and art of the Northwest Coast had no future in and of their own right. If the "real Indians," creators of a great but dead art, were vanishing, then it became imperative to save the remaining evidence of their existence. "The best we can hope for now," Barbeau declared in 1926, "is to preserve the remnants within our borders."³¹ In 1911, Edward Sapir, chief of anthropology at the National Museum, voiced the implications of this belief for the museum's program: "now or never is the time in which to collect from the natives what is still available for study...What is lost now will never be recovered again."³² Such statements epitomize the motivation behind what is now referred to as the "salvage paradigm," characterized by historian James Clifford as "a desire to rescue 'authenticity' out of destructive historical change."³³ Clifford identifies the historical moment in which the salvage impulse typically becomes operative:

A relatively recent period of authenticity is repeatedly followed by a deluge of corruption, transformation, modernization...Authenticity in culture or art exists just prior to the present - but not so distant or eroded as to make collection or salvage impossible.³⁴

Clifford's analysis of the salvage paradigm is a fitting summary of Barbeau's views on the state and fate of Northwest Coast aboriginal art and culture.

II. The Fate of Coastal Aboriginal Art: Context and Background

Barbeau's response to the spectre of the "vanishing races" was to engage in an extensive, career-long ethnographic documentation and prodigious collecting³⁵ of Northwest Coast aboriginal culture, history and art.³⁶ These activities were predicated on his concept of coastal aboriginal culture as situated in the past.

Barbeau did envision a future for the remnants of First Nations art, both *in situ* and in museum collections. That future lay in its use by (Euro- and central-) Canadian painters. Barbeau began to encourage artists to travel the coast and utilize the remaining aboriginal art as themes for their works. He said:

the artistic work of the western Indians has so much character and life...so much which modern artists find inspiring, and so much which is distinctively Canadian and which might well be used to help form the basis of a national art....³⁷

Barbeau thus articulates his view of the high quality of aboriginal art, asserts its future role as source for Canadian painters, identifies it as uniquely Canadian according to unstated criteria of "Canadianness," and claims it for the development of a new, exclusively Euro-Canadian art. This particular genre of "national art" would likely take the form of, but not be limited to, artistically-rendered interpretations of aboriginal art, art now redefined as Canadian. Barbeau's statement that "native themes and surroundings" could serve as "poetic inspiration" seems to indicate that coastal myths, stories, villages and scenery were also freely available to the painters as subjects or themes for art works.

Barbeau was not alone in his advocacy of First Nations art as a source for Canadian art. In A Short History of Painting with a Note on Canadian Art (1926), Arthur Lismer identified two main sources which had contributed to the genesis of Canadian painting: the religious art of the

French-Canadian regime, dating back to 1669, and "the wealth of design and richness of decoration of the Indians of western Canada."³⁸ Lismer surmised that by the twenty-first century, the story of Canadian painting would be told by artists who had recreated "their background, the natural, human, and historical environment."³⁹ Euro-Canadian renditions of the Northwest Coast thus neatly fit Lismer's mandate for a Canadian art of continuing relevance in the future. In 1927, Eric Brown wrote that Canadian artists should make use of the remnants of West Coast art because it had "in particular the unique quality of being entirely national in its origin and character."⁴⁰ After hearing Barbeau's lectures at the University of British Columbia in late 1926, Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Arts (VSDAA) student Sybil Hill wrote that his purpose was "to bring to the artists of B.C. the immense sketching...potentialities to be found among the homes of the T'Simpsonian Indians...."⁴¹ She concluded with a query and challenge to fellow students, "Who will find inspiration in the T'Simpsonian Countree?"⁴²

While the designation of a "people group" as an artistic "resource" seems exploitative today, it was a typical outgrowth of the 1920s search for "indigenous" artistic subjects. VSDAA principal C.H. Scott, for example, encouraged local painters to take advantage of the "rich material" to be found in: "the large colonies of Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos [sic] and Indians...Northern and Southern European[s] and the predominant Anglo-Saxon stock..." resident in and around Vancouver.⁴³ In 1919, J.E.H MacDonald advocated the use of a wide range of typically Canadian peoples and events as subjects for art, including:

the lumber-jack...the fisher folk of the Labrador, the barn-raising, the Indian funeral...the Orange parade...the apple gathering, the home-coming battalion.⁴⁴

A Canadian artist, MacDonald continued,

would follow the trapper...the country doctor, the advance in Flanders... would sit in the shade of the thresher with the harvesters and attend the pow-wow with the feathered chiefs.⁴⁵

Among the many 1920s artists (apart from those discussed in this thesis) who chose aboriginal

peoples and themes as subjects for their work were W.J. Phillips, Statira Frame, Mildred Valley Thornton and Nicholas de Grandmaison; in the 1930s, such artists included J.W.G. Macdonald, Jack Shadbolt and Kay Daly. The works of these artists, and the supporting ideologies of people like Barbeau, Scott and MacDonald, thus point less to an overt "racism" than to the idea of "the old Western philosophical Subject, thinking itself unified, central, in control, universal... mastering otherness and profiting from it."⁴⁶

Such usage of aboriginal peoples and immigrant groups as artistic subjects thus reveals more about the Euro-Canadians' self-identification as privileged surveyors and possessors of the "other" than about the particular "other" itself. Moreover, as Vincent Massey declared in a 1930 speech on "Art and Nationality," the choice of Canadian subject matter—"log-jams...harvest scenes...white churches...totem-poles and red-coated riders..."—was not in itself enough to create a national art. "Unless there is something more profound in it than this," Massey warned, "the product will not be national, it will be merely provincial."⁴⁷

The concept of aboriginal peoples as subject matter was incorporated into Canadian art historical texts. In The Fine Arts in Canada (1925) Newton MacTavish concluded that although aboriginal peoples had possessed "little artistic accomplishment in the modern sense," they had given "artistic impulse" to artists such as Paul Kane and Frederick Verner.⁴⁸ In his 1939 A Short History of Canadian Art and the expanded 1950 version, Canadian Art, Graham McInnes asserted that First Nations art had had little direct influence on the mainstream development of Canadian art except as "subject matter" for interested painters.⁴⁹ William Colgate, in his 1943 history Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development, reiterated Barbeau's identification of "native themes and surroundings" as available inspiration for artists.⁵⁰ Colgate saw the more recent interest of Eastern painters in western themes as a continuation of the historical precedent set by artists including Kane, Lucius O'Brien, Frederick M. Bell-Smith and C.W. Jefferys.⁵¹

McInnes situated aboriginal art in the wider realm of Euro-Canadian art history in his analysis of the totem pole as bearing,

the same relation to the mountainous forest-clad landscape as one of MacDonald's rhythmic canvases bears to Algoma, or the low stone church of Quebec bears to the Laurentian hills.⁵²

The totem pole is thus detached from its originating context and meaning and re-evaluated for the depth and clarity of its symbolic kinship to the British Columbian—and by extension Canadian—landscape. In another levelling process, the totem pole, like a MacDonald painting and a Quebec church, is seen as possessing aspects of "Canadianness." Such objects thus gave evidence of human response to and effect on a particular geographical region.

Within the standard narratives of Canadian art, the 1920s have become synonymous with the Group of Seven's creation and development of a "national school" of painting. The Group's nationalistic aims were articulated in the catalogue of their first exhibition in 1920, where they stated that, "Art must grow and flower in the land before the country will be a real home for its people."⁵³ They preferred "artists native to the land, whose work is more distinctive, original and vital..." and supported "any form of Art expression that sincerely interprets the spirit of a nation's growth."⁵⁴ The Group's mandate to create a distinctive art was achieved through an unmediated experience of and response to the uniqueness of the Canadian landscape. In 1926 F.B. Housser, the Group's self-appointed historian, wrote in A Canadian Art Movement that, "We do not know what mood we shall create which will be called "Canadian," but it can come only through a love of our own landscape, soil and air."⁵⁵ Historian Ramsay Cook has asserted that this identification of the land as the source for "the real or imagined uniqueness" of a nation is typical of nationalist programs everywhere, but in Canada, the land has often been viewed as the only common element due to the lack of a unifying language, history or religion.⁵⁶

In order to give full expression to the idea of the land as the source for a national art, Group members sought out diverse landscapes from coast to coast. Lawren Harris characterized

the Group's experience of the land as an "all-engrossing adventure" which "was to include the exploration of the whole country for its creative and expressive possibilities in painting."⁵⁷ MacDonald said that the artist was "by nature an explorer. His interest is in character and beauty, and that is Dominion-wide."⁵⁸ A.Y. Jackson advocated the use of "the whole of Canada as a sketching ground...."⁵⁹ That a particular Group member was able to identify with a certain region in personal and popular terms is now clear. Writers still speak of "Casson's villages and rural landscapes of Ontario, Jackson's Laurentian hills and Gaspé coasts, MacDonald's Rockies and Carmichael's mining camps."⁶⁰ Harris' mountain vistas and Thomson's Algonquin scenes also belong to this list.⁶¹

Barbeau's collaboration with artists on the Skeena was thus characteristic of the Group of Seven ethos. Barbeau was essentially applying the Group's broad mandate to create a land-based national art to the specific terrain of the northern Northwest Coast. The re-creation of the "human and historical" background encouraged by Lismer thus included Euro-Canadian images of aboriginal life. In this sense, the "themes and surroundings" of Northwest Coast aboriginal people, culture and art functioned as "subject matter" for Canadian painters in the same way as did the residents of Vancouver, Casson's Ontario villages and Carmichael's mining camps. Furthermore, if the totem pole was viewed as part of the land—a unique expression of and reaction to the native Canadian landscape—it could join the ranks of other quintessentially Canadian symbols like the Quebec stone church, the Canada goose church and the Ontario jack pine.⁶² In 1933, Arthur Lismer reflected on the nature of this search for symbols:

It is probable that in Canada we have not yet caught up with the essential feeling of pride and the desire to assert the expression of it by means of idealistic symbols. It needs something of the showman in the national spirit to project pictorial devices interpretive of achievement...*After all, these things are our totems, expressive of the people we are.*⁶³ [italics mine]

Barbeau and the Group, in Osborne's words, were thus "marshalling their imagery in a campaign to create a national imagination."⁶⁴ This identification and gathering of appropriate symbolic

imagery required an essentially ahistorical levelling process; the particular situations and cultures which gave rise to the individual symbols were glossed over as the objects became functional within a totalizing construct of national art.

III. Barbeau and Canadian Artists in Gitksan Territory

i. Barbeau and Langdon Kihn

Barbeau's earliest collaborative work in Gitksan territory was with the New York painter W. Langdon Kihn (1898-1957). Barbeau later stated that the success of Kihn's Tsimshian pictures allowed him to "induce" eastern Canadian painters to "extend their activities to the Northwest."⁶⁵ A case study of the Barbeau-Kihn partnership—which Jackson later characterized as "a most successful collaboration"—sets the stage for Barbeau's subsequent work with Canadian artists.⁶⁶

Kihn first entered the Canadian art world in 1922 when CPR general publicity agent John Murray Gibbon invited and sponsored Kihn to visit and paint portraits of the Stoney people at Morley, Alberta,⁶⁷ the Kootenays on the Upper Columbia River in B.C. and the Nootka (now the Nuu-chah-nulth) on western Vancouver Island.⁶⁸ Kihn had begun his painting career among the Blackfeet of Montana and the Pueblos of New Mexico.⁶⁹ The laudatory reviews accorded these works in exhibitions across the United States in 1922 confirmed his growing stature as a "portraitist of Indians."⁷⁰ Kihn's choice of career thus secured his position in a lineage of "portraitists of Indians" that began in early nineteenth century America and including artists such as George Catlin, Karl Bodmer and Charles Bird King.⁷¹ Kihn's extension of his documentary activities into Canada also finds historical precedent in the work of the photographer Edward S. Curtis.⁷²

Representatives of the Macmillan company of Canada, in concert with Gibbon, asked Barbeau to write a book around Kihn's Canadian portraits.⁷³ The result was a popularized ethnographic narrative entitled Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies.⁷⁴ For Gibbon, the whole idea of the publication was "to create a popular interest in the Indians."⁷⁵ His choice of title for the book

is telling; "Indian Days" was in fact a CPR-sponsored summer festival, held annually in Banff, in which "traditionally-dressed" Stoney people participated in parades and competitions for the benefit of tourists.⁷⁶ A "popular interest in the Indians" thus translated directly into tourist traffic for Banff and the CPR. Barbeau and Kihn, fully cognizant of the propagandistic use of their work, willingly agreed to generate publicity for the CPR in exchange for free transportation. An extant CPR poster advertising "Indian Days" demonstrates one such use of a Kihn painting.⁷⁷ (Fig. 4)

The partnership continued; in 1924, Kihn and his wife Helen joined Barbeau for six months on the Northwest Coast. Despite the fact that C.K. Howard of the CNR was unable to satisfy fully Kihn's financial requirements, the artist felt that "the opportunity of getting the most unusual material that that territory will afford will be too great a chance to miss."⁷⁸ The two men worked together closely in their "thorough scrutiny of past Indian life;"⁷⁹ Barbeau, "in search of Indian lore," interviewed each of Kihn's subjects during their portrait sitting.⁸⁰ Over the half-year of fieldwork, Kihn "produced an imposing collection" of documentary views of totem poles and over sixty portraits of Gitksan people in "traditional" dress and costume.⁸¹

When the full range of Kihn's Canadian images was exhibited in Ottawa and Montreal in the spring of 1925, reviewers hailed them as aesthetically accomplished and historically significant.⁸² "E.W.H." of the Ottawa Evening Citizen praised the "strength, simplicity and brilliance of tone" and the "highly decorative results" of the portraits in which Kihn had supposedly revealed the "character and psychology" of his sitters.⁸³ In the Montreal Gazette, the "marked sense of the decorative" and "vivid color" of Kihn's portraits were noted.⁸⁴ The Ottawa writer declared that Kihn had created detailed, accurate pictorial records whose "historical value...would be difficult to overestimate...."⁸⁵

Barbeau demonstrated the documentary value of Kihn's portraits as an effective fusion of art and ethnography in a lecture delivered to the Montreal Arts Club on the evening of the show's opening.⁸⁶ Barbeau lamented the ubiquitous presence in most portrayals of aboriginal people of

"one type of Indian of dusky skin, sullen face and feathered head - the Prairie Indian, Blackfoot and Sioux," an image he saw as entrenched in the popular imagination through the work of generations of writers and artists.⁸⁷ Using Kihn's paintings of the different tribal groups—Stoney, Nootka, Kootenay, Tsimshian—to make a case for variety and difference, Barbeau pointed out the distinguishing features of each group, thus "showing the invaluable use of art in drawing the characteristics to the student's attention."⁸⁸ This conflation of art and science, facilitated by the collaboration of anthropologist and painter, is a hallmark characteristic of the indigenization process.

Kihn's work was met with approval from the Canadian government and cultural elite. The emplacement of Kihn's exhibition in the Parliament buildings lent an air of official sanction to his project and pictures. Barbeau actively lobbied members of the government to acquire Kihn's work, but Dominion Archivist Arthur Doughty was unable to rally support for the purchase.⁸⁹ In 1927, F.N. Southam and his brothers, of the powerful Toronto-based publishing company, purchased over thirty of Kihn's paintings and donated them to art galleries from Montreal to Vancouver.⁹⁰ The ultimate recognition accorded Kihn came when the National Gallery of Canada selected two of his landscapes, Gitksan Indian Totempole [sic], Village of Gitwinkool, B.C. and Potlach [sic] Among the Gitksan Indians of B.C.⁹¹ for inclusion in the Canadian Section of Fine Arts at the *British Empire Exhibition* in Wembley Park, London, England in 1925.⁹² The Wembley shows of 1924 and 1925 were seen as evidence that Canada had "taken to itself a nationalism and individuality which was among the most interesting art developments since the war."⁹³ The inclusion of an American artist is thus rather contradictory, especially given the stringent citizenship requirements set by the National Gallery Board of Trustees.⁹⁴ That Kihn's work was included in the British show demonstrates that the priority at Wembley was the construction of a nationalist iconography through the depiction of "things Canadian," rather than the national origin of the participating artists.

The critical and commercial success of Kihn's paintings and the publicity surrounding them perfectly suited Barbeau's program for the Skeena. For Barbeau, Kihn's and later artists' interpretations of the West Coast were useful beyond their potential role in the development of a new national art. In the context of his anthropological work, Barbeau viewed the works within the salvage paradigm, as records of "Indian life at a time when it was passing out of existence."⁹⁵ Barbeau asserted that his collaboration with Kihn had made it possible to "resurrect many things...which otherwise would have gone to complete oblivion."⁹⁶

The paintings also functioned as effective publicity tools in Barbeau's personal and nationalist agenda. Barbeau saw Kihn as a kind of artistic pioneer in Canada, for notwithstanding his American citizenship, Kihn had been among the first to visit, paint and thus generate interest in "Tsimshian country."⁹⁷ On one level, central Canadian awareness of "aspects of north-western art and scenery" would only increase country-wide support for Barbeau's (ultimately unsuccessful) plan to establish an "Indian National Park of Temlaham" at Gitenmaax (Hazelton), on the Skeena River.⁹⁸ This park would ostensibly encompass the region's "totem pole villages and sites...history and legend[s]," its "natural big game and scenic area" and the town's "rich scenic attractions and historical interest."⁹⁹

More importantly, however, Barbeau maintained that the pictures had a critical role to play in the development of Canadian nationalism. Barbeau's comment that Kihn's work had "helped the enrichment of national consciousness"¹⁰⁰ was given fuller expression in his statement that:

These pictures in time will help materially in spreading definite impressions of our picturesque North West Coast, of the wood carvings of the northern tribes and their totem poles that still constitute one of the most striking features of our continent. This, to the great benefit of all. For our national consciousness and character can develop to the full only through better knowledge of the highly diversified parts of our vast country, of its natural resources, and of its wealth both artistic and spiritual.¹⁰¹

Barbeau is essentially claiming Gitksan art, the art of one of the First Nations, for a much different and much newer nation—the political creation called Canada. The historical and political

complexities of land claims, cultural ownership and concepts of "nationhood" have been ignored. For Barbeau, Northwest coast aboriginal art and culture simply became "Canadian" with British Columbia's entry into Confederation in 1871. Gitksan totem poles, of obvious intrinsic worth and complex meanings to Gitksan people, are thus lifted from their originating context and assigned new value as evidence of the "artistic and spiritual wealth" of the "highly diversified parts" of Canada.

Kihn's landscapes are portable testaments to that wealth; their increased circulation was intended to aid Canadian citizens' knowledge of and devotion to their country. This direct causal linkage of art and nationalism was not new. In 1894, W.A. Sherwood wrote that the sale of artistic renditions of the Canadian landscape exemplified "in a most material way...the landscape painter furthering patriotic sentiments."¹⁰² In 1925, Lismer called artists "true nation builders," because their work acquainted people with the land and thus generated nationalist sentiment.¹⁰³

ii. Barbeau and Canadian Artists

The overt success of Kihn's pictures had proved to Barbeau the efficacy and potential of visual images in his multi-faceted nationalist campaign. The obvious next step was to facilitate the creation and generation of an increasing number of artistic interpretations of the Northwest Coast. To accomplish this task, Barbeau enlisted the help of numerous artists now firmly established in the Canadian canon: in 1926, A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974) and Edwin Holgate (1892-1977); in 1927, Anne Savage (1896-1971) and Florence Wyle (1881-1968); in 1928, George Pepper (1903-62) and Pegi Nicol MacLeod (1904-49). John Byers, then assistant to Arthur Lismer, travelled the coast in 1928.¹⁰⁴ Toronto artist Lowrie Warrener (1900-83) visited Gitksan territory in 1931;¹⁰⁵ Parisian painter Paul Cozé also travelled westward.¹⁰⁶

The documentation of the Skeena trips presented in the following pages is not founded on a detailed chronology of each painter's journey. This is due in large part to the lack of primary source material documenting the trips, with the exception of Langdon Kihn and A.Y. Jackson.¹⁰⁷

The extant primary and published material, therefore, has dictated a more general approach. I outline the initial organization of the trips, the placement of the trip in each artist's career, the places they visited, their activities and their reception in Gitksan territory.

The two most important factors influencing Barbeau's selection of artists were his close relationship with A.Y. Jackson and his support for the Group of Seven mandate.¹⁰⁸ Barbeau identified the Group as the vanguard of Canadian painting in the 1920s. He saw their advances in landscape painting as "spectacular" and "rapid," and was thus motivated to facilitate the extension of their land-based mandate to the west coast.¹⁰⁹ Barbeau's personal and professional association with A.Y. Jackson assured the intersection of their similarly nationalist agendas and gave Barbeau access to Group members and their avant-garde peers in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa.¹¹⁰

Although Barbeau likely initiated the idea for the trips, Jackson had some influence in the early stages. In Barbeau's view, Kihn's trip to Gitksan territory signalled the "opening of a new field" for Canadian art; Barbeau stated in 1932 that the clear success of Kihn's enterprise made it easy for him to "induce" Canadian artists to follow in Kihn's footsteps.¹¹¹ This statement confirms Barbeau's early agency. In 1965, however, Barbeau declared that he had not considered asking Canadian painters to accompany him west until Jackson had approached him with the question, "Why don't you use some of ourselves, Canadians; we could illustrate and we would be pleased to work with you."¹¹² Jackson's proposal seems logical: he had proven his compatibility as sketcher, companion and traveller on a trip with Barbeau to Charlevoix County, Quebec, in 1925, and he was obviously interested in cashing in on the considerable publicity accorded Kihn's coastal images. Furthermore, Jackson was searching for new subject matter. He wrote in 1925 that the pastoral landscape—with its "wire fences, milking machines...square cows, prize pigs"—was "petering out."¹¹³ In the west and the north, however, he identified "a couple of million square miles...where the artist can roam undisturbed for some years to come."¹¹⁴

Most of the artists collaborated with Barbeau as a result of their association with Jackson. Barbeau's 1926 venture with Jackson and Holgate, for example, was confirmed in a letter to Jackson in which Barbeau outlined the trip's aesthetic possibilities, variously emphasizing the "grand and beautiful scenery" and the existence of standing totem poles at several Gitksan villages.¹¹⁵ Jackson tried to interest fellow Group members Harris, MacDonald, Lismer and his occasional painting partner Holgate, in the trip, but in the end only Holgate could accompany him.¹¹⁶ Barbeau attempted to secure Holgate's involvement through an overtly propagandistic letter in which he lauded the Skeena River country as "the most inspiring, from the point of view of art, in the whole of British Columbia," and mentioned the future possibility of an exhibition of "Indian carvings...and interpretative paintings...."¹¹⁷

The specific details of Wyle's and Savage's trip plan are less well documented. In early 1927, Jackson approached Toronto sculptors Florence Wyle and Frances Loring with an initial proposal. Barbeau followed Jackson's lead with a letter,¹¹⁸ thus securing Wyle's commitment to the trip. Loring could not visit the Skeena because of an upcoming trip to Italy; Wyle suggested that Montreal painter and art educator Anne Savage take Loring's place.¹¹⁹ Wyle planned to create models of Gitksan poles, "Indian heads" and decorative relief panels based on Gitksan themes. Savage would help Wyle paint the model poles and create her own interpretations of Skeena scenery.¹²⁰

The case of MacLeod and Pepper in 1928 is somewhat different. Barbeau's acquaintance with MacLeod and her work had likely occurred in the company of their mutual friends in Ottawa: Eric and Maud Brown, and Duncan Campbell Scott and his wife Belle. MacLeod was a "special friend" of the Browns and the Scotts.¹²¹ She was a frequent participant in the informal artistic gatherings which occurred regularly at the Browns' home.¹²² Scott, a celebrated "Indian poet," was an "avid and knowledgeable" art collector¹²³ and later, MacLeod's devoted patron.¹²⁴ In 1927, Barbeau, Brown and Scott arranged MacLeod's summer painting trip to the Morley Reserve near

Banff, Alberta; her voyage to the Skeena in 1928 was thus a logical next step.¹²⁵ Barbeau may have met Pepper in Ottawa as well, for the artist was born and raised in Ottawa, and from 1925-1931 worked as a civil servant there.¹²⁶ However, Pepper was an invited contributor to the 1926 Group of Seven exhibition in Toronto, and Jackson may thus have acted as initial liaison.

The timing of the Skeena trips in relation to each artist's career varied. Jackson was an established and celebrated artist by 1926. He began exhibiting his work in 1913, served as an official war artist from 1917-19 and was a founding member of the Group of Seven in 1920. The Skeena trip was an opportunity for Jackson to expand his regional exploration of the Canadian landscape into (what was for him) uncharted territory.¹²⁷ Holgate's trip west came at a relatively early phase in his artistic development. He had shown work in the annual spring exhibitions at the Art Association of Montreal since 1912; his first one-person show was at the Montreal Arts Club in 1922. In early 1924, Holgate began to prepare his first Canadian landscape canvases.¹²⁸ That same year he helped found the Canadian Society of Graphic Artists, and by 1926 had gained widespread recognition as a print-maker.¹²⁹

Since moving to Canada in 1913, the American-born sculptor Florence Wyle had by 1927 established herself as a successful and acclaimed artist with a solid exhibition record and both private and public commissions to her credit.¹³⁰ Barbeau identified Wyle and Loring as "the foremost sculptors of Canada" and was evidently eager to attract them to the Skeena.¹³¹ Anne Savage received her training and early exhibition experience at the Art Association of Montreal from 1914-1919, and helped to found the short-lived Beaver Hall Hill Group.¹³² Barbeau viewed Savage's work as "quite remarkable for its originality and dash,"¹³³ and identified her as a suitable collaborator.¹³⁴

Barbeau regarded Pegi Nicol MacLeod and George Pepper as "our best gifted young artists in Ottawa."¹³⁵ Having completed her training in Montreal by 1922,¹³⁶ MacLeod secured a teaching job at Elmwood girls school in Rockcliffe,¹³⁷ and first exhibited her work in Ottawa in 1925.¹³⁸ Barbeau lauded MacLeod's "exceptionally good portraits" and success in landscape

painting,¹³⁹ and organized her trips to Alberta and British Columbia in 1927 and 1928, respectively. George Pepper graduated from the Ontario College of Art in 1924, and from 1925-1931 worked as a map draftsman for the Parks Branch and then as a publicity artist for the Forest Service.¹⁴⁰ He maintained a studio during this period,¹⁴¹ and gained acclaim after contributing to the Group of Seven show at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1926.¹⁴² Pepper's Skeena trip marked the beginning of his artistic exploration of Canada.¹⁴³

iii. Gitksan Territory

Whatever the differences in career development and life experience each artist brought to the Skeena, they all travelled there via the Canadian National Railway (earlier called the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway).¹⁴⁴ The artists were granted free passage to the Skeena¹⁴⁵ in exchange for producing images which CNR officials could use in promotional campaigns. Barbeau's deals with the CNR were constructed in quite general terms; he applied to publicity agent C.K. Howard for Wyle and Savage's rail passes in 1927, for example, "for the benefit of their work and...the publicity thus derived for your railroad."¹⁴⁶

This conflation of Canadian artistic and business interests dated back to the 1880s, when the paintings of artists including Lucius O'Brien and T. Mower Martin, who had travelled west on free CPR passes, were widely utilized in railway advertising campaigns.¹⁴⁷ By the 1920s, railway support of Canadian painters was common; the majority of Group members' sketching trips that decade were funded by either the CPR or CNR. Artists like Jackson were fully aware of their role in this juncture of art and commerce; before travelling to Great Slave Lake via the CNR in 1928, he wrote that, "it is not tourist country, but it is Can[adian] Nat[ional] country and an artist can help to create interest in it."¹⁴⁸

The Canadian National Railway line ploughs straight through Gitksan territory. Barbeau and the artists were thus afforded direct access to numerous Gitksan villages, some situated on the railway line and others in the immediate vicinity.¹⁴⁹ (Fig. 5) At Gitwangak, located on the north

side of the Skeena, twenty-six totem poles stood in the 1920s.¹⁵⁰ Gitwangak was in 1925 called the "showplace of Northern British Columbia," and was the most photographed spot in Canada, after Niagara Falls.¹⁵¹ According to Barbeau, the largest and finest group of totem poles were owned by the residents of Kitwancool, a village north of Gitwangak. In the 1920s, the Kitwancool people fiercely preserved their independence by forbidding Euro-Canadians entrance to their village.¹⁵² The CNR billed Kitwancool as the "land of isolation,"¹⁵³ while Barbeau called it "the last unconquered native stronghold of the Red Man in North America."¹⁵⁴

East of Gitwangak is Kitsegucla, also known as Skeena Crossing.¹⁵⁵ To the North is Gitenmaax, located at the confluence of the Skeena and Bulkley Rivers and noted for its "grand and beautiful" scenery.¹⁵⁶ Kispiox, at the juncture of the Skeena and Kispiox rivers, was the site in the 1920s of twenty-three poles.¹⁵⁷ Kuldo and Kisgegas, both older villages, were nearly deserted by the 1920s.¹⁵⁸ East of Gitenmaax is Bulkley Canyon, site of the renowned "Bulkley Gate, a deep-cut gorge on the Bulkley River touted by the CNR as "the greatest thrill of the journey,"¹⁵⁹ and the Wet'suwet'en village of Hagwilget.¹⁶⁰ The Gitksan village of Kitselas, west of Gitwangak on the lower Skeena, is also the site of a dramatic canyon, the "Gibraltar of the Kitselas."¹⁶¹ Other locales visited by Barbeau and the artists include the cities of Terrace and Prince Rupert, the fishing village of Port Essington, Usk and Haysport on the CNR main line, and Port Simpson.

A combination of archival and published material permits a general reconstruction of the artists' itineraries. In 1926, Holgate and Jackson travelled together from late July/early August to late September,¹⁶² Holgate then returned to Montreal while Jackson stayed until early October.¹⁶³ The two artists likely visited the places detailed above, with the exception of Kuldo, Kisgegas and Kitwancool. The following year, Wyle and Savage departed from Toronto on July 7, disembarking at Gitenmaax, before continuing on to Kispiox, Hagwilget, Gitwangak and Kitwancool.¹⁶⁴ They also visited Kitsegucla, Gitwangak, Usk and Kitselas Canyon,¹⁶⁵ before returning home in late August or early September.¹⁶⁶ Although Pepper and MacLeod moved in the same artistic circles in Ottawa,

they did not travel west together. MacLeod visited Gitksan territory "all summer," while Pepper travelled west in September; it is not known if they crossed paths.¹⁶⁷ Titles of extant works give evidence of their visits to Hagwilget Canyon and Gitwangak, and MacLeod's journey to Kitwancool. Logic dictates that one or both would have at least passed through Gitenmaax and Kitsegucla en route to Gitwangak. Lowrie Warrener spent one month at Gitwangak in 1931.¹⁶⁸ John Byers' trip is as yet undocumented.

The works resulting from the trips—drawings, oil sketches on small boards, sculptures and finished canvases—indicate that a majority of the artists' time was occupied with the exploration and sketching of Gitksan art and material culture (from totem poles and grave houses to horn spoons and canoes), Gitksan villages and the surrounding mountain and river landscapes. Holgate, Savage, MacLeod and Wyle completed portraits of Gitksan people, although only Holgate's portraits were done in collaboration with Barbeau, and with the intention of documenting the "vanishing races" in the manner of the Barbeau/Kihn portrait project of 1924.¹⁶⁹

With the exception of Jackson and Holgate, furthermore, the artists did not become involved in other aspects of Barbeau's anthropological program.¹⁷⁰ Jackson and Holgate took on advisory roles in the totem pole restoration project at Gitwangak in September of 1926.¹⁷¹ Both artists collected Gitksan art for their private collections.¹⁷² Jackson wrote of the possibility of "making the Skeena country a centre for the study of the west coast Indian,"¹⁷³ and in 1929 collaborated with Barbeau in an ultimately unsuccessful effort to have a totem pole installed outside the Art Gallery of Toronto.¹⁷⁴

The artistic/anthropological collaborations, however, were mutually beneficial in nature. The painters gained privileged access to Gitksan people and their villages through their association with Barbeau, who said of them: "their contribution was important and interesting...I enjoyed their company...They travelled with me wherever I went...."¹⁷⁵ Barbeau also stated that he sought the artists' opinions as to the "quality" of the aboriginal art they together encountered.¹⁷⁶ If Gitksan art

was to be appropriated in the service of a new, "distinctly Canadian" art, it had to first be validated and legitimized by the appropriators. By 1929, Barbeau claimed that "every artist in Canada now envies an opportunity to go and work on the Skeena River."¹⁷⁷ Those painters who had visited the Skeena by 1932, Barbeau claimed, "were agreed that inspiration soon is quickened in a country so rich in wild life, aboriginal themes, and rugged scenery."¹⁷⁸

The artists sought this inspiration in a direct encounter with the "rugged scenery" of Gitksan territory. In A Canadian Art Movement, Housser described a "new type of artist," one who "divests himself of the velvet coat of his caste," in order to meet the rigorous physical demands of the (classic Group of Seven) wilderness painting trip.¹⁷⁹ Carr asserted that artistic renditions of the coastal landscape had to be fought for:

You have got to go out and wrestle with the elements...there is no luxurious travel and accommodation. You have got to hold your nose against the smell of rotten fish...You must learn to feel...the pinch of the cold, raw damp of the west coast, and the smell and flavor of the wood smoke, and the sting of it in your eyes, and the awful torment of the mosquitoes...¹⁸⁰

Anne Savage recalled her and Wyle's "fifty miles journey through the woods," and mosquitoes the size of Wyle's totem pole models.¹⁸¹ Carr wondered whether the "awful (sic) times with mosquitoes and rain" which she experienced on the coast in 1928 had affected Pepper and MacLeod.¹⁸² Jackson thought the Skeena River trip easy in comparison to other of his trips.¹⁸³ Accommodated at an Usk boarding house, he soon "hoped to be less comfortable;"¹⁸⁴ by late September he complained that his only exercise was an occasional mountain hike.¹⁸⁵

This "new breed" of Canadian artist clearly welcomed, even revelled in, the physical hardships integral to his/her experience of the land. The challenge of these wilderness travails produced a uniquely Canadian artistic "type" which, in Scott Watson's words, combined "Indian, explorer, and pioneer."¹⁸⁶ As Watson argues, Tom Thomson perfectly fulfilled this image: as a virile woodsman and "modern coureur-de-bois," he was nothing like the "reviled European type: the artist as dandy or decadent."¹⁸⁷ Housser asserted that Thomson "knew the woods as the red indian

knew them;"¹⁸⁸ A.Y. Jackson said Thomson had "ranged the north country like an Indian...."¹⁸⁹ The new image of the Euro-Canadian artist was thus indigenized through the incorporation of what was then seen as a specific quality of Canada's indigenous peoples—a "tenacious love" for and relationship to the land.¹⁹⁰

In Gitksan territory, the artists daily encountered people whose direct experience with the land was and is an inherent part of life. The artists' representations of the Gitksan will be analyzed in chapter three; here, I describe, where possible, the realm and scope of interaction between the artists and Gitksan individuals. This task is ultimately limited by the available sources, all of which present Gitksan peoples and their culture through a foreign filter.

The Gitksan peoples' varied reactions to the presence of outsiders in their villages determined the range and scope of the artists' activities. Foreign presence in Gitksan territory was not new. As early as the 1850s, Gitksan people took on work as packers during the construction of the Collins Overland Telegraph.¹⁹¹ Through the late nineteenth century, missionaries, prospectors, traders and government representatives had established themselves in Gitksan territory.¹⁹² The Hudson's Bay Company set up a trading post in Gitenmaax in the 1870s, and in 1898 the Skeena became a conduit for gold-seekers heading to the Yukon.¹⁹³ By 1900, white settlement in the Upper Skeena valley was a foregone conclusion.¹⁹⁴

With the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in 1914, however, came foreigners in unprecedented numbers. Gitksan villages were designated as "tourist attractions," and travellers were encouraged to explore accessible villages as if they were vacant ghost towns. The CNR billed Gitwangak, for example, as "one of the most interesting Indian villages in British Columbia," and allowed tourists time to walk through the village to "obtain a close-up view of the totem poles and other things of interest."¹⁹⁵ In contrast to the tourists, however, the artists established temporary residency in the area.

Gitksan resistance to the foreign presence in their territory limited the artists' freedom of movement. The Kitwancool peoples' general policy of barring outsiders from their village is the most obvious case in point. Although Wyle and Savage stayed one night at a principal family's home, Jackson and Holgate were not permitted entrance to the village.¹⁹⁶ Wyle found the Kitwancool people to be "most hospitable," and asserted that their exclusionary policy kept out "many who in the other villages exploit the natives."¹⁹⁷ Carr concurred with Wyle's assessment of the exploitative practices of Euro-Canadians. She wrote of her 1928 coastal trip that:

in spite of the discomforts the Indians were all so nice to me and helped me wherever they could, far moer (sic) than the whites, who clawed all the money out of me that they could, and were generally disoblging.¹⁹⁸

Residents of Kitsegucla were engaged in an active resistance to the work of government-sponsored totem pole preservationists in their village. Harlan Smith, the National Museum anthropologist responsible for carrying out the actual restoration, recognized that the poles' owners were, "unfavourably disposed toward white men in general, and particularly toward Government officials."¹⁹⁹ Recent appropriation of their lands, fish and forests angered the Gitksan; they also stated, "A few years ago, they [government officials] had prohibited the erection of totem poles; why did they wish now to preserve them?"²⁰⁰

This understandable distrust of "white men in general" extended to Barbeau and the artists. Savage recalled that the "Indians were furious" over the restoration program²⁰¹ while Jackson wrote that "the Indians were not too friendly when I was there," and hoped that "working conditions" would be more "favourable" for Wyle and Savage in 1927.²⁰² "The obvious way of getting their support," Jackson asserted, "was to spend all the money possible among them. but it is what you would expect [Harlan] Smith to do."²⁰³ Barbeau advised Wyle and Savage to avoid Kitsegucla, and even recommended that they visit other villages in July and August, when most people would be away working at the coastal canneries.²⁰⁴ In the end, however, all except Pepper and MacLeod visited Kitsegucla; their status as intruders or welcome guests is unknown.

The Gitksan had every reason to be wary of the artists' motives and activities in their territory. In a 1927 article entitled, "Rescuing Our Tottering Totems," Jackson summarized effectively, albeit rather patronizingly, his view of aboriginal/white relations in Gitksan territory:

The poor Indian is amazed and rather suspicious. He has seen his race exploited, his hunting grounds taken away, his fishing grounds invaded...He has seen his people dwindle...And now...along come archaeologists, ethnologists, anthropologists, and other erudite individuals, with them camera men, writers, and painters...He is drawn, photographed, measured and interviewed, his family history is written down together with anything he remembers of legends or folklore or songs; then if he owns a totem pole he is asked if he will allow it to be repainted and a nice concrete base put around it. Why shouldn't he be suspicious?²⁰⁵

Ironically, despite his keen grasp of the exploitative nature of this foreign invasion, itself conducted in the name of "science" and for the ultimate "benefit" of Canadian cultural nationalism, Jackson fails to recognize his own subject position as a privileged member of the invading class. This is characteristic of all the artists. While they were aware of the injustice of particular situations with particular Gitksan people, they did not acknowledge their own powerful positions in a relationship characterized by a distinct power imbalance.

Despite the larger political forces shaping their associations, it is clear that some artists and some Gitksan people formed more personal relationships. The setting for this interaction may have been in Gitksan homes—Jackson and Holgate stayed for one week at Gitwangak in the home of Chief Hlengwah,²⁰⁶ Wyle and Savage were the guests of a Kitwancool family²⁰⁷—or in the villages, as the artists and Gitksan individuals met in the course of their respective everyday activities.

Only in the cases of Wyle and MacLeod have friends and writers commented on the nature of these women's personal interaction with Gitksan people. Rebecca Sisler, biographer of Wyle and Loring, wrote that:

Florence received great kindness from the Indian hosts. Her natural dignity and respect for her fellow human beings stood her in good stead as she sat modelling under the surveillance of the Indian families who owned the various poles.²⁰⁸

Maud Brown offered only the general comment of MacLeod that, "she liked them [the Gitksan] and

made friends with them."²⁰⁹ In 1985, Marjorie Oberne, a close friend of MacLeod's in the 1920s, vividly recalled some rather fascinating aspects of MacLeod's experiences with Gitksan people:

She [MacLeod] told me that the Indians considered her to be possessed of magic powers. In one village she was known as "the one who falls in the lake and does not die." None of those Indians could swim, she said, and the whole village turned out to see her dive into the water and swim and come out alive. They were also very curious about her body as she had very tiny breasts and wide shoulders, and she told me that they wondered if she was really a woman or maybe an androgenous [sic] spirit. In another village they asked her to heal the children of the measles and fever. She cleared the crowds away from the beds and gave the children some air and cool water, and they believed that this was her good magic.²¹⁰

Whether this story is true, the product of MacLeod's delusions of grandeur or of Oberne's faulty memory is not known. However, Sisler's and Oberne's descriptions give evidence of a much wider, dynamic realm of human interaction which will remain undocumented.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. B. Osborne, "Interpreting a Nations' Identity: Artists as Creators of National Consciousness," in A. Baker and G. Biger (eds.), Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective, (Cambridge 1992), 232.
2. Barbeau, "Canadian Folk Songs as a National Asset," Canadian Nation, I, 1 (February 1928), 18.
3. See for example, Barbeau, "Backgrounds in Canadian Art," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, (Ottawa 1941), 36.
4. Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, (1928; rpt. Edmonton 1973), vii-viii.
5. Barbeau, Totem Poles, Vol. 1, (Ottawa 1950), x.
6. Ibid., 1.
7. Barbeau, "West Coast Art," Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, (Ottawa 1927), 3.
8. Barbeau, Haida Carvers in Argillite, (Ottawa 1957), 2.
9. Barbeau could also be overtly judgemental in his views of the art. On p. 1 of Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Upper Skeena River, British Columbia, (Ottawa 1929), for example, he wrote of the poles that "Not a few are old, archaic, very crude...."
10. Barbeau also believed that the existence of French Canadian folk arts and traditions was threatened. See especially Barbeau, Quebec Where Ancient France Lingers, (Toronto 1936), 157-173.
11. "Lectures concluded by Dr. Barbeau," Ubysey, IX, 11 (2 November 1926), 1.
12. Ibid., 1
13. "Save Art of Coast Indians," Vancouver Daily Province, 22 October, 1926.
14. "Dr. Barbeau Gives First Lecture," Ubysey, IX, 9 (26 October 1926): 1.
15. Ibid.
16. Barbeau, "Backgrounds in Canadian Art," 36.
17. The "vanishing race" theory was also current in the United States from the late eighteenth century, giving rise to Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans, and George Catlin's portraits of American Indians before their "disappearance." See Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, (New York 1978), 88.
18. Barbeau, Totem Poles, Vol. 1, 1.
19. Barbeau, "An Indian Paradise Lost," Canadian Geographic Journal I, 2 (June 1930), 148.
20. Barbeau, "Our Indians, Their Disappearance," Queen's Quarterly, (Autumn 1931), 707.

21. Canadian Museum of Civilization (hereafter CMC), Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies (hereafter CCFCS), Marius Barbeau Collection (hereafter MBC), Northwest Coast Files (hereafter NCF), Barbeau, "Canada and the Red Man," p. 4 in "Manuscripts," Box B.35, File B-F-550.
22. Barbeau, "Our Indians, Their Disappearance," 707.
23. Barbeau, "Canada and the Red Man," 2.
24. Canadian anthropologists had long been analyzing the effects of the clash of two "races" in Canada - indigenous and immigrant. Barbeau's version of the vanishing races theory, that the indigenous people would be degraded and absorbed into the conquering population as a result of cultural contact and intermarriage, dated back to Daniel Wilson in the 1850s and George Dawson in the 1870s and 1880s. See Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," Journal of Canadian Studies, VIII, 1 (February 1973), 33-37.
25. Barbeau, "Our Indians, Their Disappearance," 705.
26. Ibid., 706.
27. "Lectures Concluded by Dr. Barbeau," 1.
28. Barbeau, "Our Indians, Their Disappearance," 706.
29. CMC/CCFCS/NCF, Barbeau, "Prospective Monograph on Native Property Rights and Transactions (Potlatch) Among the Indians of British Columbia," in "Untitled," Box B.26.
30. R. Damell, Edward Sapir, (Berkeley, California 1990), 59. Although the potlatch had been banned in B.C. since 1884, the first prosecution under the law did not occur until 1913. See Cole, Captured Heritage, (Vancouver 1985), 249-54.
31. "Save Art of Coast Indians."
32. E. Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada," Science, XXXIV (July-December 1911), 793. Canadian anthropologists' fear that aboriginal cultures would be "destroyed" before they could be recorded dates back to the late nineteenth century. See Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 43-44.
33. Clifford, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage Paradigm,'" in H. Foster (ed.), Discussions in Contemporary Culture, (Seattle 1987), 121.
34. Ibid., 122.
35. See Cole, Captured Heritage, (Vancouver 1985), 267-270 for an overview of Barbeau's collecting practises.
36. Barbeau visited the coast in 1914-15, 1920-21, 1924, 1926, 1927, 1929, 1939 and 1947. Duff, "Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology," Anthropologica, 6 (1964), 65.
37. "To Hold Unique Exhibition of Paintings and Handicrafts at National Gallery," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 10 November, 1927.
38. Lismer, A Short History of Painting with a Note on Canadian Art, (Toronto 1926), 29.

39. Ibid., 31.
40. Brown, [Introduction], Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, (Ottawa 1927), 2.
41. Hill, "British Columbia Indian Legends and Plastic Arts," The Paint Box, II (June 1927), 31.
42. Ibid., 31.
43. C.H. Scott, "Art in British Columbia," Canadian Forum, XII, 142 (July 1932), 383.
44. J.E.H. MacDonald, "The Canadian Spirit in Art," Statesman, I, 35 (22 March 1919): 6-7.
45. Ibid., 7.
46. D. MacCannell, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, 2nd. ed., (New York 1989), xv.
47. V. Massey, "Art and Nationality in Canada," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, (1930): lxxvii.
48. MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada, (Toronto 1925), 3.
49. McInnes, A Short History of Canadian Art, (Toronto 1939), 8 and McInnes, Canadian Art, (Toronto 1950), 5.
50. Colgate, Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development, (Toronto 1943), 177.
51. Ibid., 177. See chapters two and three of Cole and Tippet, From Desolation to Splendour, (Toronto 1977) for a discussion of other artistic visitors to British Columbia.
52. McInnes, Canadian Art, 6.
53. [Foreword], Group of Seven: Catalogue Exhibition of Paintings, (Toronto 1920), no pagination.
54. Ibid., np.
55. Housser, A Canadian Art Movement, (Toronto 1926), 17.
56. Cook, "Landscape Painting and National Sentiment in Canada," Historical Reflections, I, 2 (Winter 1974), 263.
57. Lawren Harris, "The Group of Seven in Canadian History," in R.A. Preston (ed.), Report of the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting held at Victoria and Vancouver, June 16-19 1948, (Toronto 1948), 31.
58. MacDonald, "The Canadian Spirit in Art," 6.
59. Jackson, "Artists in the Mountains," Canadian Forum, V, 52 (January 1925), 112.
60. Osborne, "Interpreting a Nations' Identity," 240.
61. See Reid, Les Groupe des Sept/The Group of Seven, (Ottawa 1970) for a factual account of Group members' sketching trips.

62. Barbeau said that the "Jack Pine of [Tom] Thomson" "stands for young Canada, with its soul recently emerged from limboes [sic] and seeking itself in virgin surroundings." CMC/CCFCS/MBC, Barbeau, "A Distinctive Canadian Art," p. 5 in "Canadian Art (painting)," Box 5.
63. Lismer, "Mural Painting," Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, X, 7 (July 1933), 134.
64. Osborne, "Interpreting a Nation's Identity," 232.
65. Barbeau, "The Canadian Northwest, Theme for Modern Painters," American Magazine of Art, XXIV (May 1932), 331. The same article is reproduced, without illustrations, as "The Indians of the Prairies and the Rockies, A Theme for Modern Painters," University of Toronto Quarterly, 1 (1932), 197-206.
66. Jackson, A Painter's Country, (1958; rpt. Toronto 1964), 91.
67. One American writer saw Kihn as continuing a long tradition of American artists (including Carl Rungius, Belmore Browne and John Singer Sergeant) who were lured to Canada by the aesthetic possibilities of the Rockies. "Beauty Spots of Canadian Rockies Lure Noted Artists," Times, Erie, Pennsylvania, [September 1923].
68. Edwards and Edwards, "Langdon Kihn: Indian Portrait Artist," Beaver, (Winter 1984/85), 5. The authors state on p. 5 that Barbeau introduced Kihn to Gibbon. It is not known, however, when and where Barbeau first met Kihn. The CPR purchased all eighteen works: sixteen went on exhibit at the David Thompson memorial at Lake Windermere, in B.C., while the remaining two went to the Provincial Museum in Victoria. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Kihn corr., Barbeau, "Memo on W.L. Kihn, Painter of Indian Portraits," [1925], 1.
69. Richmond, "Indian Portraits of W. Langdon Kihn," Studio, XC, 393 (15 December 1925), 339. Six of these portraits are reproduced in Survey Graphic, I, 7 (May 1922).
70. See for example, "Kihn Colored Crayons Brilliant; Character Studies of the Indians," Santa Fe New Mexican, 28 May, 1921, 2; "Remarkable Exhibition of Indian Paintings to be held Monday at Academy," Colorado Springs Gazette, 12 January, 1923; "Grease-Pencilling a Vanishing Race," Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 13 May, 1923, 13; and Ford, "Immortalizing a Disappearing Race," Arts and Decoration, (May 1922), 13, 70.
71. See J. Schimmel, "Inventing 'the Indian,'" in W.H. Truettner, (ed.), The West as America, (Washington D.C. 1992), for an overview of nineteenth century representations of American First Nations peoples.
72. For his twenty-volume The North American Indian, Curtis travelled the United States and Canada to photograph First Nations peoples. See C. Lyman, The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions, (Washington D.C. 1982).
73. Barbeau, "I Was A Pioneer," (Ottawa 1982), no pagination.
74. Gibbon asked Barbeau to omit a chapter which contained controversial "religious criticism," as it was deemed unsuitable for a popular book. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Gibbon corr., Gibbon to Eayrs, 1 May, 1923.
75. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Gibbon corr., Gibbon to Barbeau, 3 May, 1923.
76. "Indian Days" soon expanded into a Canada-wide series of folk festivals held at CPR hotels in the late 1920s. See E.J. Hart, The Selling of Canada, The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism, (Banff, Alberta 1983), 108-109.
77. The poster is in the collection of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta.

78. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Kihn corr., Kihn to Barbeau, 2 May, 1924.
79. [Barbeau], "Fine Canadian Pictures for Public Institutions," Toronto Daily Star, 5 February, 1927, 8. This article is based on a Barbeau article entitled "Public Spirit in Canada," located in CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Kihn corr. file.
80. "Vivid Portrayals of B.C. Aborigines," [sic] Montreal Gazette, 6 April, 1925.
81. M. Barbeau, "Public Spirit in Canada," 3. From these interviews Barbeau produced a document entitled "The Langdon Kihn Collection of Indian Portraits and Landscapes of the Canadian Rockies" in which he lists and explains each sitter's name, phratry, position, crests, clothing and ceremonial regalia. CMC/CCFCS/MBC, Folder B-F-706, "Kihn's and Holgate's," Box B.44 f.23. This is likely the catalogue which Arts Club president W.S. Maxwell "had prepared" for the Montreal showing of Kihn's works. "Vivid Portrayals," Montreal Gazette, 6 April, 1925. A number of Kihn's sketches of totem poles are reproduced in Barbeau's Totem Poles of the Gitksan, (Ottawa 1929).
82. Kihn's works were exhibited in the Railway Committee Room of the Ottawa Parliament buildings during March of 1925. E.W.H., "Langdon Kihn, The Artist of Indian Life," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 13 March, 1925. The works were then shown at the Arts Club in Montreal, from April 4-17, 1925. "Vivid Portrayals."
83. E.W.H., "Langdon Kihn," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 13 March, 1925.
84. "Vivid Portrayals," Montreal Gazette, 6 April, 1925.
85. "Langdon Kihn," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 13 March, 1925.
86. Barbeau used Kihn's work similarly in "An Artist Among the Northwest Indians," Arts and Decoration, (May 1923).
87. "Describe Indians," Montreal Daily Star, 6 April, 1925.
88. Ibid.
89. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Kihn corr., Doughty to Barbeau, 7 April, 1925.
90. [Barbeau], "Fine Canadian Pictures," The paintings were donated to the following institutions: McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, National Gallery of Canada, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Royal Ontario Museum, Winnipeg Art Gallery, Vancouver Art Gallery and the Royal British Columbia Museum.
91. "Vivid Portrayals;" Canadian Section of Fine Arts Catalogue, British Empire Exhibition, (London 1925), 13.
92. These two works were lent by Barbeau from his private collection. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Kihn corr., Barbeau to Kihn, 13 December, 1926 [1924].
93. National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1925-26, 6.
94. National Gallery of Canada, "British Empire Exhibition 1925, Canadian Section of Fine Arts," (Ottawa 1925), Article 4, p. 2

95. Barbeau, "The Canadian Northwest," 331.

96. Ibid., 331.

97. Ibid., 331. G. Home Russell was painting in Gitksan territory during construction of the GTPR. T. Mower Martin may also have visited the Skeena prior to Kihn.

98. Cole, Captured Heritage, 271.

99. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Harkin corr., Barbeau memorandum to Harkin, [1924], 1.

100. Barbeau, "The Canadian Northwest," 331.

101. Ibid., 4.

102. W.A. Sherwood, "A National Spirit in Art," Canadian Magazine, III, 6 (October 1894), 500.

103. Lismer, "Canadian Art," Canadian Theosophist, V, 12 (15 February 1925), 178.

104. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Thompson corr., Barbeau to Thompson, 4 February, 1929.

105. L. Daniels, Lowrie L. Warrener, (Samia, Ontario 1989), 23. The only Skeena work located for Warrener is a 1937 woodcut (see introduction). This work will not be discussed further.

106. The details of Cozé's trip are unknown. His portrait, "A Tsimshian Indian," was published in Jenness, The Indians of Canada (Ottawa 1932), opposite p. 336.

107. Kihn's Skeena travel diary is available on microfilm from the Archives of American Art in Washington, D.C. To my knowledge, no relevant material exists in the Savage Archives at Concordia University in Montreal, in the Holgate material at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre Archives in Kingston, or in the Florence Wyle papers at the AGO library. There is no public repository of archival material for Pegi Nicol MacLeod. The papers of George Pepper are presently unavailable for public research.

108. Barbeau and Jackson were friends and associates since at least 1921. In 1925, Jackson and Lismer accompanied Barbeau on a trip to Charlevoix County, Quebec. Barbeau collected rural Quebec art for the National Museum, while the artists captured the region in pencil and paint. See N.J. Groves, One Summer in Quebec, (Kapusksing, Ontario 1988).

109. Barbeau, "The Canadian Northwest," 331.

110. Jackson wrote Barbeau prior to the latter's visit to Toronto in mid-1926, saying, "We...will try to arrange for you to meet the group and a few others who believe in the future of Canadian art." CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, 8 May, [1926].

111. Barbeau, "The Canadian Northwest," 331.

112. Barbeau, "I was a Pioneer," no pagination.

113. Jackson, "Artists in the Mountains," 114.

114. Ibid., 114.

115. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Barbeau to Jackson, 4 June, 1926.
116. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, [nd].
117. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Holgate corr., Barbeau to Holgate, 26 May, 1926.
118. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Holgate corr., Barbeau to Holgate, 12 May, 1927.
119. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Howard corr., Barbeau to Howard, 31 May, 1927.
120. Ibid., 2.
121. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Gibbon corr., Barbeau to Gibbon, 30 May, 1927.
122. F.M. Brown, Breaking Barriers, ([Ottawa] 1964), 67.
123. Scott's collection included two paintings by Emily Carr. E. Brian Tittley, A Narrow Vision, (Vancouver 1986), 28.
124. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Joan Murray Collection, MG 31 D142, Vol. 2, Transcript of Murray's interview with Peter Aylen, 1.
125. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Gibbon corr., Barbeau to Gibbon, 30 May, 1927.
126. R.F. Wodehouse, In Memoriam, Capt. G.D. Pepper, (Ottawa 1964), no pagination.
127. Art Museum of Toronto, A.Y. Jackson Paintings 1902-1953, (Toronto 1953), 31-32. In search of new landscapes to paint, Jackson travelled throughout Quebec, Alberta, Ontario, B.C., Nova Scotia, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
128. Reid, Edwin Holgate, (Ottawa 1976), 13. Holgate's earlier landscapes depicted the countryside of France.
129. Ibid., 12, and Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1989), no pagination.
130. N. Luckyj, Visions and Victories, (London, Ontario 1983), 92-94; C. Boyanoski, Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy, (Toronto 1987), 18-25.
131. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Howard corr., Barbeau to Howard, 31 May, 1927.
132. B. Meadowcroft, Anne Savage Retrospective Exhibition, (Montreal 1992), 5.
133. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Howard corr., Barbeau to Howard, 31 May 1927.
134. As Savage worked as an art teacher at Montreal's Baron Byng High School from 1922-1948, her sketching trips were generally restricted to Metis and to her studio at Lake Wonish, in the Laurentian Mountains north of Montreal. The Skeena trip was Savage's furthest and most adventuresome sketching trip to date.
135. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Holgate corr., Barbeau to Holgate, 11 May, 1928.

136. Luckyj, Visions and Victories, 59.
137. Letter of Marjorie Oberne to Laura Brandon, 3 February, 1985. Letter used with permission of Laura Brandon.
138. M. Pantazzi, Pegi Nicol MacLeod: Principal Exhibitions, (Ottawa 1984), no pagination, published with Joan Murray, Daffodils in Winter, (Moonbeam, Ontario 1984).
139. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Gibbon corr., Barbeau to Gibbon, 30 May, 1927.
140. Wodehouse, In Memoriam: Capt. G.D. Pepper, no pagination.
141. Ibid.
142. B. Brooker, ed., Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, 1928-29, (Toronto 1929), 240.
143. Pepper later sketched in Ontario, Quebec, Newfoundland, Labrador, Alberta and the Eastern Arctic. Wodehouse, In Memoriam: Capt. G.D. Pepper, no pagination.
144. The railway through Gitksan territory was originally called the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (GTPR), a subsidiary of the Grand Trunk Railway. The GTPR, completed in 1914, was a financial disaster, causing the GTR's bankruptcy in 1919. The federal government took over the GTR that year and placed it under the management of the Canadian National Railways.
145. Holgate's and Jackson's free passage is confirmed in CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Barbeau to Jackson, 4 June, 1926; Jackson's more clearly in Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, [May/June 1926]; Savage's and Wyle's in Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, 13 June, [1927]; MacLeod's and Pepper's in Thompson corr., Barbeau to Thompson, 4 February, 1929.
146. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Howard corr., Barbeau to Howard, 31 May, 1927. In later years, however, the deals were codified on paper. A CPR "Exchange Transportation Contract" dated 3 February, 1943 details Barbeau's agreement to supply \$15.30 worth of lecture publicity in exchange for a return ticket from Ottawa to Toronto. CMC/CCFCS/MBC Gibbon corr. file.
147. E.J. Hart, "See This World Before the Next, Tourism and the CPR," in The CPR West, The Iron Road and the Making of a Nation, (Vancouver 1984), 159.
148. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, 21 May, [1928].
149. The CNR stopped in Bulkley Canyon (site of Hagwilget), Gitenmaax (Hazelton), Kitsegucla (Skeena Crossing), Gitwangak, Usk and Prince Rupert.
150. Barbeau, Totem Poles of the Gitksan, 3.
151. Montreal Gazette, 25 May, 1925, as quoted in Cole, Captured Heritage, 272. The GTPR appropriated 100 acres from the Gitwangak reserve in 1910. The railway was pushed through the Gitwangak village cemetery in 1911; the village was given \$100 to bury fourteen bodies disinterred in the process. Glavin, A Death Feast in Dimlahamid, (Vancouver 1990), 50.
152. See "White Men Captured and Tried by Indians in Kitwancool Valley," Vancouver Daily Province, 13 September, 1924; Gray, "Kitwancool, Land of Isolation," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XIII, 3 (March 1927), 11, 40; "Indian Village Forbids Whites," Vancouver Daily Province, 17 September, 1927, and Barbeau,

The Downfall of Temlaham, 162-63. The trouble dated back to the 1888 "Gitwinkool Jim" incident, when a provincial special constable intervened in a Gitwangak/Kitwancool murder case and killed "Gitwinkool Jim."

153. Gray, "Kitwancool, Land of Isolation," 11.

154. Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, 162-63.

155. Kitsegucia was the site of the 1872 "Skeena River Rebellion," when the Kitsegucia people set up a river blockade in retaliation for the "accidental" burning of their village by white prospectors. Two gunboats were sent to the Skeena, but the matter was eventually resolved and the chiefs were compensated financially. See Glavin, Death Feast, 52-53 and Galois, "The Burning of Gitsegukla 1872," B.C. Studies, 94 (Summer 1992), 59-81.

156. Barbeau, Totem Poles of the Gitksan, 3.

157. Ibid., 3.

158. Groves, A.Y.'s Canada, 152.

159. Canadian National Railways, Canadian Rockies and the Pacific Coast, (place and date of publication unknown), no pagination.

160. The CNR stopped for five minutes at the Bulkley Gate observation platform to allow tourists to photograph the canyon and the people fishing below. Canadian National Railways Atlantic to Pacific (place and date of publication unknown), 189.

161. Darlington, "The Saga of a Mighty River," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XIV, 7 (July 1928), 45.

162. Holgate's departure date confirmed in NAC, Norah de Pencier collection, MG 30 D322 Vol. 1, A.Y. Jackson corr., File "1926", Jackson to de Pencier, 18 September [1926.]

163. National Gallery of Canada archives (hereafter NGCA), "Correspondence With/Re Artists," 7-1-J, Jackson, A.Y., Jackson to E. Brown, 4 October, [1926].

164. "Daring Canadian Girl in an Indian Village," Toronto Daily Star, 10 September. 1927.

165. These places are identified in the Wyle and Savage sketchbooks in the National Gallery collection (acc. no. 28169 and 28170).

166. "Daring Canadian Girl."

167. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-C, Carr, Emily, E. Brown to E. Carr, 8 October, 1928.

168. Daniels, Lowrie L. Warrenner, 23.

169. See D. Reid, Edwin Holgate, 14, for one chief's reaction to Holgate and Barbeau.

170. While Wyle and Savage were on the Skeena in 1927, Barbeau was conducting fieldwork on the more northerly Nass River; he did not even visit the coast in 1928.

171. NAC, Norah de Pencier collection, MG 30 D322 Vol. 1., A.Y. Jackson corr., File "1926," Jackson to de Pencier, 18 September, [1926].
172. Jackson acquired a mask now in the McMichael Canadian Art Collection (1969.28); Holgate collected a range of works which he donated to the McCord Museum of Canadian History in 1973.
173. Jackson, "Rescuing our Tottering Totems," MacLean's Magazine, (15 December 1927), 23.
174. Jackson felt that pole "would give the art gallery identity which it now quite lacks. you would merely have to describe the gallery as the building by the big totem pole." CMC/CCFCS/MBC, Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, 29 April, 1930.
175. Barbeau, "I was a Pioneer," no pagination.
176. Ibid. An obvious parallel here is the 1925 trip of Barbeau, Jackson and Lismer to Quebec, where the painters helped Barbeau to validate Louis Jobin's wood carvings as "art." See Barbeau, "Laurentian Woodcarvers," Canadian Geographical Journal, XI, 4 (October 1935), 189.
177. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Thompson corr., Barbeau to Thompson, 4 February, 1929.
178. Barbeau, "The Canadian Northwest," 332.
179. Housser, A Canadian Art Movement, (Toronto 1926), 15.
180. Carr, "Modern and Indian Art of the West Coast," Supplement to the McGill News, X, 3 (June 1929), 4.
181. A. Calvin, Anne Savage, Teacher, (Montreal 1967), transcript of Calvin interview with Anne Savage, p. 29 and 14.
182. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-C, Carr, Emily, Carr to E. Brown, 1 October, 1928.
183. In "Artists in the Mountains," Jackson wrote that sketching in the Rockies was a "strenuous life...but there is no place where hardships can be so quickly forgotten, or where the artist will find more entrancing motives."
184. NAC, N. de Pencier collection, MG 30 D322, Vol. 1, A.Y. Jackson correspondence, File "1926," Barbeau to de Pencier, [1926].
185. Ibid., Jackson to de Pencier, 18 September, [1926].
186. Watson, "Race, Wilderness, Territory and the Origins of Modern Canadian Landscape Painting," in Semiotext(e), VI, 2 (1994), 98.
187. Ibid., 98.
188. Housser, A Canadian Art Movement, 117, as quoted in Watson, "Race, Wilderness," 98.
189. Jackson, "Two Views on Canadian Art," in Empire Club of Canada: Addresses, (Toronto 1926), 110.
190. Housser, A Canadian Art Movement, 156.

191. Ridington, "Fieldwork in Courtroom 53: A Witness to *Delgamuukw*, in F. Cassidy, (ed.), Aboriginal Title in British Columbia, 213.
192. Glavin, Death Feast, 53.
193. The overland route from Ashcroft, B.C. to Whitehorse, Yukon, went through Gitenmaax. See M. Barbeau, "The Poor Man's Trail," Canadian Geographic Journal, IX, 1 (July 1934), 3-13.
194. Groves, A.Y.'s Canada, 154.
195. Canadian National Railways, Canada Atlantic to Pacific, Descriptive of the Dominion from Ocean to Ocean, (publisher and place of publication unknown, 1925), 190-91.
196. "Daring Canadian Girl."
197. Ibid.
198. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-C, Carr, Emily, Carr to E. Brown, 1 October, 1928.
199. Smith, "The Restoration of Gitksan Totem Poles," in Barbeau, Totem Poles, Vol. 2, 857.
200. Ibid., 857-58.
201. A. Calvin, transcript of Calvin interview with Savage, p. 14. Jackson also wrote that the Gitksan were "suspicious of the project and the people in charge of it, and they had good reason to be." Jackson, A Painter's Country, 110.
202. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, 13 June, [1927].
203. Ibid.
204. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Wyle corr., Barbeau to Wyle, 16 June, 1927.
205. Jackson, "Rescuing Our Tottering Totems," 23.
206. NAC, Norah de Pencier collection, Jackson corr., File "1926," Jackson to de Pencier, 18 September, [1926]. Groves says on p. 162 of A.Y.'s Canada that Jackson stayed here for one month.
207. "Daring Canadian Girl."
208. Sisler, The Girls, (Toronto 1972), 41.
209. NAC, Eric and F. Maud Brown collection, MG 30 D253, Vol. 2, File "Pegi Nicol MacLeod n.d., 1944-1949," page 1 of 2 pages of notes hand-written by F. Maud Brown.
210. Letter of Marjorie Oberme to Laura Brandon, 3 February, 1985. Letter used with permission of Laura Brandon.

Chapter Three: Images of Gitksan People and Territory

The artists' representations of the Gitksan arose out of cross-cultural encounters, experiences defined and limited as much by the larger discourses of art, ideology, geography and colonial politics as by the everyday realities of basic human interaction. As seen in chapter two, it is impossible to recover fully the actual dynamics of these experiences. The artists encountered people, histories, artistic forms and landscapes which differed greatly from their own. The Gitksan encountered yet more foreigners investigating Gitksan culture for their own benefit. Each party experienced the "other" in relations which were surely fraught with a range of emotions. What survives these encounters are works of art which record aspects of these relations in tangible form. Products of only one side of the cross-cultural equation, these works are obviously limited in their ability to bear witness to the full nature of the human interactions. It was the artists, however who came with a mandate to which the Gitksan responded: the mandate to "picture" Gitksan territory.

But how to do that, how to condense the complexities of a cross-cultural encounter on canvas, board or paper? James Clifford poses a similar question of the traditional Western ethnographic task of producing cohesive "cultural interpretations" of the "other":

How, precisely, is a garrulous, overdetermined cross-cultural encounter shot through with power relations and personal cross-purposes circumscribed as an adequate version of a more or less discrete "other world" composed by an individual author?¹

Like ethnographers, the artists visiting the Skeena produced "cultural interpretations" based on fieldwork, personal observation of and experience in Gitksan territory. Although the nature and medium of artistic and ethnographic interpretations differ, they are both "texts" which can be "read." The painting as text metaphor is based on a post-modern definition of "text" expanded to include many forms of cultural production, from maps and fashion to landscapes and politics.² Paintings are thus seen as signifying practices, as cultural forms which constitute, rather than mirror, reality. The meanings inscribed in such texts are essentially unstable. They have relevance beyond the original authorial (artistic) intention and are subject to what Bal and Bryson call the

"vicissitudes of reception," successive re-readings in light of changing historical and cultural circumstances.³

Lawren Harris' metaphoric view of the purpose and experience of the Canadian artist in the landscape provides one way of interpreting these works. Recalling his observation one day of Tom Thomson's struggle to render "in living paint" a dramatic thunderstorm, Harris said:

Here was symbolized, it came to me, the function of the artist in life: he must accept in deep singleness of purpose the manifestations of life in man and in great nature and transform these into controlled and ordered and vital expressions of meaning.⁴

If, as Barbeau would surely agree, the Gitksan people, their art, and the spectacular landscapes of their territory, could be viewed as the "manifestations of life in man and in great nature," then the artist's purpose was to transform (interpret/construct) these "manifestations" into tangible works of art which were at once *controlled, ordered, vital*. It was to create order out of the storm of cross-cultural encounter. Within the specific context of 1920s Canada, it was to sift Gitksan people and culture through the filter of the avant-garde, central Canadian artistic gaze.

In Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation, Mary Louise Pratt employs the term "contact zone" to problematize power relations in a colonial context. Pratt's "contact zone" delineates a space where people "previously separated by geographical and historical disjunctures" come to occupy the same "spatial and temporal copresence." Within this space, subjects are,

constituted in and by their relations to each other...in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power.⁵

Thus, while one party may occupy a dominant position, the subordinate party finds ways, however limited, to assert its identity and position.

The power relations in the Gitksan territory contact zone are clear. The artists, by participating in a project which involved several sectors of the federal government and by virtue of their position in society, occupied the position of dominance. They were sponsored by the CNR,

whose rail lines straight through Gitksan territory declared its permanent, vested interest in the area's economic potential. Under the aegis of Barbeau and the National Museum, the artists became amateur ethnographers charged with the task of interpreting Gitksan culture for an ultimately non-Gitksan audience. Their far-ranging exploration of the Canadian landscape was integral to the developing national school of art supported ideologically and economically by the National Gallery. Their presence in the Gitksan villages was an outgrowth of the Department of Indian Affairs' involvement in every aspect of Gitksan life, from art and religion to economics and politics. Barbeau's planned use of their works in his various personal and nationalist campaigns added further to this mix.

The artists' assumed right to unquestioned freedom of movement in Gitksan territory—Holgate recalled that he and Jackson "cruised back and forth freely"⁶—and right to use Gitksan art and culture in service of their own art, was a "natural" consequence of the larger societal identification of white Canadians as "civilized/superior" in opposition to aboriginal peoples as "inferior/primitive." As they subjected Gitksan people and culture to the "wide-ranging power of their possessive gaze"⁷ and visually inscribed their impressions, they simultaneously enacted and confirmed the implicit hierarchy of cultures in 1920s Canada. To paraphrase anthropologist Virginia Dominguez: when we arrogate to ourselves the right to employ the ideas, objects, histories or traditions of another culture, it is not something we do despite the "foreignness [sic] of the subject," but "because of our perception of it as other."⁸ There is an obvious link here back to the "racial split" underpinning romantic primitivism.

Despite the larger forces of politics and economics that shaped the artists' experiences, they still acted as individuals, each producing works in concert with their own development and aesthetic sense. In the course of this chapter, we see how these larger forces were (and were not) manifested in the works themselves. The works have been divided into two main groups, village scenes and portraits, and will be analyzed in relation to issues of ethnography, temporal constructs and representation.

I. The Village Genre

In the first body of works, the "village genre," are numerous paintings, sketches and drawings by Jackson, Holgate, Kihn and Pepper which display a striking consistency in subject matter, aesthetic approach and ultimately, signifying content. I have chosen four works as representative: Indian Home (1927) by A.Y. Jackson (Fig. 6), Edwin Holgate's Totem Poles, Gitsegiuklas (1927) (Fig. 7), Langdon Kihn's Gitwinkool Totem Poles (c. 1924) (Fig. 8) and Totem Poles, Kitwanga (c.1929) by George Pepper.⁹ (Fig. 9)

These works, large oil paintings on canvas now in Canadian collections, attracted significant public attention in the 1920s and beyond. Indian Home, first exhibited at the Group of Seven show in 1928, is the only of Jackson's Skeena works to be included in the 1936 and 1970 Group of Seven retrospectives.¹⁰ Totem Poles, Gitsegiuklas, first shown at the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern* and acquired by the National Gallery in 1939, was included in major canonical exhibitions of Canadian painting through the 1930s and 1940s.¹¹ After the 1925 debut of Kihn's Gitwinkool Totem Poles at Wembley, it was purchased by the National Gallery in 1927. Totem Poles, Kitwanga, acquired by the National Gallery in 1927 and awarded the Willingdon Prize for painting in 1930,¹² was lent to large exhibitions including *A Century of Canadian Art* (1938) and the Canadian Group of Painters show at the New York World's Fair in 1939.¹³ Outlining aspects of the works' exhibition histories underscores the National Gallery's role in defining the developing canon of national art, and highlights the issue of public reception of the Skeena works.¹⁴

I use the term "village genre" to group works which have a number of specific characteristics in common. First and most obvious is the artists' choice of subject matter, a particular Gitksan village with prominent standing totem poles. Second, the artists framed their views similarly, by adopting a distant vantage point from which to foreground particular aspects of

the village (totem poles and houses) against a mountainous horizon. Third, the artists created essentially selective, pre-modern views of Gitksan life by omitting or avoiding overt signs of modernization and cultural change. Finally, the artists minimized the human presence in the landscape; the Gitksan people appear as small and distant. These elements combine in various ways to make a number of clear statements about Gitksan people and culture.

i. Art or Ethnography?

Because of the apparently "documentary" nature of these paintings, it is necessary to examine to what extent they were regarded, or should be regarded, as accurate ethnographic representations. The paintings clearly manifest the painters' aims, albeit in varying degrees of detail, to create a record of a particular place at a particular time. This "documentary" feel is not surprising. The artists were in B.C. as a result of Barbeau's beneficence, and were obviously influenced by his mandate to record Gitksan culture for posterity. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that Barbeau directly intervened in the artists' aesthetic approaches or choices of subject matter. It appears that the overtly "documentary" motivation for Barbeau's 1924 work with Kihn gradually evolved into a more informal program which balanced the scientific and the aesthetic. As noted in chapter two, Barbeau was by 1928 advocating the artistic use of Gitksan villages, people and culture as "poetic" and thematic inspiration.

The finished paintings, however, play on the tension between art and ethnography. Analysing the artists' painted renditions of totem poles provides one means of assessing their ethnographic accuracy. In most cases, the poles can be identified with the aid of Barbeau's descriptions and documentary photographs, published in Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Upper Skeena River, B.C. (1929). Kihn's Gitwinkool Totem Poles and Holgate's Totem Poles, Gitsegiuklas can be analyzed in this manner.

Although Kihn described himself in 1926 as "neither a historian nor an ethnologist, just an artist pure and simple"¹⁵ his use of a graphic, linear style and simplified colour scheme on the

poles, in contrast to his loose, impressionistic treatment of the surrounding terrain indicates his attention to documentary detail.¹⁶ The two closest poles in Kihn's painting are accurate renditions of *Gyloedem-rhskyoek* (The Eagle-person) and *Qaat* (The Cane), both of which belonged to Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz) and her family, owners of eight poles at Kitwancool in the 1920s.¹⁷ Kihn's mode of representation, however, limits the painting's ethnographic nature in several ways: his compositional foregrounding of Kweenu's poles necessitates their inclusion as mere fragments of the originals, his refined treatment of the poles' adzed surfaces obscures their materiality as wooden objects subject to the deteriorating forces of wind and rain, and his general aestheticization of the poles—the painted versions are cleaner, straighter and in better condition than the originals—denies their essential historicity.¹⁸

Holgate, like Kihn, paid attention to detail in painting the crest figures on three poles at Kitsegucia, and they are easily identifiable.¹⁹ Holgate has similarly and "imaginatively" restored the aging, damaged surfaces of his chosen pole segments to an earlier, more pristine state. Forces of fragmentation, aestheticization and even "restoration" are thus at work here as well. Holgate's aesthetic choices seem to be motivated in large part by compositional concerns. His detailed rendition and careful positioning of the monumental sculptures maintains viewer involvement in the fore and middle ground. The poles together frame and enclose the scene, fusing it into a single, organic whole.

The "ethnographicity" of Pepper's and Jackson's paintings is even more problematic. In Totem Poles, Kitwanga, Pepper, like Kihn, has chosen a vantage point which allows for an expansive view of a group of poles in the context of architecture, river and mountains. Unlike Kihn, Pepper has softened his brushwork and focus on the poles in the middle and distant ground, making it possible to identify only two of the five poles. The artist has taken care to reproduce the main features of the wolves and bears which inhabit the centre pole, owned by Arteeh and called *Kanem-hawaao* (Pole-of-the-Mountain-Lion). Pepper has painted only a vague outline of *Qanees*

(Dog-Salmon), the short pole at centre-right; the distinctive shapes of the dog-salmon's fins make it recognizable.²⁰ More important, however, is the fact that the pole at right, closest to the viewer and in sharpest focus, cannot be identified with any totem pole existing at Gitwangak in the 1920s, even allowing for considerable licence in interpretation and accuracy.²¹ The bottom figure on Pepper's pole may be modelled on the lowest of three bears animating Spawrh's *Tam-smaih* (Standing-bear) pole, which stood in the "Indian section" of Gitenmaax in the 1920s.²² The point is, however, that Pepper's painting is at the least a composite and more likely, an overt invention. It does not, historically speaking, accurately capture the "look" of 1928 Gitwangak.

Even more enigmatic is Indian Home, one of Jackson's favourite works and in his opinion the most successful of his Skeena paintings.²³ One of three preparatory drawings in the National Gallery collection (17486), Indian Home, Port Essington (1926) confirms the location of the houses as Spukchu, or Port Essington, a Coast Tsimshian village near the mouth of the Skeena River. This drawing and an oil sketch, also called Indian Home (c.1926), are generally similar in their depiction of several houses situated in lush foliage, framed by trees at right and set against mountains. In the final composition sketch for the canvas (17459), and in the finished canvas itself, however, some dramatic changes have occurred. The distant mountains have moved forward like huge pyramids and the spindly trees have become tall, rather generic totem poles.²⁴ The tree-to-totem pole transformation is particularly surprising, in view of the fact that no totem poles stood in the village in 1926, nor did Jackson, to my knowledge, include totem poles in any other images of Port Essington.²⁵

By omitting the village name from the work's title, removing the site-specific church spire from the painting itself, and adding non-existent totem poles, Jackson has constructed a generalized image of a house in a landscape. The building only gains a specific identity as an *Indian* home by virtue of Jackson's inclusion of the totem poles as signifiers of "Indianness". Jackson is thus enacting, in a microcosmic fashion, the process of indigenization.

My aim here is not to situate works of the "village genre" on an imaginary continuum (with art and ethnography as opposing poles) which assigns moral superiority to paintings that seem to privilege ethnography over aesthetics. Using constructed texts (photographs, drawings, sketches) as a standard for assessing "ethnographicity" in paintings is a methodology with obvious inherent limitations. The larger issue is that these works, created out of the subjectivities and intersecting public and private agendas of Barbeau and the artists, do not mirror—but are constitutive of—the reality of 1920s Gitksan life.²⁶ The paintings constitute not only visual, but also ideological realities. Those realities and their uses are the subject of the ensuing pages.

ii. Temporality

A key characteristic of the village genre is the near absence in the paintings of any clear evidence of cultural change and modernization. The artists have created temporally selective representations of the Gitksan villages by emphasizing the pristine timelessness of the mountainous landscape, by presenting newly "restored" images of the aging totem poles, and by carefully omitting evidence of Gitksan acculturation.

Visual indicators of acculturation are limited to the clapboard construction and plate-glass windows of the houses in Indian Home and Totem Poles, Gitsegiuklas, and the contemporary clothing worn by the people in all four works. Obvious signifiers of the impact of Euro-Canadian technology and ideology on the Gitksan people and territory—sawmills, churches, farming equipment, salmon canneries, day schools, ploughed and fenced pastures, the Canadian National Railway, grazing cattle, steam ships—have been consistently edited out of the painted versions of Gitksan life. This is true not only of the "village genre", but of a majority of works produced by artists touring Gitksan territory.²⁷ These representations inevitably reinforce a picture of the Gitksan as "primitive" people fixed firmly in an unchanging past from which they can not participate in and adapt to the forces of modernism and change.²⁸

Johannes Fabian's analysis of the centrality of temporal issues to anthropology in Time and the Other, How Anthropology Makes its Object is of clear relevance to this discussion. Fabian argues that historically, anthropologists have attempted to construct relations with the "other" in temporal terms which imply "affirmation of difference and distance."²⁹ The ultimate effect of continued temporal distancing is "the denial of coevalness," defined by Fabian as "a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse."³⁰ The producers of anthropological (or artistic) representations, in other words, allow themselves to occupy diachronous (modern/progressive) time while consigning the referents of those representations to synchronous (primitive/static) time.³¹ The idea of primitivism is thus expanded to become a temporal concept and category.³²

Ironically, the paintings were produced out of diachronic contexts (Pratt's contact zone) in which the artists, spatially and temporally copresent with the Gitksan, had to recognize them coevally. Jackson, for example, was approached by a chief who protested the ongoing economic exploitation of his villagers at the hands of Euro-Canadians.³³ Mrs. Laknitz of Gitwangak refused Pegi Nicol MacLeod's request for a portrait sitting on the grounds that it was of no immediate benefit to her.³⁴ Anne Savage encountered numerous Gitksan people who were "furious" at the prospect of the government-sponsored totem pole preservation project.³⁵ Despite such contemporaneous encounters with real individuals, the artists' representations of Gitksan life ultimately enforce the present/self-past/other oppositions by defining Gitksan identity as a past entity.

The artists' conscious temporal displacement of the Gitksan in the face of personal, lived experience militating against such displacement speaks in part to the strength of the dying race ideology in 1920s Canada. Barbeau, convinced of the inevitable extinction of the First Nations in Canada, was the artists' primary source of information on the Gitksan, and his views had obvious influence.³⁶ Langdon Kihn, for example, wrote that the "wonderful world" of the Gitksan was "rapidly

disappearing...This fine spirit, this exotic colorful life in most localities of the great Northwest has gone - passed out."³⁷ In 1927, Jackson lamented the fate of the Indian who "has seen his people dwindle until the great warlike tribes who roamed the west coast are but pitiful remnants."³⁸ Decades later, he wrote in the autobiographical work, A Painter's Country, that the "big powerful tribes...have dwindled to a mere shadow of their former greatness."³⁹ And after returning from an Arctic trip in 1927, Jackson asserted the importance of painting "the Eskimo before their distinctive customs have gone or the race has practically disappeared."⁴⁰ In her poem "The Owl", Florence Wyle wrote that Owl, perched high above a Gitksan village, had "seen the camp fires failing/Seen canoes grow few upon the waters" and would ultimately "see his people die."⁴¹ Holgate's memory of his Skeena sojourn and opinion of Gitksan peoples' future are encapsulated in his well-known statement that "I felt [we] were witnessing the rapid decline of a splendid race of creative and well-organized people. There persisted a brooding gloom which I found it impossible to dispel."⁴²

Holgate translated his melancholy over this perceived decline into a definitive visual statement, a wood engraving entitled Totem Poles No. 4, alternately titled A Passing People.⁴³ (Fig. 10) While the central pole is likely Gurhsan's "Pole-of-the-Moon" at Kitsegucla,⁴⁴ the work has little to do with ethnographic documentation. The print depicts a group of generalized figures gathered on the river shore, gazing into the setting sun. They are poised at water's edge, a symbolic boundary dividing past and future. Behind them are ominous, leaning totem poles, signifying a glorious but decaying past. Ahead is a sunset, symbol of their collective decline. The totem poles framing the view "push" the people from a dark and shadowed past to the river bank, beyond which are the clear skies of a bright but uncertain future. Implicated in this forward movement are the forces of colonialism, embodied in the absent (but present) Euro-Canadian viewer accorded a privileged vantage point behind and outside the work from which to measure the Gitksan peoples' progress.

The village genre works are clearly linked to the larger project of colonialism. The images, freed from original authorial (or artistic) intention, functioned in a colonial society to bolster Euro-Canadian domination of aboriginal people. By situating First Nations people in the past, they tacitly supported the social evolutionist position which posited the disappearance of "primitive" peoples before the advance of "civilization."⁴⁵ This evolutionist conception of history, based in anthropology, constituted the intellectual justification for colonialism. As Fabian argues, anthropology,

gave to politics and economics...a firm belief in 'natural,' i.e., evolutionary Time. It promoted a scheme in terms of which not only past cultures, but all living societies were irrevocably placed on a temporal slope, a stream of Time - some upstream, other downstream.⁴⁶

"Western" culture, at the zenith of this "scientific" teleology, is thus granted the superior position of placing "earlier," less "civilized" cultures such as the Gitksan on the slippery downward slope, a position which both defines and sanctions their "inferior" status. The process by which anthropology, colonialism and art were implicated in making such temporal assignments is inherently political; as Fabian says, "geopolitics has its ideological foundations in chronopolitics."⁴⁷ The dispossession of the Gitksan from their land, therefore, was in part facilitated by assigning them to a different time.⁴⁸

An essential paradox is thus manifested. While the village genre paintings support the characterization of the Gitksan as "primitive," they also valorize facets of Gitksan culture which the Canadian government was seeking to eradicate. The general aim of post-Confederation Indian policy, based on the fundamental premises of civilization and assimilation, was to transform the First Nations peoples into "imitation Europeans" and to eradicate aboriginal value systems through "education, religion, new economic and political systems, and a new concept of property."⁴⁹ In his annual reports to the Department of Indian Affairs, R.E. Loring, head of the agency encompassing Gitksan territory in the early 1900s, consistently evaluated the "progress" and "civilization" of the Gitksan in terms of their adoption of Euro-Canadian values (industriousness and temperance),

lifestyles (educated Christian farmers with land holdings in severalty) and technologies (Western-style homes and farming equipment). Loring's 1902 assessment of the Gitksan peoples' progress in establishing more modern settlements is telling:

Moreover, already the push and bustling energy displayed in little settlements, in fresh and healthy localities, make the old villages look sleepy and desolate by comparison, their tall weather-stained *totems*, in impersonation of solitude, completing the effect.⁵⁰ (italics in the original)

Loring thus uses the totem pole as a referent to condemn the very aspects of "old" Gitksan culture celebrated in the village genre paintings. Consigned to the past by art and anthropology and forced into the present by the Department of Indian Affairs, the Gitksan were caught in a double-bind. If they crossed the temporal barrier to attain a coeval state, they inevitably lost the qualities by which the painters, and by extension Euro-Canadian society, defined them as "authentic."⁵¹ The result is, in Terry Goldie's opinion, an image of the aboriginal person as "an incongruous artifact who offends the process of natural time," and who occupies a tenuous temporal state: "the past in the present."⁵² Both representations, however, ultimately disavow the Gitksan peoples' right to define themselves as mutable, contemporary individuals.

iii. Aestheticizing the Image

Apart from the smaller acts of "beautification" enacted by the artists in their representations of the totem poles, larger forces of aestheticization are evident in the village genre paintings, most specifically in Totem Poles, Gitsegiuklas, Gitwinkool Totem Poles, Totem Poles, Kitwanga, and in another of Jackson's genre scenes, Skeena River. (Fig. 11)

The artists' adoption of distant vantage points from which to portray the villages resulted in panoramic vistas of a generalized, impressionistic nature. The images are conspicuously clean, even sanitized. Neat, sweeping meadows give way to crisp, snowy peaks set against unsullied skies. Bright palettes—lush green and yellow grasses, deep indigo and pure white mountains, light azure skies—lend bucolic appeal. The small figures (human and animal) inhabiting the scenes

"animate" the villages in a quiet, innocuous fashion. The overall effect is pristine, even paradisiacal.

The aestheticizing impulse evident in these canvases underscores the idea of landscape painting as a socially constructed activity mediated in part by the artist's particular aesthetic conventions. In other words, the artists came to Gitksan territory with internalized ideas of and approaches to landscape in general, and then proceeded to "picture" Skeena country through these filters. This is obvious in the work of A.Y. Jackson, whose idealized images of Quebec villages are strikingly similar in approach to some of his Skeena works, particularly Skeena River, Skeena Crossing and Kispayaks Village.⁵³ A Quebec Village for example, manifests the main features of Jackson's "village style:" rural houses, painted from a distance and usually in late winter, are set in a snowy, undulating landscape inhabited by tiny human figures, farmers or peasants.⁵⁴ (Fig. 12) Jackson's aestheticized representations of rural Quebec selectively emphasize the quaint, the simple and the picturesque, and are thus not far removed from his Skeena works in style and signifying content.⁵⁵ The year following his coastal journey, Jackson wrote in an article on "Winter Sketching" that, "The picturesque side of Quebec is rapidly disappearing" and "one regrets the passing of the habitant."⁵⁶ For Jackson, therefore, the lament for the primitive *and* the rural is the lament for an idealized, threatened past.

For Barbeau, the ideal Gitksan past was situated much further back, in the "Golden Age" centred in the city of Temlaham. Temlaham is to the Gitksan people, past and present, what the Garden of Eden is to Christians: an idyllic place of origins from which its inhabitants, banished from the site as divine punishment for repeated wrongdoing, dispersed throughout the land to establish independent settlements.⁵⁷ Successive generations of Euro-Canadians, Barbeau among them, have searched in vain for archaeological evidence of this famed site; the precise location is still unknown.⁵⁸ Barbeau identified the general location of Temlaham as a site on the Skeena River, about two miles south of Gitenmaax.⁵⁹ More important than its location, however, was its metaphoric usage.

Barbeau consistently characterized Temlaham as a Romantic vestige of the past. Using an essentially Western and Christian allegorical rhetoric, he wrote that the inhabitants of Temlaham lived in "pristine innocence and peace" and "Arcadian friendliness" in a "native Garden of Eden." With the downfall of Temlaham came the end of the "Golden Age," but it remained as an "awe-inspiring place and a forlorn symbol of happiness lost through sin and folly."⁶⁰ Barbeau, however, identified the *real* downfall of Temlaham with colonialism, the historical process by which "the White Man overran the native races on this continent and conquered their domains...."⁶¹

Both downfalls—the distant "mythic" and the more recent historical—destroyed Edenic Gitksan societies which Barbeau conflated and extended in his characterization of the whole Skeena country as an "Indian paradise lost."⁶² Jackson acknowledged the existence of Indian "legends" identifying the entire "totem pole country" as a "kind of paradise,"⁶³ while Kihn described the Skeena as "anyone's paradise."⁶⁴ It is this generalized paradise, located in the past, which is portrayed in the aestheticized images of Gitksan villages.

In The Country and the City (1973), Raymond Williams relates the idea of Eden, the ultimate metaphorical referent of an idealized past, to the fundamental opposition of country and city. Williams argues that the common image of the country is of the past, while the city belongs to the future,⁶⁵ to the rise of modern industrial capitalism. He traces a persistent pattern within the pastoral tradition whereby those seeking an alternative to the social dislocation and fragmentation of the modern city use the country as a signifier of the Romantic past, of value, wholeness and authenticity.⁶⁶ The city-dweller's use of the country is ideological *and* economic. As Williams says, "The exploitation of man and of nature, which takes place in the country, is realised and concentrated in the city."⁶⁷ The village genre paintings, therefore, present aestheticized images of those people and places dispossessed by and exploited for the benefit of an urban, colonial government. Such representations, Williams argues, work to promote superficial—and to prevent real—comparisons between the economic realities of city and country.⁶⁸

Williams' theoretical construct finds concrete expression in the impact of rising urbanization in early twentieth century Canada.⁶⁹ By the early 1900s, Canada was in the midst of a "demographic revolution of enormous proportions."⁷⁰ Cities such as Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal saw major expansion. In the century's first decade, Canada's urban population increased by 62 per cent while the rural population rose by only 17 per cent.⁷¹ Canadian response to rapid urbanization was largely negative; the city was seen as artificial,⁷² and as the root of the anxiety and alienation of modern city life. As the prominent socialist J.S. Woodsworth said, "We become weary in the unceasing rush, and feel utterly lonely in the crowded streets."⁷³ City-dwellers increasingly sought to escape city life by retreating to "nature." J.B. Harkin, Commissioner of Canadian National Parks and a dedicated wilderness preservationist,⁷⁴ provided a concise rationale for this "back to Nature" movement in his 1921 statement that:

Man is naturally an out-of-doors animal. Civilization which has brought him many advantages has also drawn along many evils...To-day he is undergoing a mile-a-minute life and the result is a ruinous wear and tear which is not only leaving behind a trail of human wrecks but prematurely filling the cemeteries. A return to Nature is the best antidote for the poisons of civilization.⁷⁵

Douglas Cole situates this impulse in a developing Canadian "wilderness ethos" whose roots lay in Western concepts of Arcadia, primitivism and romanticism.⁷⁶ The idea of Temlaham, therefore, a natural Edenic paradise with a "romantic" history and "primitive" culture, appealed strongly to Canadian urbanites. This fact was not lost on the CNR.

In the early 1920s, the CNR began to market aggressively its five-day "Triangle Tour" of the Canadian Rockies.⁷⁷ This "wonder trip in a wonder land" traversed a triangle (Jasper, Prince Rupert, Vancouver) "formed by scenery...unsurpassed the world over...."⁷⁸ The scenery was not only unsurpassed but unspoiled. An article advertising the Triangle Tour in the Canadian National Railways Magazine asserted that the triangle enclosed land occupied long ago by "the most primeval form of civilization, barely touched by the advance of the white man," and still, "beauteous in its virgin form, inhabited in part by the descendants of its early natives and but sparsely changed

by the incoming tide of civilization."⁷⁹ In CNR literature and advertising, totem poles became the primary signifiers of this Romantic primitivist past, not only of the Skeena but of the province in general. Gitwangak, for example, was billed as a "romantic...Indian village where legendary past reaches into present through [the] medium of...totem poles."⁸⁰ One travel writer said of British Columbia that:

one finds everywhere links with the romantic past...the nearer past of the Colonial days, and the dimly distant age of which the bizarre carved totems of the native villages remains as a survival.⁸¹

These links found ultimate conflation in a 1931 CNR advertisement which encouraged readers to, "Visit the land of the mystic TOTEM...magnificent British Columbia:"

Romance, tradition...the history of an age-old people...are carved on the totems of British Columbia. Grotesque...heroic...they tell us of war and peace; life and death; singing a veritable saga to those who can read them.⁸²

Accompanying the text were reproductions of Kihn's Gitwinkool Totem Poles and an early Emily Carr work, The Totem Pole of the Bear and the Moon, Kispayaks, paintings which helped "picture" the totem poles in an artistic idiom familiar to Eastern Canadian tourists.⁸³ Further help was provided to the tourists with the CNR's publication of a pamphlet, written by Barbeau and entitled, "Totems of Kitwanga and North Central British Columbia," which included histories, stories and drawings of the Gitwangak totem poles on the CNR main line.⁸⁴

To the CNR, Gitksan totem poles, and by extension Gitksan culture, were valued only as symbols of the past. Marketing the effective combination of cultural past and scenic present, however, translated into real economic gain for the railway company, and for Canada.⁸⁵ Barbeau called the Gitksan totem poles on the CNR line an "economic asset" to Canada, "in that they attract foreign tourists to patronize the railroad."⁸⁶ To J.B. Harkin, scenery was a "national asset" and Canadian National Parks was "...in the business of selling scenery."⁸⁷ Barbeau even considered the Gitksan people to be "a valuable asset to the country," as "they possessed an art, a music and a literature - a national tourist attraction."⁸⁸ The government's subjugation and control

of the Gitksan, however, made the Gitksan's cultural past part of the present and future wealth of colonial Canada. This appropriation—in which the subject peoples' cultural property is transformed into commodities marketed for the benefit of the controlling peoples—reveals the fundamentally economic basis of colonialism. As Theodore Morgan, then president of the Montreal Tourist and Convention bureau, said in 1930:

A mighty empire in the making is Canada. Rich as she is in natural resources, timber, minerals and water powers, she also possesses in her scenic beauty an inexhaustible fount of wealth that is destined in the years to come to play an ever-increasing role in her economic development.⁸⁹

In Barbeau's eyes, the Gitksan were, like Morgan's timber, minerals and scenic beauty, a colonial possession to be used for the economic development of Canada.

II. Images of the Gitksan People

i. The Figure in the Landscape

The village genre paintings are consistent in their portrayal of the Gitksan people. In these, and in the majority of Skeena works (with the obvious exception of portraits and pure landscapes) the Gitksan are usually depicted as small, distant and insignificant figures.⁹⁰

These general characteristics find varied expression in numerous works under study. Jackson, for example, consistently populates his village paintings with tiny, undifferentiated figures constituted by broadly-applied blotches of pigment. In Skeena River, Kispayaks Village (Fig. 13) and Skeena Crossing (Fig. 14), these figures serve to "enliven" or "humanize" the scenes. In Indian Home, the faceless woman's purpose is purely compositional; her red dress attracts the viewer's eye to the painting's acid-green middle ground. Although the brightly-garbed woman of Kihn's Gitwinlkool Totem Poles and the red-jacketed figure of Holgate's Totem Poles, Gitsegiuklas are more defined and given a place of greater "importance," they ultimately serve the same compositional function as their counterpart in Jackson's Indian Home, and as the white dog in Holgate's canvas.⁹¹ The two figures inhabiting Pepper's Totem Poles, Kitwanga exist only as

vague, undefined shapes. In an oil sketch entitled The Skeena River B.C., (Fig. 15) Anne Savage, at first glance, appears to emphasize the human presence in Gitksan territory by foregrounding an elderly woman against a village backdrop. Like her male peers, however, Savage uses the anonymous female figure for primarily compositional reasons. The pinks and purples of the woman's dress echo similar hues in the mountains and houses, while the diagonals created by her posture and staff draw the viewing eye to the village beyond. Indeed, the minimal attention accorded people in an untitled oil sketch of a Gitksan village, (Fig. 16) is more typical of Savage's Skeena works, the majority of which demonstrate her interest in the unpeopled landscape.⁹²

Who are the people depicted in these paintings? They are not the members of the musical group who called themselves the "Kitwanga Totem Pole Band,"⁹³ nor are they the Kitsegucla people who in 1928 hired a Prince Rupert lawyer to prevent the restoration of totem poles in their village,⁹⁴ or the individuals in Kitwancool who allowed Barbeau and Kihn into their village in 1924 in the hopes of receiving some benefit related to the settlement of the land question.⁹⁵ We do not see Jim Laknitz, whose free museum at Gitwangak was a major tourist attraction in 1925 and 1926,⁹⁶ or the Gitksan men who laboured alongside Holgate and Jackson in the restoration of totem poles, or the families who hosted the artists in their homes. In short, therefore, we do not see real people but fictive constructs or "imaginary Indians."⁹⁷

The images of contemporary Gitksan people projected by the imaginary Indians in the village genre paintings, however, give evidence of other realities. On one level, the Gitksan appear as generalized, anonymous types. When they are portrayed with their backs to us, or as simplified shapes defined only by colour, they lose their actual humanity and are reduced to referents for the human presence. In other words, they become only one of many objects in the landscape.⁹⁸ The works thus give the initial impression of the Gitksan as part of the landscape and therefore in harmony with it, lending support to the time-worn image of aboriginal people as "closer to nature"⁹⁹ and the Romantic primitivist notion of their society as an organic, cohesive totality.¹⁰⁰

The village genre paintings, moreover, actually work to undercut the Gitksan peoples' presence in the land. Aesthetically speaking, the Gitksan appear in the paintings as largely superfluous; while they may add visual interest, they are not compositionally integral to the works.¹⁰¹ In real terms, the Gitksan are represented as small, nameless and essentially powerless. The frequent appearance of an anonymous female type, a symbol of the "weaker sex," underscores this image of impotence. Seen only at a distance, and relatively few in number,¹⁰² the Gitksan's occupation of a sparsely populated landscape seems rather tenuous.

Such images were (are) part of a colonial society in which an image of the landscape as *terra nullius*, an empty land, was (is) prevalent.¹⁰³ In People of Terra Nullius, Boyce Richardson states that the *terra nullius* ideology has long been used by colonial settlers and governments in Canada to justify their seizure of an ostensibly "unpeopled" land.¹⁰⁴ Paul Tennant asserts that in British Columbia, the myth of the empty land has legitimized the denial of aboriginal title and sanctioned the doctrine of Crown ownership of all land in the province.¹⁰⁵ As discussed in the introduction, Gitksan territory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was left open to pre-emption by white settlers, while the Gitksan were crowded onto reservations. In the village genre, the imaginary Gitksan, portrayed as a weak ineffectual people with a tenuous hold on a spectacular but virtually empty landscape, present no visual obstacle to that pre-emptive process. While these images were being painted, the real Gitksan continued to argue their claim to the land throughout the 1920s, despite Duncan Campbell Scott's attempts to quell their struggle. As Barbeau wrote to Scott in 1924, the land question was a "permanent sore" on the Upper Skeena.¹⁰⁶

The relationship of figure to landscape in the village genre paintings thus has clear economic and political ramifications. John Barrell discusses such links in his analysis of John Constable's "social landscapes" in The Dark Side of the Landscape.¹⁰⁷ Barrell argues that Constable's depictions of Britain's rural poor were filtered through the artist's social vision of England, one rooted in an idealized, primarily agricultural (and fictional) past.¹⁰⁸ In order to sustain

this vision and to evade the reality of the labourers' lives, Constable had to distance and reduce the figures until they became for him "objects of colour" which merge with the landscape.¹⁰⁹ If, as Barrell argues, the figures in Constable's paintings,

became less symbolic, more actualised images of men at work, we would run the risk of focussing on them as men - not as the tokens of a calm, endless, and anonymous industry, which confirm the order of society....¹¹⁰

The distance between viewer and labourer in these landscapes thus work to uphold Constable's idealized vision of England.¹¹¹ As is clear, many of the ideological and aesthetic conventions shaping Constable's social landscapes are present a century later on the Skeena.

The figure of a specific, albeit unidentified, Gitksan woman who appears in Holgate's Skeena landscapes contrasts the indistinct, distant labourers of Constable's pastoral scenes. This woman, first imaged in a sketch entitled Tsimshian Girl with a Baby Board (Fig. 17) figures prominently in several of Holgate's totem pole prints, in particular numbers two, three and five. (Figs. 18-20) The woman treads tentatively—even fearfully—in a threatening landscape. Ominous clouds advance, huge leaning totem poles confine and oppress, and in Totem Poles No. 2, even crush. With her back to us,¹¹² she becomes an object designed to receive the gaze of an exterior, colonial viewer.¹¹³ She is also vulnerable within the prints themselves; the dominant, gazing eyes of the figures carved on the phallic totem pole fragments create an aura of latent sexuality which defines the gaze as voyeuristic, even scopophilic.¹¹⁴ In Holgate's oeuvre, she is related to the supine women inhabiting his landscapes, who, like in Nude of 1930 (Fig. 21),¹¹⁵ are nothing more than "objects for studies in structure and form."¹¹⁶ Within the colonial context, she becomes a metonym for aboriginal peoples' threatened position in Canada. Her gender and aboriginality render her powerless in a claustrophobic environment inscribed by a Euro-Canadian male artist, and by extension, the patriarchal and colonial society of 1920s Canada.¹¹⁷ She is, in Trinh T. Minh-ha's words, "woman, native, other."¹¹⁸

Pegi Nicol MacLeod presents a radically different image of Gitksan women in Woman Cleaning Fish.¹¹⁹ (Fig. 22) The painting depicts three young women, crouched at river's edge and with knives in hand, absorbed in the task of cleaning and filleting salmon. This image occupies a unique position within the collective corpus of Skeena works. Unlike her fellow artists, who favoured distant village views which emphasize objects over people, MacLeod here chooses women as her subject and accords them full attention. And in contrast to the "village genre" works, MacLeod represents the women as dynamic individuals engaged in an activity essential to their everyday, present existence. On an aesthetic level, it could be argued that the distortions of scale and proportion evident in Women Cleaning Fish tend to caricature, and thus objectify, the women. However, these distortions became a characteristic feature of MacLeod's mature style, and thus may be viewed within the larger context of her overall stylistic development.¹²⁰ MacLeod's aesthetic choices do not ultimately detract from the signifying impact of her subjects. She alone has depicted the Gitksan diachronically, thereby allowing them to achieve a state of coevalness.

ii. Portraits

The most direct representations of the Gitksan people appear, of course, in portraits. With the exception of Jackson and Pepper, all of the artists devoted some time to committing likenesses of Gitksan people to paper and canvas. In doing so, they were contributing to an established tradition of cross-cultural portraiture in Canada, in which Euro-Canadian artists as diverse as Paul Kane, Mary McKie, Edmund Morris, Nicholas de Grandmaison and Mabel May sought out aboriginal people as portrait subjects.

The very nature of portraits make them unique documents in the study of cross-cultural relations. A portrait is the product of a direct encounter between two people who are spatially and temporally copresent. The sitter's "likeness" and "identity" is thus constituted in conjunction with the artist over the course of a portrait sitting, enacting on a microcosmic level the complex relationships of Pratt's contact zone. Portraits are thus unique as a form of representation,

embodying as they do the sitter's projection of a particular image and the artist's aesthetic and ideological modification of that image. The finished product, presenting an essentially illusory likeness which oscillates between the living human subject and the simulacrum of the painted image, exercises a powerful grasp on the viewer's imagination.¹²¹

In the context of Euro-Canadian representations of Northwest Coast aboriginal peoples, the power of the portrait medium is apparent in other ways. Carr, for example, avoided portraiture because of the "superstitions" of the old people, who believed, she said, "that the spirit was trapped in the picture and would for ever be held there."¹²² In 1922, Kihn experienced a similar response among the Stoney people of Alberta, some of whom, "painfully surprised" and "shocked" at the realism of his images, would not agree to a portrait sitting.¹²³ Superstitious or not, First Nations people of the Northwest Coast and Alberta recognized the potency of portraits. On the Skeena River, the Gitksan evaluated the portrait with other criteria.

Although Barbeau and the artists created portraits of the Gitksan for aesthetic, ethnographic and ideological reasons, those Gitksan who agreed to a portrait sitting made the finished products serve their own purposes. The willingness of Gitksan individuals to serve the Euro-Canadian portrait agenda was certainly not a given. As already mentioned, MacLeod's request for a paid sitting was refused by Mrs. Laknitz of Gitwangak, who said, "I receive no benefit and my people laugh at me."¹²⁴ Mrs. Derek of the same village agreed to pose for MacLeod only if the artist would purchase one of her hand-woven baskets."¹²⁵

Kihn was banking on the Gitksan's unfamiliarity with the portrait process in order to avoid potentially expensive fees.¹²⁶ Kihn secured willing subjects by agreeing to supply them with copies of their finished portraits; his failure to keep this promise was met by repeated protests from several Gitwangak men. Jim Laknitz and Silas Brown, for example, were still waiting for their copies a year later;¹²⁷ Laknitz was unsatisfied with photographic reproductions and demanded two "hand-made" copies of his portrait.¹²⁸ In 1927, Barbeau implored Kihn to send a copy to Joe Brown,

a Kitsegucia man perceived as a potential obstacle to totem pole preservation;¹²⁹ that same year Harlan Smith noted that the Kitsegucia peoples' refusal to participate in the preservation work was motivated in part by Kihn's failure to send photographs and "promised pictures."¹³⁰ The Gitksan thus found ways and means to control their own representation; John Laknitz, for example, exhibited numerous photographs of Kihn's portraits in his Gitwangak museum.¹³¹

Kihn's Gitksan portraits were produced in the name of science; each effort to capture a Gitksan person's likeness for posterity thus enacted the salvage paradigm on a literal level.¹³² Gitksan people, however, could not be "collected" or "salvaged" in the same way as could their totem poles and masks. Mimetic representations such as portraits were thus created in order to provide an "objective" record of the immovable. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett observes, "we have inscribed what we cannot carry away, in field notes, recordings, photographs, films, and drawings."¹³³

In his portrait of Kitsegucia woman Hanamuq (Fanny Johnson), however, Kihn's ethnographic aims merge with his aesthetic impulses. (Fig. 23) The picture shows a three-quarter view of Hanamuq, clad in button blanket and ermine head-dress, set against a design of curving, colourful bands and metallic geometric shapes. As in many of Kihn's portraits, the overall effect of the portrait is largely decorative; the bright rectangles of Hanamuq's robe seem to merge with the busy background in an effusive combination of colour and pattern. The background only gains "ethnographic" meaning when we learn that represented therein are Kihn's interpretations of several of Hanamuq's principal crests, stars, moon and rainbow.

Reviewers of Kihn's work often observed that the artist moved beyond the customary aboriginal "types" to create specific, individual portraits.¹³⁴ Helen Comstock of the International Studio, for example, asserted that "most artists have seen the Indians as a race, collectively, while Mr. Kihn sees them as individuals with all their differences of feature and character."¹³⁵ At the 1925 exhibition of Kihn's portraits in Ottawa, Barbeau apparently "vouche[d] for the verity of the

faces...."¹³⁶ Across the range of his more than sixty Gitksan portraits, however, Kihn employs the same means—formal poses, head-and-shoulders compositions, neutral facial expressions, "authentic" dress and regalia— to circumscribe a limited visual vocabulary of "Indianness," or more specifically, "Gitksanness."¹³⁷ The result is that the pictures themselves, and not the actual people, define what is "Indian," and that aboriginal people are understood not as individuals but as the absent referents of a systematically represented type.¹³⁸

Like those of Kihn, Edwin Holgate's Gitksan portraits manifest in several ways Holgate's overtly "ethnographic" aims. Holgate's portrait of Jim Larahnitz is exemplary in this regard, and typical of the artist's six known Gitksan portraits.¹³⁹ (Fig. 24) Holgate's attention to detail in Larahnitz's headdress and robe, for example, demonstrates his effort to create an accurate document of the accoutrements of a vanishing race. His similarly precise rendering of Larahnitz's face speaks generally to the idea of the face as the container of the personality,¹⁴⁰ and more specifically to the emphasis in cross-cultural portraiture on physiognomy, a pseudo-science in which facial features were linked to underlying tendencies of behaviour and character.¹⁴¹ Particular tribal groups were often seen in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries as possessing a common, generalized physiognomy.¹⁴² As Barbeau said of the artists' sojourns on the Skeena, "Scenery, totem poles, native graveyards and Indian physiognomies all went down upon canvas...at a terrific pace."¹⁴³

Barbeau's use of the term "physiognomy" may relate more generally to "visage" or "countenance." It is apparent, however, that he saw Gitksan portraits neither as precise images of named individuals nor as pure "types" which reified symbolic and ostensibly shared physical attributes, but as something between those extremes. While Holgate, as part of Barbeau's anthropological program in 1926, created specific representations of actual individuals, he presents them as types. The facial features evident in Larahnitz's portrait—furrowed brow, heavy wrinkles, well-defined cheekbones, downturned mouth, squinting eyes, sombre visage—find only slight variation across Holgate's Gitksan portraits.¹⁴⁴

Holgate's chosen portraiture format, half-length or less with a blank white background, seems to imply the immediacy of the image and the urgency of the salvage project in general. As Alex Nemerov says, it is as if "there no time for props, poses, or the other baggage of the *portrait d'apparat*."¹⁴⁵ The possibility of creating complex, full-length portraits in oil on canvas was likely ruled out in the face of Barbeau's overriding agenda to record Gitksan culture before it "disappeared" forever. As he said, "Gitksan...chiefs donned their regalia, perhaps for a last time, and courted the fame conferred by a stately portrait from an expert hand."¹⁴⁶

Barbeau's comment addresses the largely social role of the portrait. Despite the anthropological motivation behind Holgate's work, his portraits, like most, are ultimately destined for public consumption. As Richard Brilliant says in Portraiture, portraits embody defined social roles which situate people in society, and "in so placing them, constitute an essential part of their identity."¹⁴⁷ The Gitksan in Holgate's portraits are not the strong, self-assured figures appearing in Holgate's series of Quebec portrait "types"—lumberjack, fire ranger, skier, naturalist—who are represented as confident of their identity and place in a familiar landscape.¹⁴⁸ Holgate's portraits present the Gitksan to the Canadian public as a regal, yet dejected and placeless people. As Dennis Reid observes, the portraits "express something of a sense of passing, of loss...."¹⁴⁹ Holgate's portraits thus fix an image of the Gitksan not as individuals, but of that for which such images had become: metaphors for a Romantic, glorious past.¹⁵⁰

Florence Wyle's painted plaster relief sculpture of an unidentified Indian Mother and Child (c.1927) stands in contrast to Holgate's portraits. (Fig. 25) The sculpture, perhaps modelled from Anne Savage's nearly identical oil sketch of the same subject,¹⁵¹ is the only extant work in Wyle's Skeena oeuvre which fulfils her original commission to sculpt "Indian heads."¹⁵² (Fig. 26) Wyle has adopted a format (low-relief profile view) similar to that utilized in her portraits of Ethel Ely and Mr. Ely four years earlier.¹⁵³ Unlike her images of the Elys, however, Indian Mother and Child is not intended as a detailed portrait of specific individuals, but rather as a simplified representation of mother and child symbolic of the idea of motherhood.

Like Jackson's Indian Home, Wyle's image gains a specifically "Indian" identity by virtue of its title and through the distinctive sculpted owls appearing on the work's "frame."¹⁵⁴ Wyle's symbolic usage of the Gitksan woman is in keeping with her career-long study of the female form in all its vicissitudes, and with her stated belief that the female is the "Mother of the Race."¹⁵⁵

Wyle's use of an aboriginal model finds early twentieth-century sculptural precedents in Louis-Phillipe Hébert's The Last Indian of 1901, Alfred Laliberté's Jeunes Indiens chassant of c.1905 and Emmanuel Hahn's portraits of Chief Thundercloud and an unidentified Indian Scout, both of 1913.¹⁵⁶ On the strength of Wyle's Gitksan portraits, Diamond Jenness of the National Museum commissioned her (and Frances Loring) to model "record figures" of aboriginal people in the late 1930s.¹⁵⁷ As Wyle later recalled, Jenness insisted that she sculpt from her imagination, as opposed to photographs or models, because he saw First Nations people of the 1930s as no longer possessing "pure tribal characteristics."¹⁵⁸ Wyle's "record figures" thus record Jenness' power as a museum professional to set the parameters of "authenticity" for First Nations peoples, and to give those parameters concrete expression.

Pegi Nicol MacLeod's Bia-nint-nen, Indian Woman at Hagwelget Canyon, a representative example of MacLeod's preference for situating a head-and-shoulders or half-length portrait of her subject in a landscape setting, is the final portrait to be considered.¹⁵⁹ (Fig. 27) In her portrait of Bia-nint-nen, MacLeod uses the mountain both to stabilize the composition and to accentuate particular aspects of the woman's countenance. The bare, rocky facets of the mountainside echo and emphasize the deep, craggy furrows of Bia-nint-nen's visage. MacLeod thus establishes an obvious analogous relationship between the aged woman and the ancient mountain. Of all the works in the Skeena corpus, this portrait most clearly embodies the idea of aboriginal people as part of and originating from (indigenous to) the landscape. MacLeod's work may be compared in this regard with Yvonne McKague Housser's portrait of Marguerite Pilot. (Fig. 28) Like MacLeod, Housser has situated a lone aboriginal woman in a landscape setting. Housser, however, has not created so close a correspondence of figure to landscape.

Both portraits speak to a larger issue in the developing national school of art in the 1920s, namely, the Group of Seven's concretization of the unpeopled landscape as the dominant genre of avant-garde Canadian art.¹⁶⁰ Of the Group, only F.H. Varley and later member Holgate tackled portraiture; like Holgate, MacLeod struggled to integrate figure and landscape. The Group's vacant landscapes became the focus of a growing critique. As Barker Fairley later complained, "The characteristic work of the Group is as empty of humanity as an extinct volcano."¹⁶¹ Fairley acknowledged that while the Group had indeed "set landscape painting free," the liberation of the human subject was now of utmost priority.¹⁶²

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, (Cambridge 1988), 25.
2. I here follow T. Barnes' and J. Duncan's reading of Ricoeur in their introduction to Writing Worlds, (London 1992), 5-7.
3. Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," Art Bulletin, LXXIII, 2 (June 1991), 179.
4. L. Harris, "The Group of Seven in Canadian History," in R.A. Preston (ed.), The Canadian Historical Association, Report of the Annual Meeting Held at Victoria and Vancouver June 16-19, 1948, (Toronto 1948), 33.
5. Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation, (London 1992), 4-7.
6. N.J. Groves, A.Y.'s Canada, (Toronto 1968), 152.
7. A.K. Morrison, Canadian Art and Cultural Appropriation: Emily Carr and the Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1991, 15.
8. Dominguez, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," in H. Foster (ed.), Discussions in Contemporary Culture, (Seattle 1987), 132.
9. Other works by Jackson and Holgate which fit this genre are: Jackson, Skeena Crossing, Totem Poles, Hazelton, Kispayaks Village, Totem Poles, Kitwanga, Totem Poles Indian Village and Skeena River; Holgate: Indian Grave Houses, Skeena River and Hazelton Grave Yard.
10. Art Gallery of Toronto, Exhibition of Paintings by the Canadian Group of Seven, (Toronto 1928), no. 39; National Gallery of Canada, Retrospective Exhibition of Painting by the Group of Seven 1919-33, (Ottawa 1936), no. 125; National Gallery of Canada, Les Groupe des Sept/The Group of Seven, (Ottawa 1970), no. 190.
11. See Reid's exhibition history on p. 230 of Les Groupe des Sept.
12. "Results Are Given; Willingdon Arts 1929 Competitions," Ottawa Morning Journal, 3 May, 1930.
13. Tate Gallery, London, A Century of Canadian Art, (London 1938), no. 179, New York, Canadian Group of Painters at the New York World's Fair (New York 1939), no. 48.
14. Several pencil sketches in Savage's 1927 Skeena sketchbook (NGC 28169, pp. 15R, 16R, 17R, 22R and 32R) are typical of the village genre, the sketchbook remained in a private collection until 1983. I have omitted these drawings from this discussion in order to emphasize the wider parallels between the oil paintings I have selected to represent the village genre.
15. W.L. Kihn, "The Gitksan on the Skeena," Scribner's Magazine, LXXIX, 2 (February 1926), 170.
16. Kihn later adopted a more "scientific" approach to his work, in the manner of Edward Curtis. From 1925 onward, Kihn embarked on a project sponsored by the National Geographic Society to travel the United States and paint "the dress and paraphernalia of each main group of Indians at its historic peak." M.W. Stirling, National Geographic on Indians of the Americas, (Washington D.C. 1955), 177.

17. I have identified eight of the eleven poles in Kihn's painting. Barbeau, Totem Poles of the Gitksan, (Ottawa 1929), 28. Photographs of the two poles I mention appear as Plate III, Figures 2 and 3, p. 215.
18. Kihn, for example, has simply replaced the damaged lower portion of the "Frog-Woman" figure's body on the closest pole (*Qaat*) with a smooth, rounded surface.
19. The poles are: (from right to left) an unnamed pole owned by Wawralaw [Plate XI, Fig. 6, p. 231], *Qawam'noerhl* (House-front blackfish) owned by Harhpegwawtu [Plate XVIII, Fig. 5, p. 245] and *Gutkweenurhs* (The Owl) or *Anskee-Gurhsan* (Grave-of-Gurhsan) owned by Gurhsan [Plate XIV, Fig. 3, p. 237]. Barbeau's photograph of Gurhsan's pole does not show the protruding fin, although his description of the pole on p. 95 includes it.
20. Photographs of the poles appear, respectively, Totem Poles of the Gitksan, as Plate XXVII, Fig. 1, p. 263 and Plate XXIX, Fig. 1, p. 267.
21. No photographs or descriptions of this pole appear in Totem Poles of the Gitksan or in G. MacDonald's Totem Poles and Monuments of Gitwangak Village, (Ottawa 1984).
22. This pole is reproduced in Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Plate XXI, Fig. 5, p. 251.
23. A.Y. Jackson, A Painter's Country, (1958; rpt. Toronto 1964), 111; N.J. Groves, A.Y.'s Canada, (Toronto 1968), 154; J. Murray, The Isabel McLaughlin Gift, Part 1, (Oshawa 1987), 34.
24. R. McMichael, One Man's Obsession, (Scarborough 1986), 125.
25. Barbeau does not mention totem poles at Port Essington in either of his books, Totem Poles of the Gitksan or Totem Poles, Vol. 2, (Ottawa 1950), which are taken to be cumulatively comprehensive.
26. This argument is qualified by my acknowledgement that in numerous Jackson and Holgate drawings, there is obvious evidence of their desire to make accurate ethnographic records of certain aspects of Gitksan material culture, primarily grave houses and totem poles. These Jackson drawings include, in the National Gallery collection: 17455 R and V, 17466, 17467, 17484R, 17512, 17521, 17532. Holgate drawings in the Agnes Etherington Art Centre collection (Kingston, Ontario) include: 22-47.69, 22-47.70, 22-47.87, 22-47.84, 22-47.99.
27. The few exceptions include: Holgate's Hazelton, B.C., reproduced in Duval, Group of Seven Drawings (Toronto 1965), np; Savage's pencil sketch of Kispiox, (NGC sketchbook 28169, p. 14R); and numerous Jackson drawings, including NGC 17503R, 17505, 17528. His drawings of Gitksan-owned Victorian-style houses at Port Simpson are reproduced in A.Y.'s Canada, (plates 79a and 79b, respectively). The oil sketch based on the latter drawing, Kispoya, B.C., is in the Art Gallery of Hamilton collection.
28. E. Carr and Edward Curtis have been critiqued on these same grounds. See Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," in S. Douglas (ed.), Vancouver Anthology, (Vancouver 1991) and C. Lyman, The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions (New York 1982).
29. Fabian, Time and the Other, (New York 1983), 16.
30. Ibid., 31.
31. See chapter eight of Goldie, Fear and Temptation, (Montreal 1989).
32. Fabian, Time and the Other, 17.

33. Jackson, "Rescuing our Tottering Totems," MacLean's Magazine, (15 December 1927), 23.
34. MacLeod, "Where Forgotten Gods Sleep," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XVII, 1 (March 1931), 25.
35. A. Calvin, Anne Savage, Teacher (Montreal 1967), transcript of Calvin interview with Anne Savage, p. 14.
36. The exception is Kihn, who had been painting images of First Nations peoples for several years before he met Barbeau.
37. Kihn, "The Gitksan on the Skeena," 176.
38. Jackson, "Tottering Totems," 23.
39. Jackson, A Painter's Country, 111.
40. "Must Protect Eskimo Race from Extinction A.Y. Jackson Insists," Toronto Daily Star, 12 September, 1927. As Charlie Hill pointed out to me, Jackson's views may have been influenced by those of his travelling companion, Dr. F.G. Banting. See A Painter's Country, 121-122.
41. Wyle, "The Owl," in Poems, (Toronto 1959), 13.
42. Letter of Edwin Holgate to Naomi Jackson Groves, 29 November, 1966. Letter used with permission of N.J. Groves.
43. I. Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1989), no pagination.
44. This pole is reproduced in Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Plate XIV, Figs. 2 and 3, p. 237.
45. A. Nemerov, "Doing the 'Old America,'" "The Image of the American West, 1880-1920", in W.H. Truettner, ed., The West as America, (Washington D.C. 1991), 311.
46. Fabian, Time and the Other, 17.
47. Ibid., 144.
48. Ibid., 29.
49. J.L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in Ian Getty et al (eds.), As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows, A Reader in Canadian Native Studies, (Vancouver 1983), 43-45.
50. Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report for 1902, Statutes of Canada, 1-2 Edward VII., A. 1902, Babine and Upper Skeena Agency, B.C., 217.
51. Goldie, Fear and Temptation, 168.
52. Goldie, Fear and Temptation, 167. J. Clifford calls this temporal limbo the "ethnographic present." See Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1988), 228.

53. Rural Quebec, especially the shores of the lower St. Lawrence River, was one of Jackson's favourite and most constant painting subjects. He made annual sketching trips to Quebec from 1925-1937, and "made this country his own." See C. Hill, Canadian Painting in the Thirties, (Ottawa 1975), 25, 28.
54. Other quintessential works of this genre are: Early Spring Quebec (c.1921, Art Gallery of Ontario), Early Spring, Quebec (1923, NGC), Quebec Village (1927, AGO) and Church at St. Urbain (1931, McMichael Canadian Art Collection).
55. P. Mellen wrote of Indian Home that, "Except for the mountains in the distance, this could almost be a scene in rural Quebec." See The Group of Seven, (Toronto 1970), 164.
56. A.Y. Jackson, "Winter Sketching," McGill News, VIII, 3 (June 1927), np. That same year, Holgate completed a set of wood engravings to illustrate George Bouchard's Other Days, Other Ways. As I. Thom says, "Bouchard sought to capture something of vanishing Quebecois culture, and Holgate's contribution is entirely in sympathy with the 'poetic feeling' of the text." Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, no pagination.
57. In 1948, Gitksan chief Kenneth Harris recorded Arthur McDames' stories of Temlaham. They were published by UBC press in 1974 as Visitors Who Never Left. See chapter four of Glavin, A Death Feast in Dimlahamid, (Vancouver 1990) for one account of the historic and contemporary importance of Temlaham.
58. Glavin, Death Feast, 70.
59. Barbeau, "An Indian Paradise Lost," Canadian Geographical Journal, I, 2 (June 1930), 135. Anne Savage's major oil painting Paradise Lost ostensibly portrays the site of Temlaham.
60. Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, (1928; rpt. Toronto 1973), vii. Carr used similarly Western and Christian metaphors to describe her vision of early coastal aboriginal society. See excerpts of her April 1913 "Lecture on Totems," as quoted in Francis, The Imaginary Indian, (Vancouver 1992), 34.
61. Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, vii.
62. Barbeau, "An Indian Paradise Lost," 133.
63. Jackson, "Rescuing our Tottering Totems," 23.
64. Kihn, "The Gitksan on the Skeena," 170.
65. Williams, The Country and the City, (London 1973), 297.
66. See J. Clifford's reading of Williams in "On Ethnographic Allegory," in J. Clifford and G. Marcus (eds.), Writing Culture, The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography, (Berkeley 1986), 112-114.
67. Williams, The Country and the City, 48.
68. Ibid., 54.
69. The importance of rapid urbanization in early twentieth century Canada is confirmed in, Thompson and Seager, Canada 1922-1939 Decades of Discord, (Toronto 1985): 97-100.
70. G. Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914," Journal of Canadian Studies, XI, 3 (August 1976), 23.

71. Ibid., 23.

72. Ibid., 23.

73. Woodsworth, as quoted in Cole, "Artist, Patrons and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven," Journal of Canadian Studies, 13, 2 (Summer 1978), 69.

74. See J.G. Nelson, "Canada's National Parks: Past, Present, Future," in J.G. Nelson (ed.), Man's Impact on the Western Canadian Landscape, (Toronto 1976), 82-87.

75. Harkin, "Canadian National Parks and Playgrounds," in Annual Report for 1921, The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada, (Ottawa 1922), 37.

76. Cole, "Artists, Patrons and Public," 69.

77. The Triangle Tour was advertised at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto in 1923 and at the British Empire Exhibition in London, England in 1925. See W.L. Edmonds, "Over Million People Saw Wonders of Triangle Tour at Canadian National Exhibition," Canadian National Railways Magazine, IX, 9 (September 1923), 13; and "Selling Canada to the Mother Land," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XI, 8 (August 1925), 44.

78. "The Triangle Tour." Canadian National Railways Magazine, X, 6 (June 1924), 7.

79. Ibid., 7.

80. A.D. Darlington, "The Shadow Show at Kitwanga," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XVI, 2 (February 1930), 28. A CNR advertisement described the tour as "The Famous Five Day Triangle Tour of the Canadian Rockies and Kitwanga, Strange Land of the Totem," Canadian Geographical Magazine, II, 6 (June 1931).

81. J. G. Smith, "Through Canada's Provinces: British Columbia," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XXI, 7 (July 1935), 9.

82. Advertisement in Canadian National Railways Magazine, XVII, 2 (February 1931).

83. This Carr painting was in Barbeau's private collection. Both these works were used as illustrations in The Downfall of Temlaham. The CNR retained the colour plates for publicity use in exchange for the provision of free transportation to the artists.

84. Barbeau was preparing the pamphlet in early 1926. NAC, Records Relating to Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 4086, File 507-787-2, Smith to D.C. Scott, 22 January, 1926, 5-6.

85. From 1920 to 1930, the tourist trade saw exponential growth, becoming second only to wheat production as a revenue-producing industry in Canada. T. Morgan, "Five Million Tourists," Canadian Geographical Journal, I, 6, (October 1930), 482.

86. "Totem Poles are Asset to Canada," Ottawa Journal, 11 March, 1926.

87. Harkin, "Canada's National Parks and Playgrounds," 37.

88. "Describe Indians," Montreal Daily Star, 6 April, 1925.

89. Morgan, "Five Million Tourists," 495.

90. There are works, neither portraits or pure landscapes, in which people do not appear, including: Pegi Nicol MacLeod's Kitwincul (batik) and an untitled view of Gitwangak, Holgate's Haequilgaet, Skeena River, Pepper's Totem Poles at Kitwanga and numerous drawings by Jackson and Holgate.

91. The dog does not appear in Holgate's preparatory drawing for Totem Poles, Gitsegiuklas. It may have been added to provide colour contrast and visual interest in the work's middle ground, much the same as the woman.

92. This is evident in both of Savage's NGC sketchbooks (28169 and 28170), most of which are devoted to "pure" landscape studies, in many of her known oil sketches, and in her oil painting, Paradise Lost.

93. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Records Relating to Indian Affairs (hereafter Indian Affairs), RG 10, Vol. 4086, File 507-787-2A, T.B. Campbell to D.C. Scott, 21 June, 1928.

94. NAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 4086, File 507-787-2A, William, Manson and Gonzales to Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, 27 August, 1928.

95. NAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 4086, File 507-787-2, Barbeau to D.C. Scott, 17 September, 1924.

96. NAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 4086, File 507-787-2, Harlan Smith to D.C. Scott, 10 June, 1926.

97. See R. Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, (New York 1978); D. Francis, The Imaginary Indian, and M. Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian."

98. Francis makes this same general point in relation to Frederick Verner in The Imaginary Indian, 25, 27.

99. Ibid., 188.

100. D. Miller, "Primitive art and the Necessity of Primitivism to Art," in S. Hiller ed., The Myth of Primitivism, (London 1991), 55.

101. Beginning in early 1913, Carr began to add human figures to paintings of "otherwise deserted villages," likely as a result of C.F. Newcombe's recommendation that she "throw more life" into her scenes. See Tippet, Emily Carr: A Biography, (Oxford 1979), 112.

102. Although many Gitksan families left their villages in July and August to work at the coastal salmon canneries, the villages were by no means deserted.

103. As a 1924 article in the CNR magazine stated, "Millions of acres of land...lie unoccupied and unproductive in territory that is served regularly by Canadian National Railways." J.W. Black, "Settlers for Canada's Vacant Lands," Canadian National Railways Magazine, X, 12 (December 1924), 19.

104. B. Richardson, People of Terra Nullius, (Vancouver 1993), vii.

105. P. Tennant, Aboriginal People and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989, (Vancouver 1990), 40-41.

106. NAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 4086, File 507-787-2, Barbeau to D.C. Scott, 11 October, 1924.

107. Thank you to Eva Major-Marothy, who directed me to Barrell's book and the links between Constable's work and the village genre.
108. J. Barrell, The Dark Side of the Landscape, (Cambridge 1980), 134.
109. Ibid., 144, 134.
110. Ibid., 149.
111. Ibid., 156.
112. This woman figure appears frontally only once - in Young Gitksan Mother with a Cradle, reproduced in Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, opposite p. 142. In Holgate's two grave house scenes, Indian Grave Houses, Skeena River, and Hazelton Graveyard, the woman is abstracted into a mere "object of colour."
113. For an incisive critique of European images of colonized women, see M. Bal, "The Politics of Citation," diacritics, (Spring 1991). For a more detailed analysis of the "gaze" and the "glance," see chapter four of Bal, Reading "Rembrandt": Beyond the Word-Image Opposition, (Cambridge 1991).
114. I am following Laura Mulvey's use of Freudian theory in relation to the objectification of women in film. Scopophilia, literally the love of looking, concerns "taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze," ultimately for sexual pleasure. See Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in Brian Wallis (ed.), Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation, (New York 1984), 363.
115. On pp. 61-67 of Expressions of Will: The Art of Prudence Heward, (Kingston 1986), N. Luckyj provides a wider context for the depiction of nudes in Canadian painting of the 1920s and 1930s in her comparison of Heward's work to that of her contemporaries: Holgate, B. Brooker, R. Hewton, L.T. Newton and D. Stevens.
116. C. Hill makes this comment in relation to Holgate's portraits in Canadian Paintings in the Thirties, (Ottawa 1975), 42. The objectified representations of women in Holgate's oeuvre are numerous: oil paintings include Mother and Daughter, Nude in a Landscape and Interior; prints include Nude Figure, Two Figures, Nude, The Bathers, and Fantasy. It is significant that in Holgate's sole self portrait, c.1945, the only signifier of his identity, appearing on the wall behind his head, is a small reproduction of a blank-faced female torso.
117. The fact that in these prints, aboriginal culture (symbolized by the totem poles) is represented as "oppressing" aboriginal people suggests other readings. In a discussion of Totem Poles No. 3 in The Prints of Edwin Holgate, I. Thom states that the overwhelming presence of the totemic figure is "telling," but does not elaborate further. One reading is that aboriginal culture (symbolized by the poles) is represented as inherently weak, and is thus doomed to extinction as a result of its own shortcomings.
118. In her book Woman, Native, Other, (Bloomington, Indiana 1989), Trinh T. Minh-ha discusses how gender and ethnicity combine to marginalize Third World women in the dominant, white patriarchal culture.
119. The painting has not been identified with any of MacLeod's exhibited works. Its identification as a Skeena painting is thus conjectural and is based on knowledge of MacLeod's painting trips and the work's content.
120. These distortions are evident in, for example: Figures Sunning, 1934; School Garden, Ottawa, 1942; Streets of New York, c.1945, and United Nations General Assembly, 1946. These works are reproduced in J. Murray, Daffodils in the Winter, (Moonbeam, Ontario 1984), 64-96.

121. This concept of oscillation is based on R. Brilliant's reading of Hans-Georg Gadamer. See Brilliant, Portraiture, (London 1991), 7.
122. Carr, "Modern and Indian Art of the West Coast," Supplement to the McGill News, X, 3, (June 1929), 4.
123. Barbeau, Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies, (Toronto 1923), 9.
124. MacLeod, "Where Forgotten Gods Sleep," 25.
125. Ibid., 25.
126. He wrote, "Will I have to pay them [the Gitksan] much money for posing do you think or are they "green" to it? This is quite an important item for it runs into quite an expense sometimes." Canadian Museum of Civilization (hereafter CMC)/Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies (hereafter CCFCS)/Marius Barbeau Collection (hereafter MBC)/Kihn correspondence (hereafter corr.), Kihn to Barbeau, 2 May, 1924.
127. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Smith corr., Smith to Barbeau, 11 June, 1925.
128. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Smith corr., Smith to Barbeau, 23 June, 1925.
129. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Kihn corr., Barbeau to Kihn, 4 November, 1927.
130. NAC, Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 4086, File 507-787-2A, Smith to D.C. Scott, 11 June, 1927. Kihn's use of manipulative means to secure a portrait sitting is described in Brewster, "Langdon Kihn—Interpreter of North American Indians," Vancouver Sun, 11 July, 1925, 2.
131. H. Smith, "The Restoration of Gitksan Totem Poles," in Barbeau, Totem Poles, Vol. 2, (Ottawa 1950), 858.
132. Clifford makes this point in relation to the creation of ethnographic texts in "On Ethnographic Allegory," in Writing Culture, 113.
133. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in I. Karp and S. Lavine (eds.), Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, (Washington D.C. 1991), 394.
134. As discussed in chapter two, Barbeau made use of this apparent particularity in his Montreal lecture in April, 1925.
135. H. Comstock, "Langdon Kihn, Indian Painter," International Studio, LXXXII, 341 (October 1925), 51. See also W. Ford, "Immortalizing a Disappearing Race," Arts and Decoration, (May 1922), 70; E.W.H., "Langdon Kihn, The Artist of Indian Life," Evening Citizen, Ottawa, 13 March, 1925.
136. M., A.R. "Canada's Indians: Some Fine Pictures," Ottawa Journal, 13 March, 1925.
137. The portraits were not always "authentic" on the Gitksan's own terms. In one portrait, Gitwangak man Johnny Laranitz, of the Wolf phratry, assumed the mask and name of "Ahrawdem-Ku-Hlingit," which belonged to the Eagle phratry in Gitwangak. In his portrait of "Sanaws," Moses Sanaws, of the Fireweed phratry of Gitenmaax, posed a "Gnawing beaver" headdress belonging to the Eagle phratry. And in his portrait of "Kaldih-Gyet", Tom Campbell posed a headdress identified simply as "an old Tsimshian carving." CMC/CCFCS/Northwest Coast Files (hereafter NCF), Barbeau, "The Langdon Kihn Collection of Indian Portraits and Landscapes of the Canadian Rockies," pp. 2, 7, 8, in "Kihn's and Holgate's," Box B.44. In 1927,

when proposing a return trip to the Skeena with Kihn, Barbeau offered to lend Kihn costumes and headdresses to "utilize in connection with Indian portraits" in Prince Rupert and Gitenmaax. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Kihn corr., Barbeau to Kihn, 16 June, 1927. See also Barbeau to Gibbon, 16 June, 1927.

138. I am here using A. Nemerov's analysis of Eldridge Burbank's American "Indian portraits" in his essay, "Doing the 'Old America,' The Image of the American West, 1880-1920," in W.H. Truettner (ed.), The West as America, (Washington D.C. 1991), 317-18.

139. Holgate's other Gitksan portraits are: Indian Chief, Skeena River, Tsimshian Chief, Tsimshian Indian, British Columbia Indian Head and British Columbia Indian Type. Holgate's drawing, Tsimshian Girl With a Baby Board, is not included here as a formal portrait.

140. See Brilliant, Portraiture, 109-120.

141. Physiognomy was invented by Johann Kaspar Lavater in the late eighteenth century. E. Jussim, "The Psychological Portrait," in Karsh: The Art of the Portrait, (Ottawa 1989), 88-89.

142. In the caption for Edward S. Curtis' portrait of "The Zuni Governor," published as part of Vol. 17 of The North American Indian in 1926, for example, Curtis wrote that, "this portrait may well be taken as representative of the typical Pueblo physiognomy."

143. Barbeau, "Ancient Culture, Vignettes Past," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XV, 7 (July 1929), 30.

144. Holgate's concentration on physiognomy finds extreme expression in his portraits of Samuel Gaum (NGC) and an unidentified chief (Art Gallery of Hamilton), both of whom are reduced to nothing more than disembodied heads floating freely on the paper.

145. Nemerov, "Doing the Old America", 316-317.

146. Barbeau, "Ancient Culture, Vignettes Past," 30.

147. Brilliant, Portraiture, 109.

148. The Lumberjack (1924); The Fire Ranger (1926); The Skier (c. 1935); Portrait of a Naturalist (1941). The Fire Ranger was first exhibited at the 1926 Group of Seven show as Portrait of Mons. Fournelle, but within a year, it became known as The Fire Ranger. Although Holgate may have known his sitters' names, the portraits are presented and known as generalized types.

149. Reid, Edwin Holgate, (Ottawa 1976), 14.

150. Nemerov, "Doing the Old America," 311.

151. Related drawings in the NGC Savage sketchbook (28169) are found on pp. 44R and 45R.

152. As discussed in chapter two, Wyle was instructed to model "Indian heads" and totem poles. The majority of her surviving works, however, are of the latter variety.

153. These portraits are reproduced in C. Boyanoski, Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy, (Toronto 1987), 86.

154. The owls on Indian Mother and Child are very similar to Wyle's Owl book-ends, high-relief sculptures of owls modelled from totem poles at Kispiox. These works are discussed in chapter four.

155. Two of Wyle's thematically-related works are Torso (Mother of the Race), c. 1930, and Young Mother, c. 1928. These works are reproduced in Boyanoski, Loring and Wyle, 97 and 95, respectively.

156. Boyanoski, Loring and Wyle, 51-52. Hahn's image of the Indian scout appears in the foreground of George Reid's painting, The Coming of the White Man, which Reid considered to be his most important work. See the catalogue for Annual Spring Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists (1948), George Reid memorial exhibition, no. 220, no pagination.

157. Boyanoski, Loring and Wyle, 52.

158. L. Harrington, "Unique Church-Studio Is Home and Workshop for Loring and Wyle, Canadian Sculpture Team," Saturday Night, LX, 11 (18 November 1944), 5.

159. Other examples of this particular genre are: Indian Boy at Hagwelget Canyon and Jean, Fort St. James Boy.

160. Defining works of this genre are Thomson's The West Wind, Jackson's Terre Sauvage, Harris' From the North Shore, Lake Superior, Varley's Stormy Weather, Georgian Bay, Lismer's A September Gale, Georgian Bay and MacDonald's Algoma Forest.

161. B. Fairley, "What is Wrong with Canadian Art?" Canadian Art, VI, 1 (Autumn 1948), 26.

162. Ibid., 25.

Chapter Four: The Indigenization of Canadian Art History

A selection of the works produced by artists who by 1927 had visited Gitksan territory (Kihn, Jackson, Holgate, Savage, Wyle) were featured in the 1927 *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*, organized by Barbeau and National Gallery director Eric Brown. The show also included work by historical and contemporary artists—including Paul Kane, Frederick M. Bell-Smith, Charles Scott and Emily Carr—who had visited, or lived in, western Canada. These Euro-Canadian pieces were juxtaposed with a wide range of Northwest Coast aboriginal art works, from Nisga'a headdresses and Kwakwaka'wakw masks to Chilkat blankets, Haida argillite sculptures and Nuu-chah-nulth painted spruce root hats. Although the exhibition received little public attention in 1927 Ottawa, it has since been recognized as a landmark event in the annals of Canadian art history. This recognition is founded on the show's importance in the career of Emily Carr, and on its relatively early juxtaposition of Euro-Canadian and aboriginal art forms.

Recently, the *Exhibition* has been the subject of a growing body of critical study. Scholars have focused primarily on the installation principles utilized in the show, and on its nationalistic and artistic sub-texts. In this chapter, I seek a broader context for the exhibition by relating it to three similar, contemporary shows in which Barbeau was involved: the Group of Seven exhibition and *Art in French Canada*, both held in Toronto in 1926, and the 1927 *Exposition d'art Canadien*, in Paris. Although these exhibitions are well known in the context of mainstream Canadian art history, their importance for the larger subject of indigenization has not yet been recognized.

These exhibitions took place in a decade when the "official" history of English Canadian art was still being written. The ways in which aboriginal and French-Canadian arts were ideologically positioned by the curators of these shows speaks to the developing teleology of the Canadian art historical canon. I also examine the public reception of the *Exhibition of West Coast Art Native and Modern*, particularly in Toronto, and analyze its juxtaposition of aboriginal and modern art in relation to Florence Wyle's sculptures and Emily Carr's pottery. These exhibitions,

like Wyle's and Carr's works, give evidence of the ideological and material indigenization of Canadian art and art history.

I. *Exposition d'art Canadien*, Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris

Although Barbeau had conceived of an exhibition including both aboriginal and Euro-Canadian art by May of 1926,¹ it was not until December of that year that the National Gallery and the National Museum officially agreed to cooperate in the organization of what became known as the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*.² Eric Brown and Barbeau were named co-curators of the exhibition, slated for November of 1927.³ Brown asserted in the catalogue that the exhibition's purpose was to "mingle for the first time the art work of the Canadian West coast tribes with that of our more sophisticated artists...."⁴ In fact, he and Barbeau had already "mingled" the two art forms—aboriginal and Euro-Canadian modernist—at the *Exposition d'art Canadien*, held at the Musée du Jeu de Paume, in Paris, in the spring of 1927. The *Exposition d'art Canadien* is thus an important conceptual precursor to the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*.

The *Exposition d'art Canadien*, organized by Brown and Clarence Gagnon, a Montreal painter resident in France from 1925-1931, was initiated at the invitation of the Ministry of Fine Arts of France.⁵ The galleries of the Jeu de Paume were filled with paintings selected from those shown at the British Empire Exhibitions of 1924 and 1925, and retrospective collections of the work of Tom Thomson and J.W. Morrice.⁶ The exhibition also featured, rather incongruously, a small assortment of Northwest Coast aboriginal art. (Fig. 29)

Gagnon was throughout the organization of the exhibition preparing illustrations for the French author Frédéric Roquette's Le Grande Silence Blanc (1928), a tale of Northern life set in coastal British Columbia and Alaska.⁷ Gagnon wrote his friend Duncan Campbell Scott that he was "reading and looking up a great deal about Alaska and the Pacific Coast;"⁸ the influence of this research is obvious in some of Gagnon's indigenized designs for the book.⁹ (Fig. 30)

Northwest Coast aboriginal art was included in the *Jeu de Paume* at the request of Armand Dayot, founder/director of the Parisian journal L'Art et les Artistes, and Parisian curator Charles Masson. Gagnon informed Brown in early 1926 of Dayot's suggestion that "Pacific Coast carvings in black slate, miniature totem poles or wood-carvings" be added to the sculpture section,¹⁰ and later reiterated that Dayot and Masson were "particularly anxious" to include argillite carvings.¹¹ Gagnon had seen such carvings in the private collection of his art dealer, Duncan Campbell Scott,¹² and advised Brown to consult Scott.¹³ Considering Brown's contemporaneous association with Barbeau in planning the National Gallery exhibition, Brown eventually sought the assistance of Barbeau.

Gagnon had assumed (correctly) that Haida artists were still producing argillite carvings in the late 1920s,¹⁴ and wanted to list their names in the exhibition catalogue.¹⁵ Barbeau and Brown, however, chose works of Haida and Tsimshian origin from the National Museum collection, including masks, miniature totem poles and other sculptures in argillite and painted wood,¹⁶ that mainly dated from the late nineteenth century. Their decision to exhibit museum pieces by unknown artists gave the impression of the art as the anonymous specimens of a historic culture, in contrast to the vital, developing art history represented by the contemporary works of individual Euro-Canadians. Barbeau's catalogue essay further supports this fixed temporal status. He only describes works of art between fifty and one hundred years of age in museum collections, he speaks of the art's apogee which preceded its "final downfall" at the end of the nineteenth century, and he does not mention any contemporary aboriginal artistic practice.¹⁷ Brown mentioned First Nations art in the final sentence of his brief catalogue history of Euro-Canadian art, where he commented on the artists' "remarkable sense of line" and "innate capacity" for stylizing natural forms.¹⁸

Brown adopted a more ideological position on Northwest Coast aboriginal art in "La Jeune Peinture Canadienne," an article published in Dayot's L'Art et les Artistes in March of 1927.¹⁹ In

his brief chronology of Euro-Canadian art, Brown asserted that although the origins of Euro-Canadian art were located in the early nineteenth century,²⁰ recent investigations had uncovered another history—that of Northwest Coast aboriginal art—which allowed Canadian art to claim for itself a "more remote ancestry."²¹ Indian design, Brown continued, could now be adapted to modern production; this, together with initiatives such as the government-sponsored totem pole preservation program, would stimulate renewed public interest in the art.²² Brown is literally writing aboriginal art into the emerging modernist canon outlined in his article and installed on the walls of the Jeu de Paume. Aboriginal art is valued only for its potential contributions to Euro-Canadian art, as an early chapter expanding its historical base and as a source of design for modern art.

The Parisian art journalist Thiebault-Sisson's characterization of Northwest Coast aboriginal art in relation to other artistic traditions, indigenous and Euro-Canadian, was particularly important to the Canadian curators. Thiebault-Sisson characterized the coastal art as Canada's "truly indigenous" art and lauded its rare technical perfection and stylistic taste.²³ He pointed out a certain analogy between Aztec, African and Canadian aboriginal arts, but concluded that the latter had advanced much further and was indicative of a more "civilized" culture.²⁴ He also identified in the decorative treatment of the modern landscapes the "same indigenous impulse" which had motivated the decorative, stylized motifs of coastal aboriginal art.²⁵ This was, as Brown stated in a later article on the exhibition, "an interesting point and one that may be made a future battleground in the studios and round the club fires during the coming winter."²⁶

As reviews of the *Exposition d'art Canadien* make clear, Canadian art—and in some cases Canada itself—was largely unknown in France.²⁷ Parisian journalists viewed Canadian art and history as young and unformed in contrast to the long-developed cultural traditions of France. In the Journal des débats, for example, readers were advised to remember that the Canadian "artistic effort" was contributed "by a people without tradition or routine."²⁸ Denoinville of Le Journal des Arts expressed this sentiment in extreme form in his statement that:

we find ourselves in the presence of what is called Canadian painting—a new art. This expression...applies generally to an art that has no background of well sustained and uninterrupted tradition. The Canadian people, ethnologically speaking, have no history.²⁹

In this milieu, Canadian art's "newness" was equated with its simplistic or "primitive" aesthetic. The one exception was J.W. Morrice, a Canadian artist who during his residency in Paris had gained wide renown for sensitively-rendered works in the tradition of Bonnard and Vuillard, described by one critic as a "*raffiné*" who had "nothing of the primitive."³⁰ Canadian artists such as Harris, Lismer, and Carmichael, in contrast, were seen as "the real exponents of primitive simplicity"³¹ and the Canadian school as "showing us their primitives."³² In the European context, however, the term "primitive" had, over its long and complex history, been used "both pejoratively and as a measure of positive value."³³ In its application to Euro-Canadian paintings at the Jeu de Paume, "primitive" carried the positive connotations of crude or unrefined, but also fresh, original and "indigenous."

The Northwest Coast aboriginal art at the Jeu de Paume received mixed reviews. One reviewer described the works as "often remarkable in their primitive design"³⁴ while another saw in them a "highly developed decorative sense."³⁵ Using a vocabulary typical of contemporary European colonial descriptions of the arts of "primitive" (African or Oceanic) peoples, the Paris correspondent for the London Times stated that:

They [aboriginal arts] show a wide range of primitive sensibility, from the crude uninfluenced mask to the totem, with its conventionalized details, which reveal the departure from tradition under the influence of civilization and modern implements.³⁶

Certainly, the wide popularity of 'l'art nègre' (African art) in 1920s Paris had familiarized audiences with "tribal" art.³⁷ Jean Bretigny of Presse thought he saw "negro fetishes" among the aboriginal works,³⁸ while another writer asserted that coastal art had "not as much life as the negroid sculptures, so fashionable just now."³⁹

Apart from one review, which posited the theory that Tom Thomson had been "murdered by Indians,"⁴⁰ only Charles Chassé mentioned aboriginal and Euro-Canadian peoples together. In

seeking inspiration from the vast Canadian land, Chassé asserted, Euro-Canadian painters had realized their "sympathy with those Indians who, before their time, had lived the life of the forest...." The juxtaposition of aboriginal and modern art at the Jeu de Paume thus proved that Canadian artists had identified as truly Canadian the "primitive Indian art, the direct descendants of which they feel they are."⁴¹ René Chavance of *Liberté* was confident that the masks and totems would stimulate the curiosity of "an ever increasing number of amateurs in the primitive arts."⁴²

Northwest Coast aboriginal art had already stimulated the curiosity of the Paris-based Surrealists.⁴³ Only weeks after the closing of *Exposition d'art Canadien* in May, *Yves Tanguy et objets d'Amérique* opened at Paris' Galerie Surréaliste. This show juxtaposed Tanguy's paintings with Pacific Coast aboriginal carvings, some of which came from the private collections of the Surrealists André Breton, Paul Eluard and Louis Aragon. Among the works sold in a 1931 auction of Eluard's and Breton's "ethnographic" collections were coastal aboriginal masks, horn spoons and Haida argillite carvings.

Such works were then scarce in Paris, both on the art market and in the collection of the Musée du Trocadéro.⁴⁴ Considering that the Jeu de Paume exhibition received wide coverage in local newspapers, and that some articles included photographs of the argillite pieces, it is quite possible that some of the Surrealists visited the show.⁴⁵ However, the first major exhibition of Pacific coast aboriginal art in Paris, which featured works lent by George Heye from the collection of New York's Museum of the American Indian, occurred in 1931/32.⁴⁶ Wolfgang Paalen, the Surrealists' most serious scholar and collector of coastal aboriginal art, emigrated to New York in 1939.⁴⁷ Soon after, he called on Barbeau in Ottawa; the two men together visited the Queen Charlotte Islands that summer.⁴⁸

For Brown, however, the show's real significance was that, following on the British Empire Exhibitions of 1924 and 1925, it secured further international acclaim for Canadian art.⁴⁹ With Canadian art firmly fixed on the "foreign maps," he reasoned, "it is conceivable that it may shortly

receive the appreciation due to it in its own country."⁵⁰ For Barbeau, Thiebault-Sisson's identification of Northwest Coast aboriginal art as superior and "truly indigenous" signified international validation of his own beliefs. For both men, the success of modern and aboriginal Canadian art in Paris, the undisputed nexus of the Western art world, lent prestige and legitimacy to their vigorous promotion of these arts in Canada. The *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern* was an opportunity for both men to promote their respective artistic interests.

II. *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*

The initial idea for the exhibition came not from Barbeau and Brown, but from Barbeau and A.Y. Jackson. In February of 1926, Jackson, then on the Art Gallery of Toronto's exhibition committee, wrote to Barbeau that the committee had approved in principle his suggestion for an "exhibition of Indian masks."⁵¹ That Barbeau provided the impetus for Jackson's recommendation can hardly be doubted;⁵² more important is the fact that the exhibition was originally conceived solely as a showcase for aboriginal art. By May, with Jackson's decision to accompany Barbeau west confirmed, the exhibition scheme had been expanded to include "Indian carvings...and interpretative paintings of Kihn" and other available artists.⁵³ Nevertheless, as Barbeau made clear in letters to Art Gallery of Toronto (AGT) board member Vincent Massey and AGT curator Edward Grieg, the Euro-Canadian paintings were intended to serve only as "background" to the exhibition's main attraction: Indian art.⁵⁴

Barbeau's identification of the paintings in a supporting role to the aboriginal art established a basic conceptual affinity between the two traditions. Brown did not accept Thiebault-Sisson's confident assertion at the Jeu de Paume that these disparate art forms were motivated by the same "indigenous impulse." The Canadian exhibition was, rather, designed to facilitate analysis of the arts' "relationships to one another, if such exist...."⁵⁵ And although this exhibition, in its juxtaposition of aboriginal and modern art, had no Canadian precedent, two shows held in Toronto the prior year were based on analogous principles.

Barbeau and Jackson were the main organizers of concurrent exhibitions held at the AGT in mid-1926, a selection of Group of Seven members' recent work, and *Art in French Canada*.⁵⁶ Canvases of the Group and its invited Toronto contributors were exhibited in one room. The paintings of Quebec-based contributors, including A.H. Robinson, Gagnon, Holgate and H. Mabel May, artists representative of the "newer" school of painting, were installed with more traditional Quebecois arts, like wood carving and weaving.⁵⁷ Using a phrase which would become familiar in the context of aboriginal art in 1927, Barbeau characterized the Quebecois crafts as possessing "a wealth of decorative design."⁵⁸

Despite the physical juxtaposition of the Quebec arts, Barbeau made no attempt in his catalogue essay to establish conceptual links between these various artistic traditions. An anonymous reviewer for the Canadian Forum, however, asserted that Holgate's portrait of a fire ranger, Garde Forestier, "relate[d] itself" to the nearby wood sculptures of Louis Jobin. The reviewer's contention that European-trained Quebec painters should manifest "a little less accomplishment and a little more smell of the soil" in their work implies a positive classification of Holgate's painting as less refined (European), and thus more indigenous.⁵⁹ This interpretation is supported by Jackson's 1925 statement that traditional Quebecois religious statuary, including that of Jobin, had a "rude strength bordering on the primitive" and "grew out of the soil."⁶⁰

The implicit assumption made in the exhibition installation and catalogue was that the works shared a literal common ground. The paintings of the Group and their Quebec-born and -based contemporaries which depicted the Quebec landscape thus pictured the place (*genius loci*) which had inspired its creative arts for over two centuries. The arts together substantiated the Group's catalogue statement that the "Canadian environment is the most potent stimulus to Canadian creative genius,"⁶¹ while the "crafts" gave historic evidence of Barbeau's identification of Quebec as "the cradle of Canadian art."⁶² Like aboriginal art at the Jeu de Paume, Quebec folk arts were used to serve the teleology of Canadian art history.⁶³ The "less native" (more refined) practice of

painting had thus replaced the *truly* native (more primitive/indigenous) crafts, whose very existence, Barbeau warned, was threatened.⁶⁴ But the "indigenous impulse," as Thiebault-Sisson would later call it, was the same.

Some of the same general conclusions have been reached in a growing body of scholarship on the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*. In her M.A. thesis on Canadian exhibitions of "The Other," Lis Smidt Stainforth concluded that the "exhibition principles" utilized in the show resulted in a formal, symmetrical installation which emphasized aesthetic balance over the demonstration of cultural or visual relationships between the two art forms.⁶⁵ Stainforth,⁶⁶ and more recently Diana Nemiroff, have argued that the installation also effected the passage of the aboriginal works from the status of "artifact" to "art," both citing Brown's desire for the exhibition to be "artistic first and ethnological after."⁶⁷ Nemiroff also expands Stainforth's statement that this changing definition of aboriginal art should be properly situated in the contemporary context of international primitivism.⁶⁸ Daniel Francis' assertion in The Imaginary Indian that the aboriginal pieces were valued "chiefly as examples of a Native tradition long dead"⁶⁹ is reinforced by Nemiroff's observation that the works were selected from museum collections rather than solicited from living artists.⁷⁰ All the writers speak of how the "past" aboriginal art was made to serve the curators' very present nationalistic and art historical agendas.

These agendas were made clear in Brown's and Barbeau's texts for the exhibition catalogue. Brown recapped the highlights of "La Jeune Peinture Canadienne," lamenting the death of this "entirely national" aboriginal art but asserting its usefulness as an "invaluable mine of decorative design" for modern Canadian artists.⁷¹ Aware that aboriginal art would be new to most museum-goers, Barbeau devoted most of his essay to a zealous justification of its superior virtues, using Thiebault-Sisson's evaluation of the art as highly "advanced" to lend international validity to his position.⁷² Barbeau's argument for the art as "truly Canadian in its inspiration" only slightly modifies Thiebault-Sisson's description of aboriginal art as Canada's "truly indigenous" art, while

his declaration that aboriginal art had "sprung up from the soil and the sea" of Canada is drawn directly from the Parisian critic's identification of Euro-Canadian art as springing "from the soil and from the race."⁷³

While aspects of Barbeau's catalogue text are obviously derivative, his rhetoric is representative of his own beliefs and his time. His high regard for First Nations art and his identification of its "Canadianness" are wholly typical of his constant efforts to identify and claim for Canada "distinctive" aspects of its patrimony. Barbeau's public call for Euro-Canadian painters to use coastal aboriginal art as "themes for their works" in 1926⁷⁴ was by late 1927 grounded in his belief that aboriginal art could form the basis of a new national art.⁷⁵

Exhibitions such as the 1926 Toronto shows, the *Exposition d'art Canadien* and the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*, furthermore, were conceived and carried out in a decade when the written history of English Canadian art was just beginning to emerge. Newton MacTavish's The Fine Arts in Canada, published in 1925, was the first comprehensive survey of Canadian art. MacTavish briefly flirted with the idea of aboriginal art as "The Beginnings of Art in Canada,"⁷⁶ conceded that coastal totem poles possessed a "positive decorative quality"⁷⁷ and included a photograph of Kwakwaka'wakw totem poles at Alert Bay.⁷⁸ By page three, however, he dispensed with aboriginal arts and peoples, and considered instead how they had provided an "artistic impulse" to Euro-Canadian artists such as Paul Kane and Frederick Verner. In a review of The Fine Arts of Canada, New York art writer Thomas Craven criticized MacTavish's cursory mention of coastal totem poles, which he regarded as Canada's "thoroughly indigenous and original art form."⁷⁹ The identification of aboriginal art as a potentially early or uniquely Canadian art, or as a historic source for later painters speaks to the varied efforts of 1920s writers to define the criteria for "Canadianness" in art, and to situate aboriginal art in relation to the developing chronology and burgeoning canon of national art.

Later exhibitions such as *A Century of Canadian Art* (1938) and *The Development of Painting in Canada* (1945) presented historical overviews of Canadian painting which effectively solidified the national canon.⁸⁰ In the earlier exhibitions, Jackson, Barbeau and Brown searched for historical antecedents to the "national school" exemplified by the Group of Seven and found them in the arts of Quebec and the Northwest Coast. Lismer's identification of Quebecois and aboriginal arts as the two main sources for modern Canadian art in *A Short History of Painting with a Note on Canadian Art* (1926) was another contemporary manifestation of this ideology. At *A Century of Canadian Art*, at London's Tate Gallery, the inclusion of examples of "French Canadian Wood Carving" and "West Coast Indian Art" cemented this chronology in an international context. Such exhibitions thus effected the indigenization of Canadian art history, in its painted and written forms.

From our present perspective, the political ramifications of Barbeau's appropriations of aboriginal art are inescapable. Barbeau's conflation of First Nations art with the Canadian landscape (soil and sea) effectively dissociates the art from its creators, or as Marcia Crosby contends, represents the art as "belonging to a geographical space, a landscape devoid of its original owners."⁸¹ The result is an erasure of First Nations people as contemporary individuals engaged in a struggle for political and territorial sovereignty. The "ethnographic anonymity" of Barbeau's catalogue entries only buttress this ahistorical representation.⁸² As Susan Hiller argues in relation to colonial displays of Australian Aboriginal art, "the process of assimilating as a sign what is rejected as historical reality is institutionalized and celebrated" in important shows like the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*.⁸³

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's statement that all exhibitions are "exhibits of those who make them, no matter what their ostensible subject," is of clear relevance here.⁸⁴ For while the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern* signalled Canada's first aesthetic valorization of Northwest Coast aboriginal art by the country's premiere art institution, the curators'

artistic and nationalist agendas were the sub-texts lying just below its surface. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett concludes, "The issue is not whether or not an object is of visual interest, but rather how [and why] interest of any kind is created. All interest is vested."⁸⁵

Despite Barbeau's ongoing involvement with Euro-Canadian artists in Gitksan territory and the inclusion of five of these artists' works in the exhibition,⁸⁶ his interest was vested primarily in the aboriginal art. He lent works from his personal collection, he was responsible for the selection of art from various institutional donors,⁸⁷ and his interpretations of the art in the catalogue text and entries and in public speeches were regarded as definitive.⁸⁸ He was evidently determined to make the inaugural appearance of coastal aboriginal art in Central Canada a success.⁸⁹ Yet of the exhibition's three successive installations—at the National Gallery in Ottawa, the Art Gallery of Toronto and the Art Association of Montreal—only in Toronto did aboriginal art generate any widespread acclaim.⁹⁰

The "dead, dismal failure," in Emily Carr's words, of the show's opening in Ottawa did not bode well for the exhibition there.⁹¹ Although the National Gallery Annual Report indicated that its 1927 exhibitions were "well attended and received with great interest,"⁹² Barbeau himself found the public response muted.⁹³ Nor is Brown's statement that the exhibition's run at Montreal was "very successful" borne out by Jackson's conclusion that the Montreal show was poorly attended and "a hopeless initiative."⁹⁴ Only five days after the exhibition's opening in Toronto, however, Barbeau had already declared it a "big success."⁹⁵ (Fig. 31)

The AGT education committee,⁹⁶ determined to "bring in the people in large numbers"⁹⁷ planned at least four events in conjunction with the exhibition:⁹⁸ public lectures on various aspects of aboriginal culture by Barbeau, Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) director C.T. Currelly and anthropologist T.F. McIlwraith, and a performance of "Indian Songs of British Columbia and Eskimo Songs" by Canadian mezzo-soprano Juliette Gaultier.⁹⁹ Public interest in these activities ran high; people were turned away from Barbeau's lecture¹⁰⁰ and Gaultier's concert.¹⁰¹ Barbeau proudly told

Emily Carr that several people, including "Lawren Harris himself" thought it the AGT's best exhibition ever, and "a real revelation to most people who don't know British Columbia and the West Coast."¹⁰²

Pacific aboriginal art was in fact largely new to Toronto audiences. Although a Haida totem pole had graced a ROM staircase since 1924¹⁰³ and the ROM collection included Gitksan and Nisga'a works by 1927,¹⁰⁴ Toronto's introduction to the art came via *Rose Marie*.¹⁰⁵ Highlights of this New York comic opera, a hit with Toronto theatre-goers in early 1925, included a uniformed chorus of "Northwestern mounties," impressive stage settings of the "Canadian northwest," a "Totem Tom Tom dance" and of course *faux* totem poles.¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 32)

Rose Marie's artistic effects paled in comparison to the art exhibited at the AGT three years later. As the critic for the Star proclaimed, the art was a potential "revelation, a discovery with the figurative significance of a Canadian tomb of Tutankhamen."¹⁰⁷ Other reviews were similarly favourable. In The Studio, Douglas Leechman confirmed the art's revelatory impact,¹⁰⁸ while the Globe writer noted the art's "advanced ideas on form and decoration"¹⁰⁹ and two separate reviewers for Saturday Night described the art as "the greatest decorative art which had ever been developed" and "the real interest in the exhibition."¹¹⁰ This latter comment of Stewart Dick's, implicit in most reviews of the exhibition, underscores the fact that the show's real attraction was the aboriginal art. The Euro-Canadian paintings had indeed become mere "background."

Dick's article, "Canada's Primitive Arts," is important because it represents the only extant negative reaction to the exhibition. Dick's main criticism focuses on the curators' failure to provide novice viewers with adequate information on the "origin, history and scope" of aboriginal art and its creators. His comment that the "decorative effect" of the First Nations art was "entirely spoilt" by the presence of the modern works indicated his objection to the method of installation and his basic disagreement with the fundamental premise of the exhibition. After dispensing with the modern art in a few brief sentences, he concluded that there was "no relationship whatsoever" between the two art forms.

The views of recent critics, including Stainforth and Nemiroff, support Dick's claim. Stainforth concluded that the method of installation used in the exhibition failed to establish cultural or visual links between the two art forms.¹¹¹ Nemiroff asserted that the relationships in the exhibition were "tenuous, at best."¹¹² A similarly blatant juxtaposition of modern and aboriginal art found alternate expression on a ten cent stamp issued by the Post Office Department in late 1928.¹¹³ (Fig. 33) The stamp depicted an engraving of F.M. Bell-Smith's watercolour, A Snow-Clad Monarch of the Rockies (1890), framed by identical reproductions of the Gitksan totem pole *Spesanish* (Half-Bear Den) at Gitwangak.¹¹⁴ This stamp was produced under a new postal policy which identified stamps as a prime "medium of information about Canada" through the depiction of typically Canadian (indigenous) scenes.¹¹⁵

For Barbeau, aboriginal and modern arts found ultimate unification not on postage stamps and in exhibitions, but in the service of a much grander theme: the development of a lasting Canadian artistic and national identity. He expressed this view in a speech made on two separate occasions, at the Art Gallery of Toronto in January 1928 and at the art gallery of the Art Association of Montreal the following month. He said:

Art to many Canadians is no longer a luxury, but a means of self-expression, a step towards a culture that will some day be distinctly our own. Nowhere is there at the present moment better evidence of this than in these very halls here. Around us we may see the unique art of our predecessors, the native Canadian tribes of the W.[est] C.[oast], and side by side, the work of several of our best modern artists....These manifestations of Canadian art, both ancient and modern, are of vital significance. They speak of the country that is ours. They are searching and original....Thanks to them...we may no longer fear that death will wholly obliterate our generation. Something of our times will survive. And there is little danger that culture, once become a vital part of ourselves, will cease to exist. A tradition, after it is established on a sound basis, tends to perpetuate itself, as will no doubt our national arts in the course of time.¹¹⁶

Barbeau's conflation of First Nations and Euro-Canadian arts into a common Canadian cultural patrimony thus serves his obvious yearning for a heritage which would remain for posterity. Ann Morrison expresses the ramifications of this nationalist ideology in teleological terms:

To be able to claim the native artistic production as part of "Canadian" art would provide a longer continuum of cultural heritage in which Anglo-Canadian nationalism could find a historic base.¹¹⁷

To some artists of the 1920s, however, these larger issues were secondary to the material realities of creating indigenous art works. Two such artists are Florence Wyle and Emily Carr.

III. The Exhibition and the Indigenization of Craft

Among the works Wyle submitted to the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern* were nine miniature totem poles - six in plaster and three in iron.¹¹⁸ These sculptures, designed as bookends and depicting ravens and owls, were modelled by Wyle from totem poles at Kispiox.¹¹⁹ (Fig. 34) Upon her return from the Skeena, Wyle worked from documentary photographs¹²⁰ and, in the case of the owl bookends, from a pencil drawing by A.Y. Jackson to refine the sculptural details.¹²¹ Wyle's owls, painted "with a touch of red inside the beak and a touch of white in the watchful eyes,"¹²² were displayed with the raven poles against a Skeena river landscape in batik made by Anne Savage.¹²³ Barbeau admired Wyle's sculptures, and was confident of their popularity as souvenirs.¹²⁴ Wyle went on to make for sale numerous totemic paperweights, lamp stands and candlesticks, a selection of which was available for sale at the AGT craft shop in late 1929.¹²⁵

In addition to twenty-six paintings, Emily Carr contributed to the exhibition four hooked rugs and a wide range of pottery,¹²⁶ including bowls, ash trays, match boxes, bells and trays, decorated with animal designs based on aboriginal crest figures. (Fig. 35) Carr's foray into totemic handicrafts occurred during her fourteen-year hiatus from painting (1913-1927). She began making rag and hooked rugs from about 1914 and pottery around 1924 as a way to generate income.¹²⁷ Carr's pottery (in her words "stupid objects, the kind that tourists pick up")¹²⁸ was sold from her studio in Victoria¹²⁹ and across Canada by Kate Mather, a Banff-based buyer for CPR gift stores.¹³⁰ The commercial success of Carr's pottery—demand outweighed supply in 1927¹³¹—was clearly demonstrated at the exhibition.

Exhibition visitors purchased Carr's clay works from museum gift shops in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. By March 1928, National Gallery assistant director H.O. McCurry asked Carr to send another shipment of pottery, as it was "very popular and...mostly all bespoke."¹³² Carr forwarded a varied collection which Barbeau thought as "attractive as the first."¹³³ Barbeau took charge of the pottery; he retained a portion of the shipment for sale to personal friends and in the National Gallery gift shop and forwarded the remainder to Montreal. There, they were marketed in the gift shop of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild by Naomi Charles, the store manager.¹³⁴ Barbeau also used his connections with Cleveland Morgan, a prominent Montreal businessman, to find potential buyers for Carr's rugs;¹³⁵ his introduction of Carr's pottery to a Ottawa store owner in 1932 demonstrates his ongoing interest in Carr's crafts.¹³⁶

The totemic crafts of Wyle and Carr were three-dimensional manifestations of the show's relational mandate, and the only works in the exhibition which realised concrete links between "native and modern." The works, in concept and execution, were facilitated by obvious acts of appropriation. As Ann Morrison has argued, the original social and symbolic meanings of the individually-owned crest figures were lost in this appropriative process.¹³⁷ The crafts thus embody the fundamental process of colonialism: the arrogation and exploitation of the subject peoples' property for the economic benefit of the colonizers. Although Carr did acknowledge her "prostitution" of aboriginal art—"our Indians did not 'pot', their designs were not intended to ornament clay"—she quelled any moral misgivings by striving to "keep the Indian design pure."¹³⁸ Barbeau publicly celebrated Carr's "uncanny fidelity" to the original designs and her ability to reproduce the crests "without adapting or changing them, as so many artists do, according to some preconceived idea of their own."¹³⁹

The totemic handicrafts also gave credence to Brown's contention that aboriginal art could serve as an "invaluable mine of decorative design" for the modern artist.¹⁴⁰ Even the "modern Indian," Barbeau publicly claimed, had accepted the "American notion" that manufactured goods were superior to "native handicrafts."¹⁴¹ The positioning of Carr's totemic crafts in the Toronto

version of the exhibition catalogue supports both curators' contentions. In the Toronto catalogue, Carr's crafts were listed with the aboriginal art; the accompanying text stated that she had "succeeded in getting them [First Nations peoples] to revive many of their native arts." The text thus affirmed her "prostitution" of the art at the same time that it confirmed her role as its saviour.¹⁴²

Other writers supported the curators' opinions and sought their wider application in the field of industrial design. Guy Rhoades of Saturday Night, for example, asserted that Carr's use of aboriginal art "opened up possibilities for a really distinctively Canadian scheme of decoration."¹⁴³ The Globe critic advised industrial leaders to consider how the art could be "adapted to a wider use."¹⁴⁴ Another reviewer for the Globe confirmed the demise of aboriginal art, but alleged that "white leaders" could perpetuate it through "mass production."¹⁴⁵ Such suggestions could only be realized through the indigenization of modern Canadian design.

The immediate impact of the Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern was seen at the National Gallery and the Chateau Laurier. Encouraged by the Gallery's purchase of a Haida argillite totem pole in 1928, Barbeau forwarded an assorted collection of aboriginal works, including masks, silver bracelets and a robe, to Brown in 1929.¹⁴⁶ Brown refused all the works, as he considered them "outside the scope of the...collection" and requested an "old and especially good mask or two" instead of the contemporary examples Barbeau had sent.¹⁴⁷ Over the next decade, however, Brown and McCurry purchased, through Barbeau, two Chilkat blankets and a Haida chest. Support for these acquisitions came from Courtauld Institute director W.G. Constable, who in his 1931 report on the National Gallery,¹⁴⁸ recommended the purchase of aboriginal sculptures. The "aesthetic significance" of such works, Constable argued, was "lost in the adjacent museum, where they are exhibited primarily as anthropological specimens."¹⁴⁹ From 1939-1986, no further aboriginal art was acquired; of the early purchases, today only the argillite pole is still part of the Gallery collection.¹⁵⁰ At the Chateau Laurier, Edwin Holgate was commissioned, on the strength of his Skeena work, to decorate the dance/tea room of the newly

renovated hotel in 1928. Holgate's use of coastal aboriginal art in the embellishment of the hotel, however, must be viewed within the larger context of indigenizing activity in 1920s Canada.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. Canadian Museum of Civilization (hereafter CMC), Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies (hereafter CCFCS), Marius Barbeau Collection (hereafter MBC), Holgate correspondence (hereafter corr.), Barbeau to Holgate, 26 May, 1926.
2. National Gallery of Canada Archives (hereafter NGCA), "West Coast Art Native and Modern," Exhibition 1927-28, 5.5-W, Eric Brown to Dr. Charles Camsell, 21 December, 1926.
3. Ibid.
4. E. Brown, [Introduction], Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, (Ottawa 1927), 2.
5. General information on the *Exposition d'art Canadien* is found in National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1927-28, (Ottawa 1928), 7-9.
6. Brown considered George Pepper as one of the "one or two new people who have arrived since the 1925 Wembley show" and his work was thus included in the Jeu de Paume exhibition. NGCA, File 7.1-G, Correspondence with/re artists, Gagnon, Clarence, Gagnon to Brown, 19 August, 1926.
7. L.-F. Roquette, Le Grand Silence Blanc, (Paris 1928).
8. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Clarence Gagnon papers, Gagnon to D.C. Scott, 25 March, 1926.
9. Scott spent the summer of 1925 in Paris and supplied Gagnon with information on aboriginal costumes. Gagnon was also inspired by René Richard, an Alberta trapper with first-hand knowledge of the North, and friend of Gagnon's since February, 1927. Le Grand Silence Blanc was a huge success in Paris. See R. Boissay, Clarence Gagnon, (Ottawa 1988), 159, 165.
10. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-G, Gagnon, Clarence, Gagnon to Brown, 7 January, 1926.
11. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-G, Gagnon, Clarence, Gagnon to Brown, 3 February, 1927.
12. Scott was Gagnon's dealer during Gagnon's residency abroad, from 1925-1931. B. Titley, A Narrow Vision, (Vancouver 1986), 28.
13. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-G, Gagnon, Clarence, Gagnon to Brown, 3 February, 1927.
14. Although the effects of disease, widespread conversion to Christianity and government oppression of the Haida resulted in a decline in the tradition of argillite carving by 1910, the art continued to be practised through the 1920s and beyond to the present day. See C. Sheehan, Pipes That Won't Smoke; Coal That Won't Burn, Haida Sculpture in Argillite, (Calgary 1981), 95-119.
15. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-G, Gagnon, Clarence, Gagnon to Brown, 7 January, 1926.
16. The eleven pieces were: two Tsimshian masks in wood, three Haida works in wood (two miniature totem poles and one mask) and six Haida argillite pieces (four sculptures and two miniature totem poles).
17. Barbeau, "Les Art Décoratifs des Tribus Indigènes de la Côte Nord-Ouest de L'Amérique du Nord," in Exposition d'Art Canadien (Paris 1927), 37-38.

18. Brown, "Quelques Mots sur l'Histoire de l'Art Canadien," in Exposition d'Art Canadien, (Paris 1927), 11-12.
19. This issue, released weeks prior to the opening of the Jeu de Paume show, was obviously intended as a promotional primer on Canadian art for local museum-goers. Gagnon arranged with Duncan Campbell Scott to have this "special Canadian number" sold in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal book stores. National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Duncan Campbell Scott Collection, MG 30 D100, Vol. 2, File "Gagnon," Scott to Gagnon, 21 March, 1927.
20. The same point about the recent origins of Canadian art history is made in: N. MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada, (Toronto 1925), 8 and F. Maud Brown, "Canadian Art in the Making," Canadian Homes and Gardens, IV, 6 (June 1927), 38.
21. Brown, "La Jeune Peinture Canadienne," L'Art et les Artistes, XIII, 75 (March 1927), 182.
22. Ibid., 182-83.
23. Thiebault-Sisson, "La Première Exposition d'Art Canadien a Paris," in Exposition d'Art Canadien, (Paris 1927), 16.
24. Ibid., 16.
25. Ibid., 16.
26. Brown, "Canadian Art in Paris," Canadian Forum, VII, 84 (September 1927), 361.
27. Maria Chapdelaine, a tale of rural Quebec written by Louis Hémon, was widely popular in France. At the opening for the Jeu de Paume show, only one person present on the tour had not read the novel. A.L., "M. Domergue inaugure l'Exposition d'Art Canadien." Le Soir, Paris, 12 April, 1927. English translations of the French articles are found in the Jeu de Paume clipping file, National Gallery of Canada.
28. P. Fierens, "L'exposition d'art Canadien," Journal des débats, Paris, 11 April, 1927.
29. G. Denoinville, "Exposition d'Art Canadien," Le Journal des Arts, Paris, 30 April, 1927.
30. Fierens, "L'exposition d'art Canadien." Clarence Gagnon was also known in Paris, in part for his illustrations for the Mornay edition of Maria Chapdelaine (1926) and Le Grand Silence Blanc (1928).
31. Fierens, "L'exposition d'art Canadien."
32. A. Alexandre, "Les Canadiens et le 'Primitivisme.'" La Renaissance, Paris, 15 April, 1927.
33. G. Perry, "Primitivism and the 'Modern,'" in C. Harrison et al., Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century, (New Haven 1993), 5.
34. R. Chavance, "Une exposition d'art canadien s'ouvre demain au Jeu de Paume," Liberté, Paris, 11 April, 1927.
35. J. Bretigny, "La tragédie des Grand Lacs," Presse, Paris, 10 April, 1927.
36. "Canadian Art," Times, London, 12 April, 1927.

37. J. Laude's La Peinture française et l'art nègre, published in Paris in the 1920s, had popularized the term 'l'art nègre.'" Perry, "Primitivism and the 'Modern,'" 5.
38. J. Bretigny, "La tragédie."
39. R.B., "Chronique des Arts," Action Française, Paris, 14 April, 1927.
40. Thiebault-Sisson, "Une exposition d'art canadien au Jeu-de-Paume." Le Temps, Paris, 25 March, 1927.
41. C. Chassé, "L'exposition canadienne a Paris." Le Figaro Hebdomadaire, Paris, 13 April, 1927.
42. R. Chavance, "Une exposition."
43. This discussion of the Surrealists and Northwest Coast aboriginal art is based on E. Cowling, "The Eskimos, the American Indians and the Surrealists," Art History, I, 4 (December 1978), 484-88.
44. There was, however, a steady supply of Oceanic, African and Pre-Columbian art on the market in 1920s Paris. Artists such as Picasso, Matisse and Derain had collected African pieces since the early twentieth century. See Cowling, "The Eskimos," 486. Picasso's first "experience" of African art at the Trocadéro in 1907 is now part of the mythology of Western art history. See G. Perry, "Primitivism and the Modern," 4.
45. Photographs of the aboriginal art were featured in C. Chassé, "L'exposition," and "M. Gaston Doumergue a Visité L'exposition d'art canadien au Musée du Jeu-de-Paume." Excelsior, Paris, 12 April, 1927.
46. This exhibition was organized by Charles Ratton, the Parisian art dealer from whom the Surrealists acquired most of their "primitive art." The show was very poorly attended, and nothing sold until after it closed. Heye, however, sold more than one hundred pieces from the Museum collection to Ratton, who in turn sold off most of the pieces. Cowling, "The Eskimos," 488.
47. See A. Winter, "The Germanic Reception of Native Art: Wolfgang Paalen as Collector, Scholar, and Artist." European Review of Native American Studies, VI, 1 (1992), 17-26.
48. This visit is confirmed in CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Paalen corr., Paalen to Barbeau, 27 April, 1941.
49. The undisputed success of Canadian art at the British Empire Exhibitions and the subsequent purchase of A.Y. Jackson's Entrance to Halifax Harbour by London's Tate Gallery were then viewed as the first international recognition of modern Canadian art. See for example, B. Housser, "In the Realm of Canadian Art," Canadian Bookman, VII, 11 (November 1924), 238 and M.O. Hammond, Painting and Sculpture in Canada, (Toronto 1930), 65.
50. Brown, "Canadian Art in Paris," 361.
51. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, 25 February, 1926.
52. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Massey corr., Barbeau to Massey, 30 December, 1926.
53. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Holgate corr., Barbeau to Holgate, 26 May, 1926.
54. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Massey corr., Barbeau to Massey, 30 December, 1926; E. Grieg corr., Barbeau to Grieg, 23 February, 1927.
55. Brown, [Introduction], Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, (Ottawa 1927), 2.

56. The show was held at the AGT from 7-31 May, 1926. Barbeau oversaw the loan of works for the Quebecois section from various collections (including his own and the National Museum's), provided information on the Quebec crafts, and gave speeches on French Canadian folk music and art during the show's run. See "Chansons of French Canada Echo Through Art Gallery," Globe, Toronto, 14 May, 1926, p. 13.
57. H. Charlesworth, "Toronto and Montreal Painters," Saturday Night, XLI, 27 (22 May 1926), 3.
58. M. Barbeau, [essay] in Catalogue of the Exhibitions of the Group of Seven and Art in French Canada, (Toronto 1926), 8.
59. "Art in French Canada," Canadian Forum, VI, 69 (June 1926), 265.
60. Jackson, "Early Quebec Wood Carving now in Toronto," Canadian Bookman, VII, 11 (November 1925), 186.
61. [Introduction], Catalogue of the Exhibitions of the Group of Seven and Art in French Canada, (Toronto 1926), 2.
62. Barbeau, [essay] in Ibid., 8.
63. This positioning of Quebecois art as the earliest Canadian art has informed the canonical texts of Canadian art history: R.J. Harper's Painting in Canada: A History (Toronto 1966) and D. Reid's Painting in Canada: A Concise History (Toronto 1973).
64. Barbeau, [essay], in Catalogue of the Exhibitions of the Group of Seven, 8.
65. Lis Smidt Stainforth, Did the Spirit Sing? An Historical Perspective on Canadian Exhibitions of The Other, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1990.
66. Ibid., 56.
67. Brown, as quoted in Stainforth, Did the Spirit Sing?, 50 and D. Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond" in Land Spirit Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada, (Ottawa 1992), 21.
68. Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond," 21.
69. Francis, The Imaginary Indian (Vancouver 1992), 36.
70. Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond," 24. The one exception is the mixed-blood artist Frederick Alexie, "discovered" by Barbeau and Jackson at Port Simpson in 1926, who had two paintings in the show. See Barbeau, "Frederick Alexie, a Primitive," Canadian Review of Music and Art, III, 11/12 (1945), 19-22; D. Simmins, "Frederick Alexcee, Indian Artist, (c.1857 to c.1944)," Journal of Canadian Art History, XIV, 2 (1991), 83-93; R. Hawker, "Frederick Alexie: Euro-Canadian Discussions of a First Nations' [sic] Artist," Canadian Journal of Native Studies, XI, 2 (1991), 229-52.
71. Brown, [Introduction], Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, (Ottawa 1927), 2.
72. Barbeau, "West Coast Indian Art," Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, (Ottawa 1927), 3.
73. Thiebault-Sisson, "The Canadian Art Exhibition," Le Temps, Paris, 12 April, 1927, as quoted in National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1927-28, (Ottawa 1928), 10.

74. "Save Art of West Coast Indians," Vancouver Daily Province, 22 October, 1926.
75. Barbeau said that "the artistic work of the western Indians has...so much which is distinctively Canadian and which might be used to help form the basis of a national art...." "To Hold Unique Exhibition of Paintings and Handicrafts at National Gallery," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 10 November, 1927.
76. This is the title of the first chapter of The Fine Arts in Canada, (Toronto 1925).
77. Ibid., 1. On p. 2, MacTavish identified Northwest Coast totem poles as "much of artistic accomplishment as can be claimed for the North American aboriginal."
78. Ibid., opposite p. 16.
79. Craven, "Northern Art," New York Herald Tribune Books, 2 May, 1926, VII, 13. In a rebuttal of Craven's remark, Fred Jacob doubted "whether you can call totem poles an 'art form' at all." Jacob, "A Canadian Replies," Canadian Bookman, VIII, 7 (July 1926), 221.
80. C. Hill, "Collecting Canadian Art at the National Gallery of Canada, 1880-1980," in C. Hill and P. Landry (eds.), Canadian Art: Catalogue of the National Gallery of Canada, Vol. 1, (Ottawa 1988), xix.
81. M. Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," 276.
82. D. Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond," 24.
83. S. Hiller, The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art, (London 1991), 283.
84. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in I. Karp and S. Lavine, (eds.), Exhibiting Cultures, (Washington D.C. 1991), 434.
85. Ibid., 434.
86. MacLeod and Pepper visited Gitksan territory the summer following the exhibition. MacLeod's works in the show were painted during her 1927 trip to the Stoney reserve at Morley, Alberta.
87. The donor institutions were: the National Museum (NM), the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), the Art Association of Montreal (AAM) and the Pathological Museum at McGill University. Some of the exhibited works from the NM, ROM and AAM collections had been collected by Barbeau over the course of five previous trips to the coast.
88. Barbeau spoke on "The Traditions, Music and Art of the West Coast Indians" at the Art Gallery of Toronto on 9 January, 1928 and at the Art Association of Montreal on 17 February, 1928.
89. E. Carr wrote that Barbeau had "worked so hard to make it a success." Carr, Hundreds and Thousands: The Journals of an Artist in The Emily Carr Omnibus, (Vancouver 1993), 661.
90. The exhibition was in Ottawa from 20 November-31 December 1927, in Toronto from 6-29 January 1928 and in Montreal from 17 February-25 March 1928.
91. See Carr's account of the opening in Hundreds and Thousands, in The Emily Carr Omnibus, 661.
92. National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1927-1928, (Ottawa 1928), 19. The fact that the Jeu de Paume received ten pages of commentary in the Annual Report in comparison to the one sentence accorded the West Coast exhibition underscores the import Brown

attached to achieving international recognition of the "Canadian school" of painting.

93. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Barbeau to Jackson, 11 January, 1928.

94. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-C, Carr, Emily, Brown to Carr, 7 March, 1928; CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, [March 1928].

95. Barbeau asserted that the exhibit rooms at the AGT were larger and finer than those at the National Gallery, thus allowing more [aboriginal] materials to be exhibited. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Carr corr., Barbeau to Carr, 11 January, 1928.

96. Members of the committee included Arthur Lismer and prominent composer/musician Ernest MacMillan. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Lismer corr., Lismer to Barbeau, 7 and 15 December, 1927.

97. Ibid., 1.

98. There were, to my knowledge, no public events held in Ottawa. Barbeau's lecture for the show's opening in Montreal was reviewed in the Montreal Daily Star, 18 February, 1928.

99. Barbeau's lecture was held on January 9 and the Gaultier concert on January 25. The dates for the Currelly and McIlwraith speeches are unknown, as is McIlwraith's topic. See "Laughter-Loving Indians," Mail and Empire, Toronto, 26 January, 1928, p. 13 for a review of Currelly's lecture.

100. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Carr corr., Barbeau to Carr, 11 January, 1928.

101. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Lismer corr., Lismer to Barbeau, 29 January, 1928.

102. Ibid.

103. The pole, belonging to Matthew Williams, was purchased for Currelly by C.F. Newcombe in 1923. Cole, Captured Heritage, (Vancouver 1985), 238-39.

104. Barbeau amassed this collection for the ROM during his 1927 field season. Cole, Captured Heritage, 268-69.

105. "West Coast Indian Art," Globe, Toronto, 12 January, 1928.

106. See reviews in the Toronto Daily Star, 10 January, 1925, 20; the Mail and Empire, Toronto, 7 January, 1925, 2 and Globe, Toronto, 13 January 1925, 13. *Rose Marie* was later made into a movie of the same name featuring Jeanette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy, huge totem poles and the inimitable "Indian Love Call." See P. Berton, Hollywood's Canada (Toronto 1975), 66-67, 127-39.

107. "Art of B.C. Aboriginies [sic] Deemed Equal to Aztecs." Toronto Daily Star, 9 January, 1928.

108. Leechman, "Native Canadian Art of the West Coast." Studio, XCVI, 428 (November 1928), 331.

109. "West Coast Indian Art," Globe, Toronto, 12 January, 1928.

110. G.E. Rhoades, "West Coast Indian Art" Saturday Night, XLIII, 5 (17 December 1927), 3; S. Dick, "Canada's Primitive Arts," Saturday Night, XLIII, 10 (21 January 1928), 2.

111. Stainforth, "Did the Spirit Sing?" 50-55.

112. Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond," 21.
113. D. and M. Patrick, Canada's Postage Stamps (Toronto 1964), 56-57. Further information on this stamp can be found in File 155, Canadian Postal Archives, Ottawa.
114. The totem pole was reproduced from a National Museum photograph (supplied by Barbeau?) Ibid., 57. A similar Bell-Smith painting, Mists and Glaciers of the Selkirks, was featured in the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*.
115. Another stamp in the series featured the internationally renowned schooner, *Bluenose*. Ibid., 56.
116. CMC/CCFCS/Northwest Coast Files, Barbeau, "The Plastic and Decorative Arts of the North West Coast," 12-15, in "Lectures on the Ethnology of B.C. (1926-27), Box B.33.
117. A. Morrison, Canadian Art and Cultural Appropriation: Emily Carr and the 1927 Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art - Native and Modern, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1992, 24.
118. Although the works are not specifically itemized in the catalogue, they are identified in a letter accompanying the return of Wyle's works from Montreal to Toronto. NGCA, "West Coast Art - Native and Modern - Exhibition 1927-28," 5.5-W, H.O. McCurry to Haynes Art Gallery, Toronto, 2 April, 1928.
119. Wyle's large and small owl bookends bear close resemblance to the lowest owl on an unnamed Kispiox pole belonging to Wawsemaharhae, reproduced in Barbeau's Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Plate XVI, Fig. 3, p. 241. Her raven bookends may be modelled on the raven animating the *Lutraisuh* (Attacked-within) pole owned by Naeqt at Kispiox, reproduced in Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Plate V, Fig. 3, p. 219 and in Kihn's drawing on p. 221.
120. The photographs were supplied by CNR engineer T.B. Campbell and Barbeau. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Wyle corr., Wyle to Barbeau, 3 September, 28 October and 30 November, 1927.
121. The inscription on the verso of Jackson's pencil sketch of an owl (NGC 17487) reads, "Florence made cast iron." Jackson's drawing was used to decorate the letter "T" in Barbeau's The Downfall of Temlaham. See also N.J. Groves, A.Y.'s Canada, (Toronto 1968), 164.
122. Groves, A.Y.'s Canada, 164.
123. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Wyle corr., Barbeau to Wyle, 30 November, 1927.
124. Ibid., 1.
125. C. Boyanoski, Loring and Wyle: Sculptors' Legacy (Toronto 1987), 51. Boyanoski links these totemic works to candlesticks created by Wyle for sale in 1912. Anne Savage, however, maintained in a 1967 interview that Wyle generally disdained commercial work. A. Calvin, Anne Savage, Teacher, (Montreal 1967), transcript of Calvin interview with Savage, p. 33.
126. The pottery and rugs are not included in the Ottawa catalogue, but are itemized in a list in NGCA, "Exhibitions in Gallery West Coast Art - Native and Modern - Exhibition 1927-28," 5.5-W.
127. Tippet, Emily Carr: A Biography (Toronto 1979), 118-19, 134-36. Carr's handicrafts are a well-known aspect of her oeuvre. See Carr, Growing Pains, in The Emily Carr Omnibus, (Vancouver 1993), 439; D. Shadbolt, Emily Carr, (Vancouver 1990), 105-06; P. Blanchard, The Life of Emily Carr, (Vancouver 1987), 159-61; C. Pearson, Emily Carr as I Knew Her, (Toronto 1954), 21-34.
128. E. Carr, Growing Pains, in The Emily Carr Omnibus, 439.

129. For a review of one such exhibition and sale, see "Indian Art in Fine Exhibit," Victoria Daily Times, 29 November, 1928, 7.
130. Tippet, Emily Carr, 136.
131. N. de Bertrand Lugin, "Women Potters and Indian Themes," MacLean's Magazine, (15 March 1927), 79.
132. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re Artists," 7.1-C, Carr, Emily, McCurry to Carr, 7 March, 1928.
133. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Carr corr., Carr to Barbeau, 14 April, 1928.
134. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Carr corr., Barbeau to Carr, 14 April, 1928.
135. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Carr corr., Barbeau to Carr, 22 February, 1928. The letter indicates that Barbeau was at the same time endeavouring to persuade (albeit unsuccessfully) the Southam brothers to acquire the Carr paintings then being exhibited in Montreal.
136. D. Walker, (ed.), Dear Nan, (Vancouver 1990): 20-21.
137. Morrison, Canadian Art and Cultural Appropriation, 70
138. Carr, Growing Pains, in The Emily Carr Omnibus, 439.
139. M. Brewster, "Some Ladies Prefer Indians," Toronto Star Weekly, 21 January, 1928. N. de Bertrand Lugin made the same point in "Women Potters and Indian Themes," stating that Carr conformed "most closely to the original native design."
140. Brown, [Introduction], Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, 2.
141. Barbeau, "Plastic and Decorative Arts of the North West Coast," 24-25.
142. Art Gallery of Toronto, Catalogue of an Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, and of a Group of Water Colour Paintings by Robert D. Norton, (Toronto 1928), 13.
143. Rhoades, "West Coast Indian Art," 3.
144. "Art and Artists," Globe, Toronto, 9 January, 1928.
145. "West Coast Indian Art," Globe, Toronto, 12 January, 1928.
146. NGCA, "Sculpture - etc. Purchased/Canadian." 3.12-B, Barbeau, Marius. List of objects sent to Brown by Barbeau, 15 June, 1929. For details of the Gallery's acquisition of aboriginal art in the 1920s and 1930s, see C. Hill, "Collecting Canadian Art," xvii.
147. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Brown corr., Brown to Barbeau, 24 June, 1929.
148. See W.G. Constable, "Eric Brown as I Knew Him," Canadian Art X, 3 (Spring 1953), 114-19, for an account of his involvement with the National Gallery.
149. Constable, "Report on the National Gallery of Canada," (Ottawa 1931), 20. The "adjacent museum" is of course the National Museum, then housed with the Gallery in the Victoria Memorial building on Metcalfe St. in Ottawa.

150. The other works were transferred to the National Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) in 1971. C. Hill, "Collecting Canadian Art" xvii. See Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond," 16-20 for an overview of the Gallery's recent policy for collecting aboriginal art.

Chapter Five: The Indigenization of Canadian Culture

The works of Wyle and Carr represent only a small fraction of the indigenized objects produced in 1920s Canada. Northwest Coast aboriginal artistic traditions were also identified as source materials suitable for use in the creation of distinctive Canadian industrial products and other art forms. Such activities were a logical manifestation of the widely identified need to develop a uniquely Canadian "look" in art and manufactured goods. These distinctive products would boost the Canadian economy, encourage nationalist sentiment, and enhance Canada's position in international markets.

As this chapter demonstrates, the appropriation of coastal aboriginal arts in the service of (Euro)Canadian cultural development was seen in many fields. And although Barbeau was typically at the forefront of many such endeavours, extant evidence of parallel and independent indigenizing activities in 1920s Canada indicates the existence of a much wider movement. Among Barbeau's fellow indigenizers were the archaeologist Harlan Smith, architect John Lyle, writer Alice Ravenhill, composer Ernest MacMillan and the musician Juliette Gaultier. Major sites of indigenization included not only the National Museum, but the Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Arts, Victoria's Island Arts and Craft Society, the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa and the Runnymede Library in Toronto.

In this chapter, I document examples of indigenization in design, art education, handicraft, architecture, literature and music. I begin by establishing the broad economic, aesthetic and nationalist rationale for indigenization, and then examine the manifestations of these general themes in specific cases of indigenization. In so doing, I provide a wider context for the indigenization of Canadian painting discussed in chapter three, and thus re-position the indigenization of high/fine art in a more inclusive cultural context.

I. The Indigenization of Canadian Design - Background

From 1918 into 1920, most sectors of the Canadian economy experienced a major boom in response to post-war demand.¹ Canada's international reputation was enhanced through the export of its agricultural, mineral and timber resources to foreign markets. As Arthur Lismer said in 1925, "As a nation we are proud of our natural resources...which are being exploited and utilized to add to the industrial power" of Canada and other nations.² The materialistic spirit which permeated Canadian society in the late 1910s and 1920s was, however, a cause for concern among some intellectuals. Lorne Pierce warned that Canada's "preoccupation with pressing industrial affairs" left little time for the development of a unique Canadian culture: "It is equally important," he said, "that we should know what we may contribute along with our grain and gold."³ Pierce implied that economic growth ultimately hindered cultural development. A growing number of artists, however, sought the union of art and commerce in order to make cultural contributions of aesthetic and economic benefit to 1920s Canada.

The production of uniquely Canadian manufactured goods was seen as an integral aspect of Canadian cultural and economic development. In a 1919 article entitled "The Vital Necessity of the Fine Arts," A.Y. Jackson argued in favour of art's importance to industrial and social growth, and advocated the need for Canadian products distinguished by "good material and workmanship" and a "standard of good taste."⁴ Lismer wrote that same year that artists should "foster the production of goods designed with the stamp of Canadian character."⁵ Several years later, Eric Brown asserted that "no country can hope to attain a great and independent commercial position" without the production of "original patterns and designs" by craftspeople and designers.⁶ Writing in Industrial Canada in 1928, C.T. Porter lamented the fact that few manufacturers recognized "that artistry in their products is a commercial asset." Companies anxious to secure foreign markets, he warned, should produce goods with "artistic value."⁷ By 1930, Vincent Massey could publicly claim

that commerce and art were becoming allies.⁸ A.H. Robson, however, was not so optimistic. He wrote in 1932:

The next great stride toward artistic and commercial development will be made when our manufacturers awaken to a realization of the importance of a national note in applied design. This step would lift us to the proud position of a country with manufactured products of a definite character...Both in the matter of form and applied design, our commercial products are in the unfavourable position of being imitative and derivative.⁹

Robson has effectively summarized several key points—aesthetic, economic and nationalist—of the contemporary discourse on art and industry. He does not address, however, one remaining idea: the potential impact of art on daily life.

Well-designed, unique Canadian goods were viewed as integral to the beautification of Canadian homes and the encouragement of aesthetic taste in the Canadian people. Jackson, continually offended by the "ugly stoves, silly furniture...and tiresome wallpapers" he daily observed, longed for the day when beauty could be found "all about us" and not only in museums.¹⁰ In "Art and the Average Canadian," Lismer asserted that "the rooms we live in, our chairs, tableware, books, clothes—are all matters of art."¹¹ Porter contended that before manufacturers could find domestic markets for their aesthetically-designed wallpapers and tableware, however, "people must be taught to recognize that which is beautiful as well as useful."¹² Brown similarly argued for the cultivation of "correct" artistic taste in Canada.¹³ The first exhibition of "Architecture and the Allied Arts," held at the AGT in early 1927 and organized by Toronto's "Diet Kitchen" School of architects in an effort to further the "distinctive development of style in Canada," was motivated by similar concerns.¹⁴ The recent work of Canadian architects, designers and craftspeople was displayed with explicit educational aims, "because...the Canadian public stands in need of just such information."¹⁵

The AGT exhibition signalled the organizers' interest in the unification of art and everyday life. This alliance was to be effected, however, by urban design professionals. Other advocates

for the same cause, including Lismer and Barbeau, sought to identify Canadians who had successfully demonstrated the practical application of art to life. Lismer cited as exemplary the rural Quebecois farm, where hand-made crafts beautifying the home proved art's function as "a living, vital expression, an absolute necessity."¹⁶ For Barbeau, art's role in the "everyday pursuits and necessities" of coastal aboriginal people explained its vitality, growth and diversity. "And this," he said, "is essential to art, that it should form part of life and not be taken as a mere luxury."¹⁷ It was not surprising, therefore, that people like Barbeau advocated French-Canadian and aboriginal art as uniquely Canadian sources for modern designers. The National Museum's growing collection of aboriginal art thus represented a wealth of potential designs.¹⁸

II. The National Museum Program to Indigenize Modern Design

The Globe critic's 1928 observation that "white leaders" could perpetuate aboriginal art through mass production was somewhat belated; National Museum archaeologist Harlan I. Smith had been advocating the application of aboriginal art to modern design since 1917. Like his peers in art and industry, Smith argued for the development of a distinctive Canadian art and design on economic and aesthetic grounds.¹⁹ For Smith, the potential financial benefits were obvious: manufacturers would realize direct economic profit, national trade revenues would rise, and Canada would occupy a powerful position in competitive post-war markets. Furthermore, Canada would earn international recognition for a distinctive style of design, thus contributing its share to "world progress and world welfare." Smith also asserted the relevance of art to everyday life. Art, he declared:

does not reach us for good so much through the few great masterpieces in art museums as in the decorations of the objects that surround us in everyday life.²⁰

The presence of well-designed objects in many individuals' lives could collectively function, Smith argued, to unify Canadians "in mutual understanding and sympathy." Smith had thus articulated at an early date the basic tenets of a developing discourse on the intersection of art and

commerce. Smith, however, came to the discourse as a scientist; having identified a problem, he took action to find a solution.

In 1917, Smith confidently announced in Science, the premiere American scientific journal, that the National Museum archaeological office had available hundreds of motives (motifs) for use in the design of uniquely Canadian decorative art and trade goods.²¹ The motifs were all based on "pre-historic" aboriginal art works originating from within Canada's geographic boundaries, but owned by Canadian, American and European museums. Smith had specifically identified pre-historic art—"archaeological material"—as suitable to modern design because it supplied "the oldest human decorative material from Canada" and was "unsurpassed in distinctiveness." Such designs could be used in their original form, or endlessly "conventionalized or dissected or multiplied or developed" for products from cast iron railings and linoleum to umbrella handles and souvenirs. Smith reported that Joseph Keele of the Museum's ceramics laboratory had already applied select designs to pottery vases with some success. Initial inquiries made by Canadian manufacturers further proved the demand for "new and characteristic Canadian designs and trade marks." Smith hoped to publish drawings of the "pre-historic" art works in a nationally-distributed publication. Six years later, the National Museum published An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art.²²

Between 1917 and the appearance of the Album in 1923, Smith waged an intensive campaign designed to publicize the relevance of aboriginal art to Canadian design. In 1917, he wrote the Album text and sent a circular letter to over eight hundred Canadian companies, "drawing their attention to the material thus assembled and to the purposes to which it might be put."²³ He refined and expanded his Science essay in articles in Industrial Canada and Saturday Night in 1917,²⁴ and in an address to the Royal Society of Canada the following year.²⁵ In public lectures, such as the one delivered to the Victoria Natural History Society in 1923, Smith illustrated with lantern slides his conviction that "ancient Indian art was a foundation upon which modern artists could build" a new national art.²⁶ Keele's pottery sold briskly at a Women's Canadian Club

event in Ottawa,²⁷ and was similarly well-received at exhibitions of the Ottawa Art Association in 1921 and 1923.²⁸ Under Keele's tutelage, museum employee Mary Young produced a range of works in clay (including tiles, tobacco jars and lamp stands) to which she adapted aboriginal motifs.²⁹ Smith published archaeologist W.J. Wintemberg's pictograph-derived graphic designs;³⁰ Wintemberg and O.E. Prud'homme together produced drawings of the aboriginal art for the Album.³¹ Smith had thus established support for his program within the museum walls; publication of the Album made the designs available nation-wide.

The Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art marked Smith's attempts to strike a balance between the demands of science, industry and public taste. The historic, ethnographic and stylistic data Smith provided in the album's introduction carried the implicit weight of scientific authority. Yet although Smith maintained that the album's almost four hundred "specimens" represented a nearly "complete exposition" of "pre-historic" art in Canada, the "simplest and crudest" art works were omitted because of their ostensibly lower use value to manufacturers.³² Even if "pre-historic" aboriginal art was "crude," Smith argued, "good design is often evolved from or based on crude beginnings."³³ Indeed, Smith had earlier lauded one of Mary Young's book props as a "most successful" union of aboriginal art and modern design not only for its artistry and distinctively British Columbian aesthetic, but also because its aboriginal design was "far enough developed to prevent those who dislike anything Indian from recognizing its source."³⁴ (Fig. 36) Smith thus contradicted his own cautionary advice that designers uphold the original art work's spirit and artistic value and its suitability to the medium and form of the potential product, in favour of "subordination of the motive to the designer's individuality."³⁵ For Smith, therefore, the indigenization process granted full freedom to the designer to compromise the original design as he/she saw fit in order to satisfy public taste and market demands.

Smith's design program can be viewed as one aspect of his consistent effort to make the museum's collections relevant to the public. In 1912, Smith had begun assembling a

comprehensive exhibition of early First Nations art for public use, in order to "dispel the unfortunate idea that a modern museum is merely a storehouse for curiosities or abnormal objects."³⁶ Smith frequently contributed to the museum's public lecture series; in 1915, for example, he twice spoke on "Uses of the Museum."³⁷ The documentary films of coastal First Nations peoples which Smith made in the 1920s were primarily intended for use in museum lectures, children's programs and for loan to schools.³⁸ Smith was thus fulfilling Arthur Lismer's 1919 declaration that museums should have an existence "apart from being mere storehouses of historical collections."³⁹ National Museum preparator Douglas Leechman urged visitors and enquirers, be they tourists, artists or authors, to make use of the museum's collections of aboriginal art, "which are, after all, their own, inasmuch as they are public property."⁴⁰ Like Smith's Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art, the title of which claims early First Nations art for Canada, Leechman's comment confirms the museum's—and by extension the Canadian public's—proprietary relationship to aboriginal art. In this sense, therefore, the museum acted directly as an agent of colonialism.

It is difficult to gauge the success of Smith's design program. By Smith's own account, his efforts were having a positive impact. A Winnipeg art teacher's creation of wallpaper decorated with aboriginal designs extracted from early album photographs was one example he cited as proof.⁴¹ Leechman's experimental adaptations of historic aboriginal art to batik were published in 1926;⁴² his later schematic drawings of various aboriginal design motifs were included in Diamond Jenness' The Indians of Canada.⁴³ (Fig. 37) An anonymous writer for the Canadian Forum asserted, however, that while "Indian work" should influence Canadian products, "our umbrellas and fountain pens are not blubber knives and harpoons."⁴⁴ And in 1932, Lorne Pierce wrote that "only on the ceiling of a grill room and the top of a skyscraper could one find any hint of Canadian prehistoric art."⁴⁵ The fact that the sole trace of Smith's program remains in his correspondence is similarly telling. In this 1933 letter, T.M. Hill of Hamilton Potteries Ltd. advised Smith that the company had not had "any success in making anything similar" to the "Haida Indian specimens"

loaned them by the museum.⁴⁶ Whether Hill's response speaks to the wider failure of Smith's design agenda can only be assessed through in-depth research into 1920s design in Canada.⁴⁷ Enough evidence emerges to bear witness to a broader cultural and historical movement of indigenization that paralleled the fine art activities.

III. Indigenization at Art Schools and Women's Associations

The nation-wide distribution of Smith's circular letter and Album of Canadian Prehistoric Art indicated his desire for the material to be utilized by all Canadian companies, regardless of location. The album was designed to have regionally specific use value. Smith provided the geographic origin of each art work reproduced in the album so that a British Columbian manufacturer could employ an aboriginal motif suitable for local products "rather than use one appropriate only for Manitoba."⁴⁸ Existing documentation indicates that 1920s British Columbians had identified coastal aboriginal art as a suitable source for a provincially distinctive art and design. The bulk of this indigenization activity occurred outside of the manufacturing sector, and should thus be viewed as parallel to, but independent of, Smith's design agenda.

At the Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Arts (VSDAA), founded in 1925, the indigenization of art and design was a common practice. The VSDAA mandate was two-fold: to provide a thorough education in industrial design, painting and drawing, and to train students for employment in various related trades and manufactures. Close links were thus maintained between the school and local businesses. C.H. Scott, VSDAA director from 1926, summarized the "aims and ideals" of the school in his 1928 statement that, "we go forward hopefully believing that we fit naturally into the commercial and cultural development of a great city."⁴⁹

Concomitant to this functional mandate was the wider desire to develop a distinctively British Columbian school of painting and style of design, a development to be effected through responses to the local landscape and environment. Students were "encouraged to use the

surrounding natural resources and to relate design to environment."⁵⁰ Aboriginal arts, histories and cultures were seen as contributing to the coastal "atmosphere." As VSDAA student Sybil Hill wrote in an article entitled, "Potentialities of B.C. Coast Indian Art:"

Here, only, [British Columbia] may that curiously strange atmosphere be found, and here too does the...Indian Art find itself able to merge with and pervade, without despoiling, the richness and glory of our British Columbian Coast....⁵¹

Hill thus identifies coastal aboriginal art as part of the natural environment (soil and sea). As an anonymous writer for the Canadian Forum said, students' usage of aboriginal subjects proved that they were "quick to see the suitability of using themes that were of the very soil and history of the province."⁵²

School instructors provided theoretical and practical support for this indigenization activity. Group of Seven member and teacher F.H. Varley, convinced that "foreign ideas, cultures, peoples, sights and experiences" were crucial to artistic inspiration, became "avid re Indian legends" after his introduction to coastal aboriginal art through the work of Emily Carr in 1927.⁵³ The painter J.W.G. Macdonald, a recent immigrant to the province, saw in aboriginal themes "an indigenous subject as worthy as the mountains and glaciers he had come to love."⁵⁴ C.H. Scott identified the "large colonies" of Indians resident around Vancouver as "rich material for the artist."⁵⁵ Grace Melvin, a Glasgow-trained teacher of design, illumination and the decorative arts, was fascinated by coastal aboriginal art.⁵⁶ Barbeau encouraged her aesthetic interests; she illustrated their collaborative book, The Indian Speaks (1943).⁵⁷ As discussed in chapter two, Barbeau's public advocacy of coastal aboriginal art as source material for B.C. artists at a 1926 lecture series in Vancouver had a significant impact on those VSDAA pupils who attended.

Concrete evidence of the indigenization of art and design is found throughout the pages of the Paint Box, the student annual. (Fig. 38) Macdonald's students hoped to realize their teacher's "perpetual visions of fabric designs...wall-paper, carpets, pottery" embellished with "beautiful native Indian designs as inspiration."⁵⁸ Macdonald's design for the school logo was a

stylized thunderbird based on obviously aboriginal sources.⁵⁹ Members of Varley's composition class travelled to the [Vancouver City] museum to translate works from the "Indian collection" into "Indian legends in oils."⁶⁰ Under Melvin's direction, "Indian legends and legendary figures" were adapted to embroidery designs.⁶¹ Similar legends provided themes for textiles and decorative panels.⁶² Print-makers chose aboriginal subjects for their work, as seen in two woodcuts by Peter Meilleur, reproduced in the 1928 Paint Box. (Fig. 39) Leslie Planta's use of aboriginal art as source material is somewhat different in nature.

Planta was a student at the British Columbia College of Arts in the early 1930s. Varley and Macdonald left the VSDAA in 1933 to found this short-lived college; they were joined on staff by the Viennese stage designer Harry Täuber.⁶³ During his association with Täuber, a man Planta remembers as fascinated by many world religions and artistic traditions, Planta reproduced in cloth a Gitksan feast house partition from a photograph in his possession.⁶⁴ (Fig. 40) Coincidentally, the partition, a mid-nineteenth century painting on boards, was collected at Kitwanoocool by Barbeau in 1924 and included in the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*.⁶⁵ (Fig. 41) Although Planta maintains this particular piece was not directly inspired by his studies at the College, he provides a wider context for the work in his comment that, "Like most B.C. students of art, Indian design was the only 'native' art we had locally, so we all did some experimenting with that style."⁶⁶ Planta's experiment is thus typical of the indigenizing influences prevalent in the Vancouver artistic community in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁷

Across the Strait of Georgia, similar activities were in evidence at the Victoria School of Art. At the annual exhibition of students' work held at the school in 1928, pupils of the artist Ina D.D. Uthoff displayed works modelled after the designs of coastal aboriginal artists, particularly the Haida, but also the Hopi of the American Southwest.⁶⁸ Similar practices may have been encouraged by instructors at the School of Handicraft and Design, founded in 1913 by members of the Island Arts and Crafts Society in order to revive interest in arts and crafts.⁶⁹

Other indigenization activity occurring in Canadian schools was of a more ephemeral, multi-disciplinary nature. "Early Canada" was the theme of the fifth annual masquerade ball at Toronto's Ontario College of Art in 1925.⁷⁰ The first hundred years of Canadian history were re-created on the college walls in grand style; student murals in the main auditorium depicted "the mission work of the Jesuits among the Indians, the sacred rites of the tribes and the arrival of Champlain."⁷¹ The basement was transformed into a banquet hall replete with "coats of arms, Indian charms, miniature totem poles and decorative lights."⁷² In 1927, the VSDAA's fourth Beaux Arts Ball took "the portrayal of the North American Indian during the earliest days of the Paleface" as its theme.⁷³ Decorations included "totem poles, flanked by evergreens, large Indian rugs, hides with...primitive picture-writings and tepees." Guests were entertained by an "Indian chorus of Art School girls" who performed a "dance to the Sungod."

In early 1929, Arthur Lismer and his assistant John Byers, who had travelled west under Barbeau's aegis in 1928, carried out an indigenized decorative scheme for a ball held at the University of Toronto.⁷⁴ The Toronto Art Students League, with Byers' assistance, produced over two hundred items, including large totems, painted motifs of masks, fish and animals and "totem devices in large poster size." Lismer's plan to exhibit aboriginal art works from the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum was not realized; he did hope to sell the totemic decorations to fund the painting of murals at Hart House.⁷⁵ Barbeau saw Lismer's and Byers' efforts as evidence that "West Coast art, particularly as represented on the Skeena River, is becoming better known and more popular every day."⁷⁶

Canadian women's art associations also promoted the production and exhibition of indigenized crafts. At the Island Arts and Crafts Society (IACS) in Victoria, the inclusion of Emily Carr's totemic hooked rugs in the society's annual exhibition of 1916 anticipated the consistent appearance of indigenized crafts at IACS exhibitions throughout the 1920s and 1930s.⁷⁷ Catherine Lothian and Margaret Grute were at the centre of a "great blossoming" of indigenized pottery

production in late 1920s Victoria; candlesticks, tobacco jars, and other objects fashioned by hand from local clay and embellished with Indian designs were typical of the items created by many such women associated with the IACS.⁷⁸ In Victoria tourist shops, these clay works vied for shelf space with wooden totems imported from Japan. As N. de Bertrand Lugin concluded in a 1927 article entitled "Women Potters and Indian Themes," the Japanese had not yet entered the pottery market; "this craft remains, as it was since its beginning, entirely in the hands of the women of British Columbia."⁷⁹

Members of the Women's Institute of British Columbia were also interested in the adaptation of aboriginal art to local craft. Institute member Mrs. MacLachlan was so enthralled by a display of First Nations art at the 1928 Vancouver exhibition that she planned to incorporate some of the aboriginal designs in "B.C. Indian rugs and other household commodities."⁸⁰ In the making of such rugs, the Institute solicited the help of Victoria resident Alice Ravenhill, whose study of coastal aboriginal art had been supervised by her neighbour, W.A. Newcombe, a local authority on coastal First Nations art.⁸¹ Ravenhill reproduced in needlework "B.C. tribal designs...with painstaking attention to all details and colourings" on rugs, bags, book covers and cushions—items featured at IACS exhibitions and sold internationally—and had lectured on aboriginal art as "An Unrecognized Commercial Asset."⁸²

Although the outcome of Ravenhill's collaboration with the Women's Institute is not known, she went on in 1940 to found the Society for the Furtherance of British Columbia Indian Arts and Crafts (renamed the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society) and published several monographs on coastal First Nations art and culture.⁸³ Her 1944 A Corner Stone of Canadian Culture, with its hand-drawn reproductions of historic Pacific Coast aboriginal art, was designed to demonstrate the relevance of aboriginal art to "the artistic, cultural, economic and commercial development of this country."⁸⁴ It thus duplicates Harlan Smith's Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art in concept and purpose.⁸⁵

Indigenized crafts also appeared at the Art Gallery of Toronto's second *Exhibition of Architecture and the Allied Arts*, in 1929. Ada Bruce of Toronto displayed her "totem pole lamp," of carved and lacquered wood, topped with a painted parchment shade.⁸⁶ Carr's indigenized rugs and pottery were among the works displayed by the Toronto branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada, as was an ornament with "Totem Pole Design" by Janika Van Nostrand.⁸⁷ The Canadian Handicrafts Guild of Montreal contributed an unidentified assemblage of "British Columbia Pottery," which likely included Lothian and Grute's indigenized works in clay.⁸⁸ That these derivative crafts were exhibited alongside contemporary aboriginal arts—Haida baskets and silver bracelets—demonstrates the Guild's unique mandate to revive and promote the handicrafts of all Canadians, including aboriginal people.⁸⁹ Guild members, in fact, included contemporary First Nations arts and crafts in their annual exhibitions at the Art Gallery of the Art Association of Montreal from 1905 to 1935.⁹⁰ Although indigenized crafts did appear in at least one Guild exhibition (1926),⁹¹ and on Guild store shelves in 1928, their existence did not preclude the inclusion of aboriginal work.⁹²

The women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild were alone in their promotion of authentic work from the hands of living aboriginal artists. In so doing, they actively rejected the pervasive ideology of the dying race and its parallel in art, the notion of Northwest Coast aboriginal art as forever dead and beyond revival. For scientists like Barbeau and Smith, aboriginal art was relevant to the present only by virtue of its potential contribution to an evolving, distinctly Canadian art and design. The concept of a past aboriginal art was thus intrinsic to the process of indigenization. The production of indigenized arts and crafts at Canadian art schools and womens' craft associations throughout the 1920s signalled widespread acceptance of the salvage paradigm and implicitly bolstered it. Similar impulses in architecture, literature and music extended the construct into all realms of Canadian cultural expression.

IV. The Indigenization of Architecture - John Lyle and Edwin Holgate

For members of Toronto's "Diet Kitchen" school of architects, unique and well-designed manufactured goods properly belonged in distinctively Canadian architectural settings. Their organization of exhibitions demonstrating the alliance of the applied arts and architecture was founded on the belief that, "an isolated art does not exist, but that all the artistic products of civilization fit into the architectural scheme of things."⁹³ Diet Kitchen school architects advocated the study and use of older art forms as inspiration for the design of modern products and buildings. Martin Baldwin, for example, asserted that the juxtaposition of antique and recent examples of the applied arts at the 1927 exhibition was intended "to show how closely the modern handicrafts are based on the old."⁹⁴ Similar beliefs motivated architect John Lyle to use older artistic traditions—namely Northwest Coast aboriginal—in his efforts to develop a uniquely Canadian architectural ornament.

In the late 1920s and 1930s, Lyle was the leading public advocate of a modern, national architectural style.⁹⁵ Lyle's argument for a national architecture in an address delivered during the *Allied Arts and Architecture* exhibition in 1927, for example, generated widespread public interest in what he called the "Canadian Architectural Movement."⁹⁶ Lyle expressed these beliefs in buildings which incorporated Canadian references in style and ornamentation. Lyle found indigenous stylistic inspiration in French Canadian, colonial Maritime and Ontario architecture. For "decorative motifs of ornament," he declared in a 1929 lecture, "we have Indian traditions and our native flowers, fruits and trees."⁹⁷

By 1931, Lyle concluded that a national character in architecture would not be realized through built form. In an article titled "Canadian Ornament Goes Native," Lyle argued that "nothing radically new...was probable" in the field of form.⁹⁸ The answer thus lay in a "new language of ornament based on Canadian forms."⁹⁹ Toronto professor of architecture Eric Arthur objected to

Lyle's apparent over-emphasis on ornamentation's potential; as he said in 1929, "a gopher or squirrel on a keystone does not make a building as national in character as the Parthenon."¹⁰⁰

Lyle began in 1928 to develop an ornamental vocabulary by collecting data in the form of indigenous flora, fauna, birds, marine life and "Indian motifs."¹⁰¹ A member of his staff was sent to the Royal Ontario Museum to render colour drawings of appropriate aboriginal designs which were subsequently translated into "conventionalized ornament."¹⁰² The "Indian traditions" Lyle used on a summer residence built for W.R. Johnston at Orillia were limited to a "primitive Indian dog-tooth motif"¹⁰³ on the cornice and similar treatment on the entrance columns.¹⁰⁴ The abstract qualities of this stylized design and its relative unfamiliarity in the context of Euro-Canadian domestic architecture undoubtedly effaced its original meaning and provenance. The same could be said of the "dog-tooth motif," the "inverted triangle," the "Indian flint arrowhead motif" and the "primitive Indian" colour scheme Lyle used on the exterior facade of the Runnymede Branch Library, which still stands on Bloor Street West in Toronto.¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 42)

Lyle's quotation of Northwest Coast aboriginal art in the Runnymede entrance, in contrast, was clear. As he said, "the central entrance motif is Indian in its inspiration, as the totem pole idea has been taken and married to the ordinary classic lintel treatment."¹⁰⁶ In other words, the stone-sculpted totem poles flanking the door acted as engaged columns beneath a traditional lintel embellished with "Indian decorative motifs treated in a naive manner."¹⁰⁷ For Lyle, the ravens, beavers and bears on the poles were not aboriginal crest figures, but creatures generally "significant of Canadian bird and animal life."¹⁰⁸

In two designs for the Bank of Nova Scotia, at Calgary (1930) and Halifax (1931), Lyle employed aboriginal design elements in concert with regionally appropriate motifs. In Alberta, his decorative scheme included prairie flowers, gushing oil, buffaloes, Indians and mounties.¹⁰⁹ Lyle's justification of the "Indian dog-tooth pattern" on the bank facade as an "Indian symbol of progress" had obvious resonance in boomtown Calgary.¹¹⁰ Among the eighty-six elements used in the Halifax

building were "totem pole...and Indian bead work motifs,"¹¹¹ crabs, seagulls and codfish.¹¹² Architectural historian Trevor Boddy has characterized these bank designs as products of a "period of transition" in which Lyle combined "modernism, nationalism and regionalism in a synthesis...exciting for its instability."¹¹³ That instability arises in part from Lyle's experimental and sometimes indiscriminate combination of First Nations and "native" Canadian motifs.

Diet Kitchen school members A.S. Mathers and E.W. Haldenby used totemic forms in the decoration of their William H. Wright Building, completed in 1938 at King and York Streets in Toronto.¹¹⁴ Like Lyle, Mathers and Haldenby identified the coastal totem pole—with its columnar shape, plastic form and indigenous origins—as suitable for use on the building's exterior facade. (Fig. 43) The monumental panels marking the building's main door on King Street included eight rectangular totemic reliefs sculpted *in situ* by Sebastiano Aiello, from models by Fred Winkler.¹¹⁵ (Fig. 44) The stone totems structurally frame and serve as a foil to the central panels' obviously Classical theme; the stylistic and iconographic amalgam, however, is somewhat discordant.

The Diet Kitchen School's use of aboriginal design elements can be viewed as rather superficial applications of (what were to them) "foreign" stylistic traditions. The derivative designs were employed as essentially isolated instances of window dressing which were not integrated into the larger purpose and image of these monumental buildings. Lyle's use of a nationalist iconography to "communicate cultural values" was in keeping with the Beaux-Arts practice of applying contemporary design elements to essentially Classical structures.¹¹⁶ His creation of "primitive furniture" for use inside the Runnymede Library, however, signified his attempt to achieve decorative and structural unity in a manner more reminiscent of the European Arts and Crafts tradition.¹¹⁷

In contrast, Edwin Holgate's use of coastal aboriginal art in the embellishment of the Chateau Laurier tea room in Ottawa saw a more thorough integration of form and function. A caustic editorial published in the Montreal Standard in 1911 warned that the owners of the near-

complete Chateau Laurier hotel were "spoiling the Indian villages of the British Columbia coast for the adornment of the federal capital."¹¹⁸ This criticism was directed at the owners' imminent installation of a Haida totem pole before the main entrance of the new CNR Chateau. The pole was never raised; it was not until 1928 that coastal aboriginal art made a decisive entree into the hotel. In October of that year,¹¹⁹ CNR president Sir Henry Thornton approved Edwin Holgate's plan to decorate the tea room of the new hotel addition in what Barbeau called "Skeena River Indian style."¹²⁰

CNR officials were evidently hesitant to accept the "Skeena Room" proposal, perhaps in part because no major hotel in the country had yet embraced such an overtly Canadian decorative scheme.¹²¹ Barbeau, who had initially proposed the idea of a "Canadian room,"¹²² thus waged an extensive campaign in an effort to have Holgate's plan accepted. Harry McCurry and Eric Brown's letters of support to Thornton¹²³ were reinforced by two from Barbeau, in which he exalted the project as "the greatest opportunity ever provided for the growth of Canadian art," and reminded Thornton that it would "give the very best publicity in favour of your north-western lines, the country of Temlaham."¹²⁴ Barbeau brought on side Graham Spry, of the Association of Canadian Clubs, who in turn lobbied Vincent Massey¹²⁵ and the offices of the Minister of Railways and Prime Minister King.¹²⁶ Barbeau even wrote E.W. Beatty, head of the rival Canadian Pacific Railway, slyly informing him of the tea room design and suggesting possible Canadian-theme rooms for the CPR's Royal York hotel in Toronto.¹²⁷ And although Thornton rejected Barbeau's plan to have a Nisga'a totem pole erected in front of the Chateau, he did eventually sanction Holgate's proposal.¹²⁸

Contemporary reviews provide detailed descriptions of the tea room, completed in the spring of 1929.¹²⁹ (Fig. 45) The room itself was a narrow rectangular space, one hundred feet long with a vaulted ceiling and two rows of nine paired columns. Holgate surrounded the central pegged-oak dance floor, aged to look like "sea-washed oaken planks,"¹³⁰ with hand-made tiles of various colours and patterns.¹³¹ He painted the walls with "simple and formalized" mountain

landscapes,¹³² whose azure skies gave way to a ceiling of "night blue, sown with golden stars."¹³³ Each pillar, embellished with carved and painted crest figures, was transformed into a kind of totem pole "rich in pagan symbolism and primitive colorings."¹³⁴ To articles which had no aboriginal design precedent—such as hanging parchment lanterns, table lamps, chairs and tables—Holgate applied indigenized motifs "in the fascinating spirit of the primitive."¹³⁵ (Fig. 46) A splashing entrance fountain, illuminated from below with green flood lights, "fantastically decorated" wooden beams and oblique lighting completed the room's "unworldly" effect.¹³⁶

Holgate's unfettered and unprecedented exploitation of aboriginal design at the Chateau Laurier is surely the most fully-realized contemporary response to the indigenization program encouraged by people like Smith and Barbeau. As Barbeau said of the room, it was "far and away the most striking feature" of the Chateau, "and the only indigenous one."¹³⁷ What distinguishes this project from others, however, was the on-site assistance of aboriginal people. As a single paragraph in an issue of the CNR magazine makes clear, unnamed residents of Gitwangak and the Pacific Coast were "brought 2,500 miles from the far valleys of British Columbia" to oversee the reproduction of totem poles and to aid in the creation of historically appropriate "sombre hues" of paint.¹³⁸ Apart from the Ottawa Evening Journal critic's assertion that the totem poles were "designed by Indian artists who know how this kind of thing should be done,"¹³⁹ there is no other evidence of their participation. The overall finer quality and clarity of design evident in the frieze above the fountain, however, suggests the further participation of aboriginal artists. (Fig. 45) In general, the nature and extent of First Nations peoples' collaboration was effaced by critics' celebration of Holgate's talents.¹⁴⁰ Indigenization was a concept and practice created by and for Euro-Canadians; any suggestion that success in such projects required the help of living aboriginal people undermined its most basic premises.

Critics were unanimous in praising the Skeena Room in strongly patriotic terms. Reminding readers that even the Parliament buildings had been decorated by Americans, the Ottawa Morning

Citizen declared it "the most important piece of decoration ever entrusted to a Canadian artist."¹⁴¹ Painter Bertram Brooker called it "a fine Canadian achievement of which Canadians could be proud."¹⁴² While Barbeau claimed the room constituted "a step forward in Canadian art and culture,"¹⁴³ playwright Merrill Denison predicted that it would become "the most talked of rooms in all Canada, for the reason that it is the most Canadian room in Canada."¹⁴⁴ D.M. Lapham contended that the entire hotel was in fact a "National Manufacturer's Exhibition, wherein the range and ability of Canadian craftsmanship is shown to fine advantage."¹⁴⁵ The only dissenting voice was that of Prime Minister King, who upon seeing the room, recommended Holgate to "eternal damnation."¹⁴⁶ The wider critical and popular success of the Skeena Room,¹⁴⁷ however, proved that by the end of the 1920s, appropriation of aboriginal art, culture and expertise had become intrinsic to Canadians' collective self-image as the possessors of a distinctive cultural identity.

V: The Indigenization of Literature: Marius Barbeau's The Downfall of Temlaham

The July 1928 publication of Barbeau's The Downfall of Temlaham provoked similarly nationalist responses.¹⁴⁸ Morgan-Powell of the Montreal Daily Star, for example, declared the book an entirely "Canadian product—subject-matter, printing, illustrations, engravings, paper and workmanship—of which any Canadian publisher might be proud."¹⁴⁹ Barbeau's choice of topic for The Downfall of Temlaham was certainly Canadian. In the book's first section, he explores the clash of Gitksan and Euro-Canadian cultures in a fictionalized historical account of the "Skeena River Rebellion" of 1888.¹⁵⁰ In the remaining three parts, he retells Gitksan myths which describe the (cyclical and final) destruction of Temlaham, the paradisiacal site of Gitksan origins. The book, designed by Thoreau MacDonald from A.Y. Jackson drawings, is illustrated with works by Kihn, Jackson, Holgate, Savage and Carr. In textual and visual terms, The Downfall of Temlaham, can be viewed as another thread in the multi-media activity of indigenization in 1920s Canada.

Barbeau's use of aboriginal mythology in the service of his own literary career and as a means of indigenizing Canadian fiction was not new. Interest in the literary potential of First Nations myths had surfaced in English-Canadian fiction by the 1850s.¹⁵¹ In 1886, the poet Charles Roberts wrote of his surprise that "our store of Indian legend...should be so long unharvested...The Indian legends are, some of them, wildly poetic, and vigorous in conception; and they are easily attainable."¹⁵² On the Pacific Coast, Pauline Johnson's 1911 publication of Legends of Vancouver, which brought Salish narratives to a wide audience, demonstrated the popular appeal of First Nations mythology.¹⁵³ Only in 1925, Douglas Leechman asserted, were people "beginning to understand that we have in the Indian a sadly neglected source of material of the very first quality."¹⁵⁴ Lorne Pierce later identified the life of the "First Canadian" as one of the "unexplored fields of Canadian literature."¹⁵⁵

Such writers exercised considerable artistic license in their exploitation of original sources. Barbeau explains in the introduction, for example, that although the rebellion history is "true to life," the "narrative is couched in the author's own style and composition."¹⁵⁶ As E.K. Maranda argued in a review of Temlaham, Barbeau consistently employs English archaisms in vocabulary, word form and syntax¹⁵⁷ which betray an often heavy-handed style:

Even before Kweenu dared openly to divulge his partiality for Neetuh, he found himself forestalled in the initial step and sorely nonplussed. His hesitancy was to blame, or a creeping fear of defeat and humiliation in a hazardous adventure; for he had descried an ominous bustle in the other camp, after the suspension of the ritual on the previous night.¹⁵⁸

In A Guide to B.C. Indian Myth and Legend, Ralph Maud cites the following excerpt as typical of the romantic, "flowery prose" which, he argues, "dooms" Barbeau's book from the start:¹⁵⁹

Graceful and agile was her body and penetrating her black eye; her unspoilt mind was straight as a hemlock tree, a mind which had not once harboured hesitation.¹⁶⁰

The Temlaham myths, provided by Barbeau as a "corollary" to the historical narrative, were likewise "freely interpreted and paraphrased" from "records in our keeping."¹⁶¹ The myths were thus

viewed as "raw materials" which had to be given "form and beauty" in order to be appreciated by Euro-Canadian audiences.¹⁶² And although Barbeau specifically identifies in an appendix the numerous historical and mythological sources for The Downfall of Temlaham, Maud contends that his apparently indiscriminate compilation of disparate myths into a single story is a "suspect" process "not vindicated by the result."¹⁶³

The benefit of temporal distance and a growing body of critical literature on the portrayal of aboriginal people in Canadian fiction make these (and many other potential) judgements all too easy. As a recent writer says of Canadian fiction, "it seems simplistic to dismiss the almost obsessive literary concern with Native people as mere exploitation."¹⁶⁴ While The Downfall of Temlaham would now be viewed as an appropriation of aboriginal voice, it was in 1928 seen as a story "told as the Indian himself saw it by a sympathetic interpreter of Indian life."¹⁶⁵ Critics would today be sceptical of Barbeau's apparent ability to create "not the usually distorted image of the Indian, but the real man."¹⁶⁶ What the reviewer for the Canadian Bookman called the "free play" of imagination became a focal point for Maud's recent critique.¹⁶⁷ Barbeau's "flowery prose" was then lauded as his "rhythmical style, rich in metaphors and redolent of Indian atmosphere."¹⁶⁸ Our automatic suspicion of the power inherent in Barbeau's scientific position was viewed positively in the 1920s; one reviewer was sure The Downfall of Temlaham would command "respectful attention" because "on the subject of Indian folklore Mr. Barbeau is one who speaks with authority."¹⁶⁹ For author Bruce McKelvie, Temlaham was actually beneficial to First Nations people, as Barbeau was recording B.C. history and thus "rendering a service to both red man and white."¹⁷⁰ While such binary oppositions of past and present can obliterate shades of grey opinion both then and now, they allow us to understand aspects of a historic milieu in which Euro-Canadian writers' ultimately self-serving usage of aboriginal mythology was encouraged and even lauded.

Barbeau's use of Canadian art works to illustrate The Downfall of Temlaham reinforced the book's indigenizing character. Barbeau originally planned for The Downfall of Temlaham to be

illustrated with sixteen of Kihn's "Skeena River portraits and paintings."¹⁷¹ A.Y. Jackson advised Barbeau to use Holgate woodcuts;¹⁷² Barbeau instead opted to feature Kihn and a range of Canadian artists so that the publication "would gain considerably in artistic and public interest in Canada and abroad" and give a "fuller and richer idea of the country."¹⁷³ With the exception of Savage's view of the Temlaham site and Kihn's portrait of Sunbeams, one of the story's central characters, all the visual images and text share is a place of origins, Gitksan territory. In The Downfall of Temlaham, however, *both* forms successfully support Barbeau's introductory claim that "a rich vein for poetic inspiration" lay within "native themes and surroundings."¹⁷⁴ As Norah Thomson implied in a 1928 review article of recent Canadian books, The Downfall of Temlaham was as interpretive of the "Canadian spirit" as Maria Chapdelaine and Chez Nous.¹⁷⁵ The three works collectively gave evidence of the two main streams—French Canadian and aboriginal—which in the 1920s were seen as contributing the original inspiration to the Canadian "spirit."

VI: The Indigenization of Music: Juliette Gaultier and Ernest MacMillan

This conflation of Quebecois and First Nations cultural heritages into the "indigenous background" of 1920s Canadian culture was most prevalent in the realm of music. French Canadian and aboriginal musical traditions were identified as key "folk" sources for the development of a uniquely Canadian music. This burgeoning interest in Canadian musical heritage occurred amidst a revival of folk music in the United States and Europe. A 1922 Ottawa Citizen article confirmed that leading composers on both continents were deriving "inspiration from the songs and ballads common among their own country-folk;" the music of such composers, including Bartok, Stravinsky and Dvorak, was popular and the folk music of "Spain, Egypt and the Orient" enjoyed a "wide vogue in every country."¹⁷⁶

In Canada, the series of CPR-sponsored music and folk arts festivals which took place in major centres from Quebec to Victoria in the years 1927-1931, signalled an early attempt to

promote the composition of distinctive Canadian music based on "the folk material of the country as a source for such composition."¹⁷⁷ At these festivals, the first of which was organized by Barbeau and held at the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec city, "folk material" was largely found in the music of Euro-Canadian immigrants, from the Scottish and French to the Polish, Swedish and Hungarians.¹⁷⁸ Throughout the 1920s, however, there existed a parallel, although lesser, interest in the potential uses of aboriginal music. At the centre of such activities were Barbeau, singer Juliette Gaultier and composer/musician Ernest MacMillan.

The collection and preservation of aboriginal and French Canadian musical traditions was Barbeau's central passion. Over the course of his career, he recorded songs of the Huron, Iroquois, Wyandot, Stoney, Kootenay, Nisga'a and Gitksan First Nations. In 1916, he made the first of many trips Quebec to collect French Canadian songs, the publication, popularization and performance of which occupied his entire career. By 1929, in an article entitled "French and Indian Motifs in Our Music," Barbeau could boast of over 6500 Quebecois and nearly 3000 aboriginal songs preserved on wax cylinders in the National Museum collection.¹⁷⁹ He publicly represented these songs as a "national asset having a value comparative...to the country's mines and wealth,"¹⁸⁰ and saw their acquisition as the "first essential" step in the development of a nation-wide movement in music.¹⁸¹ Introducing these songs to Canadians in public performances was another critical feature of his program. In the latter 1920s, mezzo-soprano Juliette Gaultier became renowned for her public renditions of Pacific Coast aboriginal music.

Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye, who included French Canadian, aboriginal and Inuit songs in her repertoire, was perfectly positioned for a career in Canadian folk music. Her professional stage name, based on an assertion of direct descentance from the explorer Pierre Gaultier de la Verendrye, was consistently cited as proof of her thoroughly Canadian heritage.¹⁸² As a bilingual Francophone born in Ottawa, she sang in both languages and had immediate access to the National Museum collection. She studied under the patronage of Sir Wilfred and Lady

Laurier, and Lord and Lady Strathcona, while Lord Willingdon, Mackenzie King and Vincent Massey were among those who patronized her performances.¹⁸³ She performed songs collected by leading Canadian scientists (including Barbeau, Sapir, James Teit and Diamond Jenness) arranged for her by musicians such as the famed Ernest MacMillan; French translations for some songs were provided by John Murray Gibbon. Gaultier even went so far as to declare that her "Indian blood...made her sacrifice a successful career in grand opera for the mission of making Canada's native songs famous."¹⁸⁴ Gaultier's claim to aboriginal heritage is rather dubious, and despite her apparent professional martyrdom, her success was in fact primarily based on her performance of Canadian "folk" music (Fig. 47).

Based on Gaultier's highly successful debut of "Eskimo and Indian songs" never before "sung in the civilized world" in New York in 1927,¹⁸⁵ she was invited to perform at the opening of the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*, in Toronto. The invitation came through Barbeau, who was involved in every aspect of her career.¹⁸⁶ At the Art Gallery of Toronto, Gaultier sang "Indian songs of British Columbia and Eskimo songs" to a capacity crowd in a room "buttressed with great Indian wooden gods and decorated with Indian life pictures."¹⁸⁷ Attired in costumes lent by the National Museum, with dramatic "totem pole and aurora borealis" stage settings by Langdon Kihn behind her,¹⁸⁸ Gaultier sang the series of songs unaccompanied. National Museum films illustrating the "geographic features of the North West Coast, Indian life, songs and dances" rounded out the evening's entertainment.¹⁸⁹ It was a popular multi-media event, repeated in various versions over the next few years, and Juliette Gaultier was its self-styled star.

The Toronto Daily Star critic's description of Gaultier's performance as "a marvelously [sic] uncivilized but all-Canadian program done with cultivated vocal art but in the manner and style of the Eskimos" effectively summarizes the reasons for Gaultier's popularity in 1920s Canada.¹⁹⁰ The "uncivilized" aspects of the music—the "strange, harsh tones of the natives"—were transformed by her "cultivated vocalism."¹⁹¹ The aboriginal songs she performed were identified as "really

indigenous Canadian music" because they belonged "entirely to our country."¹⁹² Her renditions of the songs were regarded as authentic because of her combined approach as scholar and musician, and because of her studies with aboriginal people.¹⁹³ As a reviewer for the Ottawa Citizen later declared, when Gaultier performed the Indian and Eskimo songs, they were "elevated to heights never dreamt of by their original singers."¹⁹⁴

Barbeau, however, did not agree. As he privately confided to Ernest MacMillan, "to my mind...she will never do very much with that material, since she insists [sic] presenting them in a semi-primitive form."¹⁹⁵ As Barbeau later argued, "folk songs, to mean something really vital in the art of a nation, must lead to larger forms" like concertos, ballets, symphonies and operas.¹⁹⁶ (Fig. 48) To facilitate the creation of "larger forms," Barbeau turned to Canada's leading musician and composer, Ernest MacMillan.

Ernest MacMillan's review of Barbeau's Folk Songs of French Canada (1925) signalled his personal appreciation of Quebecois music and exemplified an early interest in folk music by a "serious" musician.¹⁹⁷ Although MacMillan was convinced that in Quebec music, "we shall find a treasure which we may enjoy and use," he concluded of aboriginal people that their "thoughts and ways are too far removed from ours to expect [him] to influence us profoundly."¹⁹⁸ As a result of this review, Barbeau met MacMillan, and in 1927 invited him to participate in the collection of Nisga'a songs at Arrandale, on the Nass River.¹⁹⁹ Their three-week collaboration in the recording, transcription and study of Nisga'a songs is recounted in a recent biography of MacMillan.²⁰⁰ It was also captured on film by Dr. J.S. Watson of New York, in a CPR-sponsored short movie, Saving the Sagas, released in the autumn in 1927.²⁰¹

Although MacMillan did arrange several coastal aboriginal songs for performance by Juliette Gaultier and Toronto soprano Jeanne Dusseau,²⁰² his only translation of the Nisga'a music into "larger forms" came with Three Songs of the West Coast (1929), in which he published three songs arranged for voice and piano. The songs demonstrated MacMillan's new-found conviction

that West Coast aboriginal music was "quite capable of interesting and pleasing the average music lover," and that any attempts to bring such music before the Canadian public were not "entirely abortive."²⁰³ It is French Canadian music, however, that provided MacMillan with source material for his most popular compositions.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. C. Brown, (ed.), The Illustrated History of Canada, (Toronto 1987), 424.
2. Lismer, "Canadian Art," The Canadian Theosophist, V, 12 (15 February 1925), 179.
3. Pierce, "Canadian Literature and the National Ideal," Canadian Bookman, VII, 9 (September 1925), 143.
4. Jackson, "The Vital Necessity of the Fine Arts," Canadian Courier, XXIV, 24 (30 August 1919), 7.
5. Lismer, "Art and the Average Canadian," Canadian Courier, XXIV, 9 (1 February 1919), 13.
6. National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1923-24, (Ottawa 1924), 7.
7. Porter, "Relationship of Art to Canadian Industry," Industrial Canada, XXIX, 6 (October 1928), 48.
8. V. Massey, "Art and Nationality in Canada," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, XXIV (Toronto 1930), lxii.
9. Robson, Canadian Landscape Painters, (Toronto 1932), 210.
10. Jackson, "The Vital Necessity of the Fine Arts," 7.
11. Lismer, "Art and the Average Canadian," 13.
12. Porter, "Relationship of Art to Canadian Industry," 47.
13. National Gallery of Canada, Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the Fiscal Year 1921-22, 7.
14. Foreword to Catalogue of the Exhibition of Architecture and the Allied Arts, (Toronto 1927), 3. Members of the Diet Kitchen school of architects were: John Lyle, W.L. Somerville, Martin Baldwin, A.S. Mathers, Eric W. Haldenby, Bruce Wright, D. Mackenzie Waters, and C.B. Cleveland.
15. H.M. Ridley, "Canada's Architectural Movement," Saturday Night XLII, 17 (12 March 1927): 21. The overwhelming success of the show (40 000 people attended) led the organizers to make the exhibition a biennial event. "Notes and Comments," Construction XXI, 11 (November 1928): 360.
16. A. Lismer, "Art a Common Necessity," Canadian Bookman, VII, 10 (October 1925), 159.
17. Canadian Museum of Civilization (hereafter CMC), Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies (hereafter CCFCS), Northwest Coast Files (hereafter NFC), Barbeau, "The Plastic and Decorative Arts of the North West Coast," 8, in "Lectures on the Ethnology of B.C.," Box B.33. Barbeau consistently lauded the union of art and life in Quebec. See National Gallery of Canada Archives (hereafter NGCA), File 4.3, Barbeau, "Art and Life," in "Barbeau, Marius, Press Articles, etc., 1933, 1943."
18. I will only be discussing the use of aboriginal art in modern design. The identification of French Canadian, First Nations and other Canadian "folk arts" as sources for cultural growth is expressed by Barbeau in "Backgrounds in North American Folk Arts," Queen's Quarterly, XLVIII, 3 (Autumn 1941), 284-94 and "Backgrounds in Canadian Art," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third

Series, XXXV (May 1941), 29-39.

19. This summary of Smith's argument is based on his article, "Distinctive Canadian Designs," Industrial Canada, XVIII, 5 (September 1917), 732.

20. Ibid., 732.

21. This summary of Smith's argument is based on his article, "The Use of Prehistoric Canadian Art for Commercial Design," Science, XLVI, 1177 (20 July 1917), 60-61.

22. Smith, An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art, (Ottawa 1923).

23. Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Summary Report for 1917, Part A, (Ottawa 1919).

24. H. Smith, "Distinctive Canadian Designs," 729-33; H. Smith, "Distinctive Canadian Designs," Saturday Night, XXXI, 6 (24 November 1917), 21.

25. H. Smith, "Prehistoric Canadian Art as a Source of Distinctive Design," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, XII (May 1918), 151-53.

26. "Value of Indian Art in Modern Commerce," Daily Colonist, Victoria, 28 September, 1923, 12.

27. H.I. Smith, "Prehistoric Canadian Art," Science, 60.

28. Madge Macbeth noted the works' "economic as well as aesthetic value" in 1921 and called each a "pleasing *objet d'art*" in 1932. Macbeth, "Ottawa Artists' Exhibit," Saturday Night, XXXVI, 29 (14 May 1921), 36; "Ottawa Art Association Holds an Interesting Exhibition," Saturday Night, XXXVIII, 28 (19 May 1923), 25.

29. H. Smith, "Prehistoric Canadian Art as a Source of Distinctive Design," 152. Young resigned from the National Museum in 1920 and moved to Banff, where she started producing indigenized pottery for the tourist market. "From the Art Potteries at Banff, B.C." [sic] Saturday Night, XXXVIII, 13 (3 February 1923), 32.

30. These drawings appear in Smith's Industrial Canada and Saturday Night articles.

31. Smith, Album, 2.

32. Ibid., 2.

33. Ibid., 4.

34. Smith, "Prehistoric Canadian Art as a Source of Distinctive Design," 153.

35. Smith, Album, 5.

36. Depart of Mines, Geological Survey, Summary Report for 1912, (Ottawa 1914), 497.

37. Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Summary Report for 1915, (Ottawa 1916), 9.

38. D. Zimmerly, Museocinematography: Ethnographic Film Programs of the National Museum of Man, 1913-1973, (Ottawa 1974), 5.

39. Lismer, "Art and the Average Canadian," 13.
40. Leechman, "The 'Canadian' Story," Canadian Bookman, VII, 7 (July 1925), 113. Leechman extends this argument in "The National Museum of Canada," Canadian Geographical Journal, XXXII, 1 (January 1946), 2-13.
41. Smith, "Prehistoric Canadian Art as a Source of Distinctive Design," 153.
42. Leechman, "Canadian Indian Designs in Batik," Canadian Homes and Gardens, III, 12 (December 1926), 28, 80-81.
43. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, (Ottawa 1932), 209.
44. "West Coast Indian Art," Canadian Forum, VIII, 89 (February 1928), 525.
45. Pierce, Unexplored Fields of Canadian Literature, (Toronto 1932), 15.
46. CMC, Harlan I. Smith correspondence, T.M. Hill to Smith, 22 November, 1933.
47. One legacy of Smith's efforts is the 1956 publication by the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, National Asset, Native Design, in which Northwest Coast aboriginal art is classified as "indigenous design" and "Canadian folk art," and is seen as a national asset akin to the pulp and paper industry.
48. Smith, "The Use of Prehistoric Canadian Art for Commercial Design," 61.
49. C.H. Scott, "Art and Commerce," Paint Box, III (June 1928), 11.
50. L. Farrell-Ward, "Tradition/Transition: The Keys to Change," Vancouver: Art and Artists, 1931-1983, (Vancouver 1983), 15.
51. Hill, "Potentialities of B.C. Coast Indian Art," Paint Box, III (June 1928), 37.
52. "West Coast Indian Art," Canadian Forum XI, 130 (July 1931), 366.
53. M. Bice, "Time, Place, and People," in The Informing Spirit, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1994), 66.
54. J. Zemans, Jock Macdonald: The Inner Landscape: A Retrospective Exhibition, (Toronto 1981), 29.
55. Scott, "Art in British Columbia," Canadian Forum, XII, 142 (July 1932), 383.
56. M. Bice, "Time, Place, and People," 64.
57. Two of Melvin's illustrations for The Indian Speaks were included in the Canadian Society of Graphic Artists exhibition at the Art Gallery of Toronto in April, 1945. Melvin also illustrated Barbeau's Le Rêve de Kamalmouk, (Montreal 1949).
58. "Editorial," Paint Box, II (June 1927), 6. Macdonald also chose aboriginal subjects for several of his major works, including Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, B.C. (1935), Indian Burial, Nootka (1937), Drying Herring Roe (1938) and his 1939 mural for the Hotel Vancouver.
59. Zemans, Jock Macdonald, 29.

60. Sherman, "Composition," Paint Box, II (June 1927), 10.
61. Dickson, "The Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Art," Canadian Forum, XII, 135 (December 1931), 103.
62. Farrell-Ward, "Tradition/Transition," 15.
63. M. Bice, "Time, Place, and People," 66.
64. Letter of Mr. Leslie Planta to the author, 10 November, 1994.
65. Catalogue No. 107, Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern, (Ottawa 1927), 8. The partition is catalogued as VIII-C-1130 a,b,c,d at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.
66. Letter of Leslie Planta to the author, 10 November, 1994.
67. Planta later travelled with the Macdonalds and Täuber to Nootka, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, where he sketched local scenery and the art of the village's aboriginal residents.
68. "Work of Art School Shown," Victoria Daily Times, 20 June, 1928.
69. Tippet, Emily Carr: A Biography, (Oxford 1979), 118.
70. The Ontario College of Art, Prospectus for Session 1934-1935, (Toronto 1934), 7.
71. "Pageant by Artists is Colorful Affair," Toronto Daily Star, 16 April, 1925, 3.
72. Ibid., 3.
73. The ball is described by D.A. Tisdall in, "The President's Retiring Address," Paint Box, V (December 1930), 13.
74. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re Artists," 7.1-L, Lismer, Arthur, Lismer to Barbeau, 3 January, 1929.
75. The proceeds from the annual masquerade balls at Hart House were used to purchase contemporary paintings for the Hart House collection. See Hunter, "Decking the Halls," Canadian Art, IV, 3 (Fall/September 1987), 82.
76. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Thompson corr., Barbeau to Thompson, 4 February, 1929.
77. The catalogues for the annual exhibitions of the IACS make this point clear.
78. Tippet, Emily Carr: A Biography, 134.
79. N. de Bertrand Lugrin, "Woman Potters and Indian Themes," MacLean's Magazine, (15 March 1927), 78.
80. "Indian Art Exhibition is Success," Vancouver Sun, 10 August, 1928, 5.
81. A. Ravenhill, Alice Ravenhill--The Memoirs of an Educational Pioneer, (Toronto 1951), 209.
82. Ibid., 210.

83. Her publications include The Native Tribes of British Columbia, (Victoria 1938) and Folklore of the Far West, (Victoria 1953).

84. A. Ravenhill, A Corner Stone of Canadian Culture, (Victoria 1944), 1.

85. Ravenhill's book presents in condensed form twenty charts of historic coastal aboriginal designs she produced on a 1940 commission from Indian Affairs in Ottawa. Her book is different from Smith's in that it was intended for use by aboriginal students in "Indian schools." See Ravenhill, Alice Ravenhill, 218-19.

86. Catalogue No. 829, Catalogue of the Exhibition of Architecture and Allied Arts, (Toronto 1929), 28.

87. Catalogue numbers 1009, 1025, 1026, 1027, in Ibid., 43.

88. Ibid., Catalogue No. 53.

89. Ellen MacLeod made this point in a paper entitled, "The Women of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild: Pioneers Promoting Indian Arts in Canada in the Early 20th Century," delivered at the First Annual Underhill Graduate Student Colloquium in History, Carleton University, 3 March, 1995. Guild leader M.A. Peck also articulated this belief in "Handicrafts from Coast to Coast," Canadian Geographical Journal, IX, 4 (October 1934), 201-16.

90. Ibid., 2.

91. A lamp "designed from the North-west coast Indians' story of the flood" with a shade in the shape of an aboriginal "woven hat with totemic design" was exhibited in 1926. This lamp is reproduced in Mrs. H. Bottomley, "Canadian Handicrafts," Canadian Homes and Gardens, IV, 1 (January 1927), 78.

92. For another view of the Guild's role in promoting aboriginal art see G. McMaster, "Tenuous Lines of Descent: Indian Arts and Crafts of the Reservation Period," Canadian Journal of Native Studies, XI, 2 (1989), 211-15.

93. H. Ridley, "Canada's Architectural Movement," 21.

94. M. Baldwin, "The Advance of Canadian Architecture." Canadian Homes and Gardens, IV, 2 (February 1927), 96.

95. G. Hunt, John M. Lyle: Towards a Canadian Architecture, (Kingston, Ontario 1982), 47-58.

96. Ibid., 47.

97. Lyle, 22 February 1929 lecture delivered to the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, quoted in Hunt, John Lyle, 51.

98. Lyle, "Canadian Ornament Goes Native," American Architect, CXXXX, 2602 (December 1931), 36.

99. Ibid., 37.

100. Arthur, "Architecture in Canada," in B. Brooker (ed.), Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, 1928-1929, (Toronto 1929), 112.

101. Ibid., 37.

102. Ibid., 37.

103. C.R. Sanderson, "Two Recent Branch Libraries in Toronto," Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, VII, 12 (December 1930), 432.

104. Hunt, John Lyle, 118.

105. Sanderson, "Two Recent Branch Libraries," 432, 435.

106. Ibid., 432.

107. Ibid., 432.

108. Ibid., 432.

109. H. Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture, Vol. 2, (Oxford 1994), 756.

110. T. Boddy, "Regionalism, Nationalism and Modernism: The Ideology of Decoration in the Work of John M. Lyle," Trace, I, 1 (1986), 15.

111. Hunt, John Lyle, 51-55.

112. J. Lyle, "The Bank of Nova Scotia Building, Halifax," Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, IX:1 (January 1932): 13.

113. T. Boddy, "Regionalism, Nationalism and Modernism," 12.

114. The William H. Wright building no longer stands.

115. A.S. Mathers, "The William H. Wright Building," Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada XV, 8 (August 1938): 190.

116. Kalman, A History of Canadian Architecture, 756.

117. Hunt, John Lyle, 116.

118. "Chateau Laurier's Totem Pole," Montreal Standard, 20 May, 1911, 24.

119. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Holgate corr., Holgate to Barbeau, 24 October, 1928.

120. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Beatty corr., Barbeau to Beatty, 9 May, 1928.

121. As Bertram Brooker said, "A Canadian room! Who had ever heard of such a thing? What sort of a Canadian room? What would it look like?" Brooker, "The Seven Arts," Ottawa Citizen, 6 April, 1929.

122. Ibid.

123. NGCA, "Correspondence with/re artists," 7.1-H, Holgate, E., H.W. Thornton to H.O. McCurry, 3 July, 1928.

124. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Thornton corr., Barbeau to Thornton, 9 May and 30 June, 1928.

125. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Spry corr., Spry to Barbeau, 31 July, 1928.
126. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Holgate corr., Barbeau to Holgate, 28 July, 1928.
127. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Beatty corr., Barbeau to Beatty, 9 May, 1928.
128. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Thornton corr., Barbeau to Thornton, 9 May, 1928; Thornton to Barbeau, 11 May, 1928.
129. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Thompson corr., Barbeau to Thompson, 4 April, 1929.
130. D.M. Lapham, "Study in Quiet Perfection," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XV, 7 (July 1929), 28.
131. "Chateau Laurier De Luxe Addition Will Offer Finest Accommodation, And Cater to Convention Parties," Ottawa Evening Journal, 19 March, 1929, 1
132. "Unique Decoration," Ottawa Morning Citizen, 28 May, 1929.
133. M. Denison, "The Complete Hotel," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XV, 7 (July 1929), 9. A contemporary parallel for Holgate's paintings are W.S. Taylor's murals in the North Pacific Hall of the American Museum of Natural History. See A. Jonaitis, From the Land of the Totem Poles, (New York 1988).
134. Denison, "The Complete Hotel," 9.
135. Lapham, "Quiet Perfection," 29.
136. Denison, "The Complete Hotel," 9.
137. Barbeau, "The Canadian Northwest: Theme for Modern Painters," American Magazine of Art, XXIV, 5 (May 1932), 338.
138. "Bring Natives to Make Totems," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XV, 8 (August 1929), 45.
139. "Chateau Laurier De Luxe Addition," 1.
140. See "Unique Decoration;" "Study in Quiet Perfection," 29; "The Complete Hotel," 9; B. Brooker, "The Seven Arts," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 8 March, 1930; "Montreal Artist Adapts Totem Pole as Motive," Canadian Passing Show, (August 1929), 25 and Barbeau, "Ancient Culture, Vignettes Past," Canadian National Railways Magazine, XV, 7 (July 1929), 31, 33.
141. "Unique Decoration," Ottawa Morning Citizen, 28 May, 1929.
142. Brooker, "The Seven Arts," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 8 March, 1930.
143. Barbeau, "Ancient Culture Vignettes Past," 33.
144. Denison, "The Complete Hotel," 9.
145. Lapham, "Quiet Perfection," 26.

146. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Holgate corr., Barbeau to Holgate, 16 May, 1929. King found modernist painting "frightful" and was "shocked" at the "barbaric" totem poles at the Canadian Pavilion at the 1937 Paris Exposition. Tippet, Making Culture, (Toronto 1990), 74.
147. J.E. Rankin wrote in Meet Me at the Chateau, (Toronto 1990), 53 that the Skeena room "quickly became a favourite meeting place for Ottawa's young people" who gathered there for Saturday afternoon tea dances and fashion shows.
148. An adaptation in French of part of The Downfall of Temlaham was published as Le Rêve de Kamalmouk, (Montreal 1949), with illustrations by Grace Melvin.
149. Morgan-Powell, "A Canadian Product," Montreal Daily Star, 14 July, 1928.
150. The Skeena River Rebellion is actually known to B.C. historians as the 1872 incident (described in chapter two) centred on the burning of Kitsegucla. Why Barbeau adopted this name for what he elsewhere calls the "Gitwinkool Jim incident" in 1888 is not clear.
151. L. Monkman, A Native Heritage, (Toronto 1981), 128.
152. Roberts, as quoted in Monkman, A Native Heritage, 130.
153. Ibid., 136. The beautiful indigenized end-papers for the 1922 edition were produced by J.E.H. MacDonald.
154. D. Leechman, "The Canadian Story," 113. Leechman later published a collection of "sketches of Indians I have known," as Indian Summer, (Toronto 1949), dedicated to Barbeau and illustrated by Langdon Kihn.
155. Pierce, Unexplored Fields of Canadian Literature, (Toronto 1932), 14-16.
156. M. Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, (1928; rpt. Edmonton 1973), vii.
157. E.K. Maranda. "B.C. Indian Myth and Education: A Review Article," B.C. Studies, 25 (Spring 1975): 129.
158. M. Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, 27.
159. Maud, A Guide to B.C. Indian Myth and Legend, (Vancouver 1982), 116-17.
160. Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, 7.
161. Ibid., vii.
162. Maranda, "B.C. Indian Myth and Education," 128.
163. Maud, Indian Myth and Legend, 117.
164. M. Fee, "Romantic Nationalism and the Image of Native People in Contemporary English-Canadian Literature," in Thomas King et al eds., The Native in Literature, (Oakville, Ontario 1987), 15.
165. V. Lauriston, "Book Review," Chatham News, 15 October, 1928.
166. L.J. Burpee, "Recently Published Books," Queen's Quarterly, (Autumn 1928), 659.

167. J.W. Garvin, Rev. of The Downfall of Temlaham, by M. Barbeau, Canadian Bookman X, 8 (August 1928), 244.
168. "A Coast Indian Epic," Manitoba Free Press, 1 October, 1928.
169. "Literature and Life: a Booklovers' Corner," Ottawa Journal, n.d.
170. B. McKelvie, "When the White Man Broke His Word," Sunday Province, Vancouver, 23 September, 1928, 4.
171. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Kihn corr., Barbeau to Kihn, 4 November, 1927.
172. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Jackson corr., Jackson to Barbeau, 13 June, 1927.
173. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Thompson corr., Barbeau to Thompson, 30 December, 1927.
174. M. Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, vii.
175. N. Thomson, "Illustrated Books that Interpret the Canadian Spirit," Publisher's Weekly, CXIII, 25 (23 June 1928): 2516-2520.
176. "Folk Music Revival," Ottawa Citizen, 9 March, 1922.
177. "CPR Festivals," in H. Kallmann et al (eds.), Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, (Toronto 1981), 240.
178. "Musical Festivals in Canada," Montreal Gazette, 4 February, 1929.
179. Barbeau, "French and Indian Motifs in our Music," in B. Brooker (ed.) Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, 1928-1929, 125.
180. "Ancient Folksongs of French Canada Beautifully Sung," Globe, Toronto, 8 March, 1929.
181. Barbeau, "French and Indian Motifs," 126.
182. See, for example, "Novel Concert Won New York Audience," Montreal Gazette, 11 April, 1927.
183. E. McDonald, "Juliette Gaultier, Interpreter of Canadian Folk Songs," Ottawa Citizen, 10 March, 1928, 28.
184. "Miss Juliette Gaultier," Toronto Daily Star, 25 January, 1928, 1.
185. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Gaultier corr., Program for Gaultier New York performance, "Folk Songs of Canada, French Canadian, Eskimo, Indian, Sung by Juliette Gauthier."
186. Barbeau provided her with costumes, arrangements of aboriginal songs, and organized her public performances. The regular correspondence between Gaultier and Barbeau in the late 1920s gives evidence of their close professional relationship.
187. "Art Gallery Stages Indian, Eskimo Songs," Toronto Daily Star, 26 January, 1928, 9.

188. The Eskimo backdrop depicted Northern lights over a dark ice field and igloo, while the Indian scene featured a lake and mountain seen through a group of totem poles. L. Mason, "The Log of the Music Special," Globe, Toronto, 28 May, 1927. Eric Brown wanted to install Kihn's settings at the entrance to the National Gallery during the West Coast show. Barbeau later tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to persuade National Museum directors to have the settings placed in the museum. See CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Gibbon corr., correspondence, Barbeau to Gibbon, 1 March, 1928.

189. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Gaultier corr., Concert program entitled "Indian Songs of British Columbia and Eskimo Songs," 25 January, 1928, Art Gallery of Toronto. The films were likely those made by Dr. J.S. Watson in 1927 while on the coast with Barbeau and MacMillan. See CMC/CCFCS/MBC/Watson corr., D. Jenness to Watson, 16 September, 1927.

190. "Art Gallery Stages Indian, Eskimo Songs," 9.

191. "Music in our Town," Mail and Empire, Toronto, 28 January, 1928, 20.

192. Ibid., 20.

193. "Music in Our Town." This article states that Gaultier studied with the Inuit; she also (probably in 1927) travelled to the Northwest Coast to learn aboriginal music there.

194. "Canada's Folk Songs," Ottawa Citizen, 8 February, 1928.

195. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/MacMillan corr., Barbeau to MacMillan, 20 January, 1928.

196. Barbeau, "French and Indian Motifs in our Music," 132.

197. E. Schabas, Sir Ernest MacMillan: The Importance of Being Canadian, (Toronto 1994), 84.

198. E. MacMillan, "Folk Songs of French Canada," Canadian Forum, VI, 63 (December 1925), 79.

199. MacMillan was offered free transportation to Vancouver by J.M. Gibbon of the CPR. CMC/CCFCS/MBC/MacMillan corr., Barbeau to MacMillan, 18 June, 1927.

200. Schabas, Ernest MacMillan, 86-89.

201. Ibid., 89. A copy of this film is in the National Archives of Canada.

202. Dusseau performed aboriginal and French Canadian songs on a 1928 country-wide tour organized by Barbeau and Graham Spry. See Barbeau, "French and Indian Motifs in our Music," 128.

203. MacMillan, "Introductory Note," in Barbeau and MacMillan, Three Songs of the West Coast, (Oakville, Ontario 1929).

Conclusion

In 1951, Barbeau wrote a brief tract on the state of totem pole preservation in British Columbia.¹ In the second section of the report, he broadened his focus to consider "what has been accomplished so far, in the conservation of...the art of the North Pacific Coast." Barbeau identified a recent "widespread growth of interest" in the art, and proceeded to list the numerous "feathers in the wind" which had contributed to this phenomenon. Each "feather" is described briefly in terms of its importance to the "growth of interest" in coastal aboriginal art. The report thus provides an informal retrospective view on Barbeau's work with the art, and touches on the main themes developed in this thesis.

The first few "feathers" summarize Barbeau's primary indigenizing activities of the 1920s. First on the list is the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*, in the context of which Barbeau recalls its mingling of aboriginal art with the paintings of "Canadian and American artists previously invited to visit and paint the backgrounds." He also emphasizes the show's positive impact on the career of Emily Carr. Barbeau then highlights the 1929 publication of Totem Poles of the Gitksan, and the concurrent preservation of totem poles at Kitwanga and Kitsalas Canyon.

Next mentioned is The Downfall of Temlaham (1928), part of which was adapted for publication in French as Le Rêve de Kamalmouk (1949). Barbeau defines Temlaham as a "Paradise lost of the natives of the upper Skeena," and mentions the thirteen colour illustrations accompanying the book. In conjunction with Temlaham, Barbeau describes the Southam Brothers' 1927 purchase of Kihn's Gitksan portraits and "Indian village landscapes," and the subsequent distribution of these works to Canadian museums, "where they are now treasured."

Barbeau then shifts his attention to the United States, and mentions the 1941 Museum of Modern Art exhibition, *Indian Art of the United States*, which juxtaposed aboriginal and modern art in ways similar to the 1927 Ottawa show.² He also notes the Surrealist-organized exhibition of

coastal aboriginal art at New York's Betty Parsons Gallery in 1946, and Wolfgang Paalen's 1943 essay, "Totem Art," in which Paalen claimed that Northwest Coast aboriginal art was "the most remarkable which the Americas have as yet produced."³ The list continues at some length, but these events cover the period and the themes examined in this thesis.

Barbeau's list—and by extension his "program"—is predicated on his identification of Northwest Coast aboriginal art as the most superior and advanced art form in North America. Although Wilson Duff in 1964⁴ cast a cloud of doubt (still-lingering) over Barbeau's anthropological scholarship,⁵ no one today would dispute Barbeau's positive view of aboriginal art. Barbeau's acceptance of the vanishing race theory had led to his representation of Gitksan art as dead and beyond revival. This belief is implicit in the 1951 report, for nowhere are living aboriginal *peoples* mentioned in relation to the "widespread interest" in their art. The report thus captures Barbeau's programmatic focus on preserving the glorious arts of a by-gone culture. Once "saved," the arts could be promoted for the benefit of present and future generations of Euro-Canadians. The erasure of aboriginal people as the creators and owners of the art is thus completed.

As we have seen, Barbeau believed that aboriginal art could be visually "preserved" in the drawings, sketches and paintings of Euro-Canadian (and in the case of Langdon Kihn, American) artists. These works served numerous functions. They pictured the "background" of coastal aboriginal art in major exhibitions like the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*. They illustrated legends of the Gitksan "paradise lost," legends "freely interpreted and paraphrased" for a Euro-Canadian readership. They remained for posterity in major Canadian museum collections.

In a larger sense, too, these pictures advertised the Skeena River region across Canada and in the United States, thus promoting awareness of Canada's cultural patrimony and "scenic inheritance" and bolstering nationalist sentiment. As J.E.H. MacDonald said in 1924, "If I could, I would send every Canadian east of Sault Ste. Marie to the West as a post-graduate course in patriotism...."⁶

As we have seen, too, the appropriation of Gitksan art and culture that underlay the burgeoning sense of Canadian nationalism in the 1920s had direct economic ramifications. In the 1951 report, Barbeau stated that the colour plates for The Downfall of Temlaham had been paid for and retained by the CNR for use by its publicity department. This transaction reveals the marriage of appropriation and commodification—of art and economics—which fuelled Barbeau's program. Barbeau and the CNR became allies in the representation of Gitksan territory as a cultural tourism destination in 1920s Canada.

The overtly celebratory tone of the 1951 report also reveals that for Barbeau, as for most people involved in similar indigenizing activities, the usage of aboriginal art in a Euro-Canadian milieu was viewed as a valorization—rather than an exploitation—of aboriginal art. In 1931, an anonymous writer for the Canadian Forum had addressed the issue of exploitation in a brief article on the artistic use of aboriginal art:

Just as it seemed inevitable that this form of art expression would be entirely lost, or be preserved simply as museum pieces, came its renaissance...one might almost say its apotheosis...by means of the very race that caused its decay.⁷

The writer recognized the "devastating influence" of the "white man" on aboriginal cultures, spoke of the recent "stampede of artists from the east to paint totem poles," and mentioned the use of aboriginal art by painters including Kihn, Carr and students at the VSDAA. The writer continues:

If this were all, one might say that having destroyed the Indian's sense of the value of his own art, we were now exploiting that very art, but there is another and a better phase.⁸

This "better phase" was seen in the program of art education in Canadian Indian schools. Aboriginal children apparently demonstrated a special "aptitude for design founded on the old legendary art of their forefathers." Euro-Canadians thus positioned themselves both as the destroyers and the saviours of aboriginal art. Carr's pottery "prostituted" yet preserved aboriginal designs, while Alice Ravenhill in 1940 produced charts of aboriginal designs (drawn by a Euro-Canadian woman) for use in B.C. Indian schools.⁹

In terms of 1920s colonial artistic practice, then, the apotheosis of aboriginal art occurred not for Gitksan people and in Gitksan contexts, but in the paintings of Euro-Canadian artists. The Western and Christian metaphorical cycle of destruction, salvation and redemption here is clear. Gitksan art had to die in order to give Canadian painting new life. Aboriginal (and French Canadian) arts were thus identified as historical (primitive) antecedents to the developing national school of art represented by the Group of Seven. This appropriation of aboriginal art in the service of the teleology of Canadian art and the emerging national canon was promoted and solidified in exhibitions like those held at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1926, the 1927 *Exposition d'art Canadien* and *A Century of Canadian Art*, in 1938. Rationales for this appropriative ideology are found in the catalogue texts for these shows, as well as in early historical writings, including MacTavish's The Fine Arts in Canada (1925), Lismer's A Short History of Painting with a Note on Canadian Art (1926), McInnes' A Short History of Canadian Art (1939) and Colgate's Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development (1943). Such discursive configurations—exhibitions and texts—effected the indigenization of Canadian art history.

Barbeau's 1951 account of American exhibitions of Pacific Coast aboriginal art suggests a further re-positioning of Canadian indigenization in the context of international primitivism. A contemporary critic of the 1941 *Indian Art of the United States* had asserted that Native American art was the only "original" American art.¹⁰ Among American artists of the early twentieth century who created images of Northwest Coast peoples and themes were Man Ray, Arthur Dove, John Marin and Marsden Hartley.¹¹ In Germany, August Macke of the *Blaue Reiter* group was painting coastal aboriginal themes as early as 1910.¹² Throughout the 1920s, the French surrealists collected, studied and exhibited Pacific Coast aboriginal art. In the Album of Pre-historic Canadian Art, Edward Sapir and Harlan Smith had recognized that artistic use of aboriginal arts extended beyond the Canadian border. The "exotic art of primitive peoples," Sapir argued, had opened up "new and suggestive vistas" to progressive European artists.¹³ Smith also cited the "financially

successful use" of aboriginal art in museum collections by American silk, cotton and costume industries.¹⁴

The Album is an early example of an indigenizing activity which, as this thesis has demonstrated, became widespread in 1920s Canada in design, art education, architecture, music, literature and handicraft. The concept and practice of indigenization was predicated on the identification of Northwest Coast aboriginal art as distinctively Canadian, and thus logically suitable for use in the creation of unique art forms and industrial products. The account of Barbeau's activities provided in this thesis makes clear that he was the major advocate of indigenization, but the many parallel and independent activities which occurred throughout the country give evidence of a much larger movement. Although the separate studies of Canadian painting, architecture and other cultural forms cited in the course of this thesis have documented individual cases of indigenization, it is important to examine identify the broader patterns that were at work.

The indigenization of Canadian products often saw the direct translation of aboriginal designs to objects which had no precedent in First Nations cultural tradition. Euro-Canadians, however, also made wholesale use of aboriginal art forms in other ways, as is illustrated by an incident which took place in 1930. That year, Taylor Statten (alias "The Chief"), head of Camp Ahmek in Algonquin Park, decided to erect a memorial to Tom Thomson, a man already identified as the mythic father of the Canadian national school of painting.¹⁵

Statten decided on a totem pole as an appropriate memorial form. Designed by Euro-Canadian artists Hal Haydon and Gordon Webber, the pole was produced in Toronto by Jack Ridpath and painted at Ahmek by young campers. The pole was carved with figures symbolic of Thomson's life. As the Toronto Daily Star reported, the figures, from top to bottom, were: an image of Thomson; wings (his aspirations); teepees (his camp life); a checked portion (he was a guide); a duck (swimmer); a canoe (paddler); lyre (musician); links (a woodsman); tree (symbol of his art).¹⁶

The pole was dedicated at a "Tom Thomson pageant," only one event in a weekend of celebration which included an exhibition of Thomson works lent by the National Gallery and the performance of five dramatic sketches against a background representing The West Wind.¹⁷ At the pageant, seven hundred people formed a fleet of watercraft, from which tree boughs were cast into the water. The camp's brass band played "O Canada" as the sun slipped behind the hills. Matt Bernard, ex-chief of the Algonquin people at Golden lake, assisted in the ceremonies. It was a multi-valent, multi-media indigenizing event which far surpassed even the best efforts of Juliette Gaultier. Furthermore, it was a logical outgrowth of Barbeau's identification of Pacific Coast aboriginal art and culture as distinctively Canadian—on formal and symbolic grounds. Critics saw the symbolism of the "Thomson totem" as commemorating "the Canadian life which Tom Thomson embodies in his work."¹⁸ This conflation of aboriginal art and Canadian national identity is best captured in Arthur Lismer's 1933 statement that:

It is probable that in Canada we have not yet caught up with the essential feeling of pride and the desire to assert the expression of it by means of idealistic symbols. It needs something of the showman in the national spirit to project pictorial devices interpretive of achievement.. *After all, these things are our totems, expressive of the people we are.*¹⁹ [italics mine]

This incident returns me to my point of departure, for equivalent monuments and events have marked the Canadian cultural landscape up to the present. As the 1990s Canadian Airlines advertisement makes clear, the totem pole is now a permanent fixture of our national iconography. It remains, in more ways than one, "expressive of the people we are."

Notes to the Conclusion

1. The discussion of this report is based on M. Barbeau, "Restoration of Totem Poles of the Skeena River, the Queen Charlotte Island, and the North Pacific Coast," (1951), 10-12, 14. Barbeau sent a copy of this report to Langdon Kihn in May of 1951. This copy is located on microfilm reel #3708 of the Langdon Kihn Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.
2. The New York show was different from its Ottawa counterpart in that it featured only aboriginal art, including that of living artists. See D. Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond," and W.J. Rushing, "Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and the Modern," in J. Berlo (ed.), The Early Years of Native American Art History, (Seattle 1992), 191-236.
3. Paalen's essay was published in the Mexican Surrealist journal Dyn, 4/5 (1943), 7-37.
4. In "Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology," Anthropologica, 6 (1964), Duff used Barbeau's own research files to refute two of Barbeau's favourite theories: that the Tsimshian people migrated from Siberia across the Bering Strait, and that particular aspects of coastal aboriginal culture (especially totem poles) originated in the nineteenth century.
5. See R. Maud, A Guide to B.C. Indian Myth and Legend, (Vancouver 1982), 115-20, and G.F. MacDonald, Foreword, Totem Poles, Vol. 1 (1950; rpt. Hull, Quebec 1990), vi-ix.
6. J.E.H. MacDonald, "A Glimpse of the West," Canadian Bookman, VI, 11 (November 1924).
7. "West Coast Indian Art," Canadian Forum, XI, 30 (July 1931), 366.
8. Ibid., 366.
9. See chapter five, note 85.
10. Rushing, "Marketing the Affinity," 218.
11. G. Levin, "American Art," in W. Rubin (ed.), 'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art, Vol. 2 (New York 1984), 455-61.
12. Ibid., 457. See also A. Winter, "The Germanic Reception of Native American Art: Wolfgang Paalen as Collector, Scholar, and Artist," European Review of Native American Studies, VI, 1 (1992), 17-26.
13. E. Sapir, "Prefatory Note," Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art, (Ottawa 1923), iii.
14. H. Smith, "Introduction," in Ibid., 5.
15. See C.A.M. Edwards, Taylor Statten: A Biography, (Toronto 1960), 116-18.
16. "Camp Ahmek Rangers Honor Artist," Toronto Daily Star, 23 August, 1930.
17. "Bark Canoe Carries Memorial Flowers," Globe, Toronto, 19 August, 1930.
18. "Totem Pole Honors Tom Thomson's Ideal," Mail and Empire, Toronto, 18 August, 1930.
19. A. Lismer, "Mural Painting," Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada X, 7 (July 1933), 134.

Figure 1

Trafalgar Square, London.

WE BRING CANADA TO *the* REST OF THE WORLD.

Canadian offers daily service to London. It's just one of the 22 international destinations we serve. In Europe, this includes Paris, Munich, Frankfurt, Rome, Milan and Manchester.

Canadian
Canadian Airlines International

Canadian is a registered trademark of Canadian Airlines International Ltd.

Figure 2

Germany

WE BRING CANADA TO *the* REST OF THE WORLD.

Munich and Frankfurt are just two of the 22 international destinations Canadian Airlines serves.
In Europe, we also fly to Paris, Milan, Rome, London and Manchester.
And when you leave home with Canadian, don't forget that the American Express® Card is welcome
in establishments throughout the world.

Canadian
Canadian Airlines International

AMERICAN EXPRESS
Cards

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Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

Figure 17

Figure 18

Figure 19

Figure 20

Figure 21

Figure 22

Figure 23

Figure 24

Figure 25

Figure 26

Figure 27

Figure 28

Figure 29

Figure 30

Figure 31

Figure 32

ROYAL
ALEXANDRA

--WEEK BEGINNING MONDAY, JAN. 12-- MATS.
WED. & SAT.

ARTHUR HAMMERSTEIN
presents
The **BIGGEST Musical HIT EVER PRODUCED in AMERICA.**

ROSE-MARIE

with **MYRTLE SCHAAF** RECENTLY OF NEW YORK
METROPOLITAN OPERA CO.

And the Brilliant Broadway Cast of

Sibylla Bowhan,	Louis Templeman,
Arthur Cunningham,	Betty Byron,
Edna Bennett,	Henry White,
George Anderson,	Ada St. Claire,
Charles Silber,	Alonzo Price.

A riotous pageant of barbaric color and
splendor. Twice the magnitude and ten times
more musical than any other production ever
made in America.

Book and Lyrics by Otto Harbach and Oscar Hammerstein 2nd.
Music by Rudolf Friml and Herbert Stothart. Dances by David Bennett.

COMPANY OF 100 SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Prices: Evenings—Orchestra, \$2.00. Bal., \$2.50, \$2.00, \$1.50. 2nd Bal., \$1.
Sat. Matinee—Orchestra, \$2.00. Balcony, \$1.50. 2nd Bal., \$1.00.

Figure 33

Figure 34

Figure 35

Figure 36

Figure 37

Figure 38

POTENTIALITIES *of* B. C. COAST INDIAN ART

Figure 39

THE PAINT BOX

A PUBLICATION ISSUED ANNUALLY BY THE STUDENTS OF THE VANCOUVER SCHOOL OF DECORATIVE AND APPLIED ARTS, IN AN EFFORT TO EXPRESS THE SCHOOL ATMOSPHERE, AND TO FORWARD INTEREST IN THE ART OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

VOLUME THREE

JUNE, 1928

VANCOUVER SCHOOL OF DECORATIVE AND APPLIED ARTS, CORNER HAMILTON AND DUNSMUIR STREETS.

Figure 40

Figure 42

Figure 43

Figure 44

Figure 45

Figure 46

Figure 47

MISS JULIETTE GAULTIER

Descendant of a famous coureur du bois, says her Indian blood has made her sacrifice a successful career in grand opera for the mission of making Canada's native folk songs famous. She is a master of many Indian dialects and can sing in the Eskimo tongue. She sings in Toronto to-night.

Figure 48

COMPOSITEURS CANADIENS

NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) missing in number only; text follows. Filmed as received.

UMI

List of Figures

1. Canadian Airlines advertisement: Canada goose in Trafalgar Square.
Source: Saturday Night, CVIII:8 (October 1993), 23.
2. Canadian Airlines advertisement: totem pole in German courtyard.
Source: Saturday Night, CVIII:10 (December 1993), 67.
3. Map of western British Columbia; detail map of Gitksan/Wet'suwet'en territory; map showing the extent of Gitksan land pre-empted by white settlers by 1922.
Source: Historical Atlas of Canada, III (Toronto 1990), Plate 2.
4. Canadian Pacific Railway poster, featuring a Langdon Kihn painting advertising "Indian Days" at Banff, Alberta, [1920s].
Source: D. Francis, The Imaginary Indian, (Vancouver 1992), 180.
5. Map of northern British Columbia, showing most of the Gitksan villages visited by the artists.
Source: D. Shadbolt, Emily Carr, (Vancouver 1990), 229.
6. A.Y. Jackson, Indian Home (1927), oil on canvas, 53.8 x 66.5 cm. Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa, acc. no. 1310.
Source: J. Murray, The Isabel McLaughlin Gift, Pt. 1 (Oshawa 1987), 35.
7. E. Holgate, Totem Poles, Gitsegiuklas (1927), oil on canvas, 80.9 x 81.1 cm., National Gallery of Canada, acc. no. 4426.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph.
8. W.L. Kihn, Gitwinkool Totem Poles (1924), oil on canvas, 122 x 91.5 cm, National Gallery of Canada, acc. no. 3523.
Source: Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, (1928; rpt. Edmonton 1973), opposite p. 3.
9. G. Pepper, Totem Poles, Kitwanga (c.1929), oil on canvas, 91.6 x 71 cm., National Gallery of Canada, acc. no. 3713.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph.
10. E. Holgate, Totem Poles No. 4 (1926), wood engraving, 15.1 x 12.3 cm. (image), Art Gallery of Hamilton, acc. no. 53.40.
Source: I. Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1989), plate 23.
11. A.Y. Jackson, Skeena River (c.1926), watercolour on paper, 28.6 x 24.8 cm., Robert McLaughlin Gallery, acc. no. 89.JA.162.
Source: J. Murray, The Isabel McLaughlin Gift, Pt. 2 (Oshawa 1990), 51.
12. A.Y. Jackson, A Quebec Village (c.1921), oil on canvas, 53.7 x 66.3 cm., National Gallery of Canada, acc. no. 1812.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph.
13. A.Y. Jackson, Kispayaks Village (c.1927), oil on canvas, 64.1 x 82.1 cm., Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, acc. no. 84.49.
Source: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria photograph.

14. A.Y. Jackson, Skeena Crossing (c.1926), oil on canvas, 53.5 x 66.1 cm., McMichael Canadian Art Collection, acc. no. 1968.8.27.
Source: McMichael Canadian Art Collection, A Heritage of Canadian Art, (Toronto 1976), 40.
15. A. Savage, The Skeena River, B.C. (1927), oil on wood, 23 x 30.5 cm., National Gallery of Canada, acc. no. 37564.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph.
16. A. Savage, Untitled oil sketch (1927), oil on wood, 23 x 30.5 cm., location unknown.
Source: A. McDougall, Anne Savage: Story of a Canadian Painter, (Montreal 1977), 75.
17. E. Holgate, Tsimshian Girl with a Baby Board (1926), charcoal on paper, McMichael Canadian Art Collection, acc. no. 1987.16.
Source: I. Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1989), no plate number.
18. E. Holgate, Totem Poles No. 2 (1926), two-colour wood engraving, 14.7 x 12 cm. (image), Art Gallery of Ontario, acc. no. 70/329.
Source: I. Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1989), plate 20.
19. E. Holgate, Totem Poles No. 3 (1926), wood engraving, 15.2 x 18.5 cm. (image), Art Gallery of Hamilton, acc. no. 54.72.
Source: I. Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1989), plate 22.
20. E. Holgate, Totem Poles No. 5 (c.1930), wood engraving, 20.3 x 18.1 cm. (image), Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, acc. no. 73.6.
Source: I. Thom, The Prints of Edwin Holgate, (Kleinburg, Ontario 1989), plate 40.
21. E. Holgate, Nude, (1930), oil on canvas, 64.8 x 73.7 cm., Art Gallery of Ontario, acc. no. 1326.
Source: D. Reid, Edwin Holgate, (Ottawa 1976), plate 26.
22. P.N. MacLeod, Women Cleaning Fish (c.1928), oil on canvas, 72 x 79.5 cm., National Gallery of Canada, acc. no. 37029.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph.
23. W.L. Kihn, Hanamuk or Sunbeams (c.1924)
Source: Barbeau, The Downfall of Temlaham, (1928; rpt. Edmonton 1973), opposite p. 38.
24. E. Holgate, Jim Laharnitz (1926), drawing, 58.5 x 47.1 cm., Musée du Québec, acc. no. 35.01.
Source: Musée du Québec photograph.
25. F. Wyle, Indian Mother and Child (c.1927), painted plaster relief, 80.3 x 60 cm., Art Gallery of Ontario, acc. no. 83/109.
Source: C. Boyanoski, Loring and Wyle: Sculptors Legacy, (Toronto 1987), 91.
26. A. Savage, Untitled oil sketch (1927), oil on board, 23 x 30.5 cm., Private collection.
Source: author's photograph.
27. P.N. MacLeod, Bia-nint-nen: Indian Woman at Hagwelget Canyon, oil on board, 61 x 61 cm., location unknown.
Source: Photograph courtesy of Laura Brandon, Ottawa.

28. Y.M. Housser, Marquerite Pilot of Deep River (Girl with Mulleins) (c.1932), oil on canvas, 76.2 x 61 cm., McMichael Canadian Art Collection, acc. no. 1966.16.13
Source: McMichael Canadian Collection, A Heritage of Canadian Art, (Toronto 1976), 138.
29. View of the installation of Northwest Coast aboriginal art at the *Exposition d'art Canadien*, Jeu de Paume, Paris, 1927.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph
30. C. Gagnon, indigenized cover design for Le Grand Silence Blanc, 1928.
Source: L.-F. Rouquette, Le Grand Silence Blanc, (Paris 1928), copy in rare book collection, National Gallery of Canada library.
31. View of the installation of *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*, Art Gallery of Toronto, January 1928.
Source: Art Gallery of Ontario photograph.
32. Newspaper advertisement for *Rose Marie*.
Source: Mail and Empire, Toronto, 10 January, 1925, p. 2
33. Ten-cent stamp of 1928 juxtaposing Gitwangak totem pole and F.M. Bell-Smith watercolour.
Source: R. Boulet, Frederic Martlett Bell-Smith (1846-1923), (Victoria 1977), 72.
34. F. Wyle, Small owl bookend (c.1927), cast iron, 11.7 cm. in height, Art Gallery of Ontario, acc. no. 83/109.
Source: Art Gallery of Ontario photograph.
35. View of Emily Carr's indigenized pottery in the home of her pottery dealer, Kate Mather.
Source: M. Tippett, Emily Carr: A Biography, (Oxford 1979), 135.
36. M. Young, indigenized book prop and tile created at the National Museum, c.1917.
Source: H. Smith, "Prehistoric Canadian Art as a Source of Distinctive Design," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, XII (May 1918), Plates V, X.
37. Designs based on various First Nations artistic traditions, copied and arranged by Douglas Leechman, National Museum.
Source: D. Jenness, The Indians of Canada, (Ottawa 1932), 209.
38. S. Hill, indigenized designs decorating her article, "Potentialities of B.C. Coast Indian Art."
Source: Paint Box, III (June 1928).
39. P. Meilleur, untitled woodcut for the cover of Paint Box, 36-38.
Source: Paint Box, III (June 1928).
40. L. Planta, cloth wall hanging based on a Gitksan feast house partition, installed in Harry Täuber's bedroom/studio in Vancouver, early 1930s.
Source: National Gallery of Canada Archives, Leslie Planta fonds.
41. Gitksan feast house partition, installed in the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art Native and Modern*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, December 1927.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph.
42. J. Lyle, Runnymede Branch Library, Bloor Street, Toronto.
Source: author's photographs.

43. Mathers and Haldenby, William H. Wright Building, Toronto, c.1938.
Source: A.S. Mathers, "The William H. Wright Building," Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, XV:8 (August 1938), 176.
44. F. Winkler, model totem pole, possibly for the William H. Wright building.
Source: Artist's family, via Christine Boyanoski, Art Gallery of Ontario.
45. E. Holgate, "Skeena Room" at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa, 1929.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph.
46. E. Holgate, Indigenized lamps for the Chateau Laurier.
Source: National Gallery of Canada photograph.
47. "Miss Juliette Gaultier."
Source: Toronto Daily Star, 25 January, 1928, p. 1.
48. E. Holgate, "Compositeurs Canadiens."
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