

Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Aboriginal Woman Artist

by

Alisdair MacRae, B.F.A. (Honours), M.F.A, M.P.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 Art History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

1 August, 2012

© 2012, Alisdair MacRae



Library and Archives
Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-93601-6

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-93601-6

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

Abstract

This thesis examines the career of Blood artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert (1942-2009) who rose to prominence on the Canadian art scene in the 1980s and 1990s, following generations of Aboriginal women artists whose culture and ancestry were deliberately suppressed, concealed or denied.

In looking at how artists such as Cardinal-Schubert took a leading role in reclaiming their heritage, culture and a place for themselves in society, this thesis asks whether postcolonial thought can adequately represent their careers or concerns, or those of Aboriginal women in general. With Cardinal-Schubert's career as a backdrop, it also asks whether feminist thought can do justice to Indigenous women's experience, or whether a distinctly Indigenous feminism provides the best answer. Drawing on a range of scholarly texts, theoretical perspectives and first-person interviews this thesis seeks to honour the memory of an important Aboriginal woman artist and fill a void in art historical scholarship.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my appreciation for my thesis supervisor, Dr. Allan J. Ryan, for his valuable suggestions and guidance. Also at Carleton University, I would like to thank all of my professors who helped me to establish a foundation of scholarship and knowledge that informed the development of this thesis, namely Dr. Randy Innes, Dr. Roger Mesley, Dr. Cindy Stelmackowich, Dr. Jill Carrick, Dr. Ruth Phillips, Dr. Angela Carr and Dr. Brian Foss.

I would also like to thank Eckehart (Mike) Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert for providing invaluable access to the life and work of Joane Cardinal-Schubert, as well as generous hospitality during my visit to Calgary. Likewise, Tanya Harnett shared fond memories of Cardinal-Schubert, access to information held at the University of Lethbridge Department of Native American Studies related to the Society for Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANNA), and generous hospitality during my visit to Lethbridge. Yvonne Poitras Pratt deserves thanks for agreeing to be interviewed by me on very short notice, in spite of her busy schedule, and for introducing me to the wonderful people at the University of Calgary Native Centre.

Thank you to Jane Ash Poitras and Clint Buehler for braving the weather to show me the *Narrative Quest* exhibition at the Royal Alberta Museum. Lastly, thank you to my friends, family and Negar for their support throughout this research project, and of course, to Joane Cardinal-Schubert, for unswerving courage and inspiration.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Figures	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter One	10
Chapter Two	36
Chapter Three	59
Conclusion	81
Appendix A	86
Appendix B	87
Notes	91
Bibliography	105
Illustrations	116

List of Figures

- Figure 1 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 The Lesson (1993)
 365.76 x 365.76 cm
 Mixed media installation
 Collection: Estate of the Artist
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
- Figure 2 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Letters to Emily: Borrowed Power (1992)
 91.44 x 243.84 cm
 Collage on rag paper
 Collection: Estate of the Artist
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
- Figure 3 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Great Canadian Dream - Pray for me, Louis Riel (1978)
 91.44 x 170.18 cm; 170.18 x 152.4 cm; 107.95 x 182.88 cm
 Oil on canvas, triptych
 Collection: Carleton University Art Gallery
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
- Figure 4 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Great Canadian Dream – Treaty No. 7 (1978)
 180 x 520 cm
 Oil on canvas
 Collection: Alberta Historical Resources Foundation, Calgary
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
- Figure 5 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Ancient Voices Beneath the Ground – Stonehenge (1983)
 121.92 x 81.28 cm
 Oil/graphite on rag paper
 Collection: Estate of the Artist
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
- Figure 6 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 John Ware (1977)

101.6 x 68.58 cm
 Graphite/pencil on rag paper
 Collection: Mr. and Mrs. D. Thiesen, Ottawa
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery

Figure 7 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Homage to Smallboy (1984)
 121.92 x 121.92 cm
 Oil and acrylic on canvas
 Collection: I. Bohez, Calgary
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery

Figure 8 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Where were you in July Hercules? (1984)
 182.88 x 243.84 cm
 Oil and acrylic on canvas
 Collection: Mr. and Mrs. I. Aitken, Calgary
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery

Figure 9 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Ancient Constellation: Buffalo Nebula (1983)
 91.44 x 121.92 cm
 Oil and on canvas
 Collection: Mr. and Mrs. G. Turnquist, Midnapore
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery

Figure 10 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Warshirt: A Declaration (1986)
 81.28 x 116.84 cm
 Oil, oil pastel, conte and graphite on rag paper
 Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
 Photo: John Dean

Figure 11 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Song of My Ancestors – Medicine Rib Stones (1986)
 46 x 43 x 12.7 cm, 102 x 69 x 11.5 cm
 Plaster on wire mesh, oil, graphite, urethane
 Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
 Photo: Justin Wonnacott

- Figure 12 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Contemporary Artifact – Medicine Bundles: The Spirits are Forever Within (1986)
68.6 x 38 x 24 cm, 104 x 45.7 x 17.8 cm
Plaster on wire mesh, oil, graphite, urethane
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
- Figure 13 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Self-Portrait: Warshirt Shield (1986)
71 x 67.3 x 15.2 cm
Plaster on wire mesh, oil, urethane
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
- Figure 14 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Rider (1986)
152 x 213 cm
Oil and graphite on canvas
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: John Dean
- Figure 15 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Four Directions – Warshirts: This is the Spirit of the West, This is the Spirit of the East, This is the Spirit of the North, This is the Spirit of the South (1986)
114.3 x 152.4 cm
Oil, oil pastel, chalk and graphite on rag paper
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
- Figure 16 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
The Earth Belongs to Everyone II (1986)
472.44 x 182.88 cm; poles approx. 214 cm
Oil on canvas, pine, plaster, stones
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: Justin Wonnacott
- Figure 17 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Keepers of the Vision (1987)
4 panels, 142 x 102.5 cm each

Paper, oil, conte and graphite on rag board

Source: Revisions

Photo: Image courtesy of the Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre

- Figure 18 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Burial Platform: Contemporary Artifact VI (Keine Erste Hilfe) (1987)
122 x 137 x 61 cm
Mixed media
Source: Revisions
Photo: Image courtesy of the Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre
- Figure 19 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Remnant, Birthright – Museum II, Remember Dunbow, Is This My Grandmothers', Remnant, Then There Were None (1988)
102 x 91 cm each
Oil, conte, charcoal on rag paper, found objects, clear vinyl, wood
Source: Beyond History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Vancouver Art Gallery
- Figure 20 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of A Species: Shroud - Spill (1988)
279 x 381 cm
Etching ink, varethane on rag paper, linen
Collection: National Gallery of Canada
Source: Beyond History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Vancouver Art Gallery
- Figure 21 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of a Species: Deep Freeze (1989)
548.64 x 914.4 cm
Mixed media installation
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
- Figure 22 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built) (1990)
Painting: 182.88 x 243.84 cm, Booth: 182.88 x 476.72 cm, Floor Piece: 60.96 x 243.84 cm
Installation, mixed media
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
- Figure 23 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built) (1990)

Painting: 182.88 x 243.84 cm, Booth: 182.88 x 476.72 cm, Floor Piece:
60.96 x 243.84 cm
Installation, mixed media
Photo: Allan J. Ryan

- Figure 24 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
The Power Bird – Grassi Lakes (1983)
121.92 x 81.28 cm
Oil on rag paper
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: [Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
- Figure 25 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Drum Dancer: the Messenger AKA Prairie Pony (2005)
Approximately 360 x 240 x 240 cm
Steel mesh, plywood, plaster body, acrylic, rebar, brass, linen
Collection: Calgary International Airport
Photo: Alisdair MacRae
- Figure 26 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt (1991)
61.5 x 91 cm
Mixed media on chiro bark paper
Collection: Glenbow Museum, 2000.002.004
Source: [Glenbow Museum](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Glenbow Museum
- Figure 27 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr: House of All Sorts (1991)
101.6 x 127 cm
Acrylic and collage on paper
Collection: Kamloops Art Gallery, 1995-148
Source: [Overstepped Boundaries: Powerful Statements by Aboriginal Artists in the Permanent Collection](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Kamloops Art Gallery
- Figure 28 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Beginning of Life (1991)
102 x 127 cm
Acrylic and conte collagraph on rag paper
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
- Figure 29 Kay WalkingStick
Finding the Centre (1993)

609.6 x 304.8 cm

Billboard

Collection: Mendel Art Gallery

Source: The Post-Colonial Landscape: A Billboard Exhibition

Photo: Image courtesy of the Mendel Art Gallery

- Figure 30 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Ancient Battle (1980)
72.39 x 49.53 cm
Oil on rag paper
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. G. Aldridge, Calgary
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
- Figure 31 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Is This My Grandmothers' (1988)
102 x 91 cm each
Oil, conte, charcoal on rag paper, found objects, clear vinyl, wood
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
- Figure 32 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Self-Portrait, Warshirt: The Americas Canopy (1992)
126.37 cm (Height of framed image)
Acrylic on paper with rosary; tambourine with parchment and acrylic;
leather lacrosse mask with acrylic
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: About Face: Self-Portraits by Native American, First Nations, and Inuit Artists
Photo: Allan J. Ryan
- Figure 33 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Remembering My Dreambed (1985)
149.86 x 114.3 cm
Acrylic on canvas
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery
- Figure 34 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Urban Warshirt – Metro Techno (2007)
83.82 x 78.74 cm
Mixed media on paper
Source: Masters Gallery
Photo: Image courtesy of Masters Gallery

- Figure 35 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Kitchen Works: sstorsiinao'si (1998)
Dimensions not available
Mixed media installation
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: [Glenbow Museum](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Glenbow Museum
- Figure 36 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr: Astrolabe Discovery (1991)
59.7 x 80.2 cm
Mixed media on Arches paper
Collection: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1992.026.001
Source: [Art Gallery of Greater Victoria](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria

Introduction

Aboriginal artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert was born in Red Deer, Alberta, in 1942. Although she had taken classes at the Alberta College of Art and Design in the late 1960s, she was in her mid-thirties when she graduated with a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree from the University of Calgary, and began making and exhibiting some of her most important work in the late 1970s. Cardinal-Schubert's education helped to formalize her art making process while she simultaneously recognized that her Aboriginal identity¹ would infuse her work with subject matter that was both political and deeply personal.

With the settlement of Canada by Europeans and the establishment of colonial societal norms, Aboriginal women lost their rights and privileges twice, once as non-Europeans, and again by virtue of their gender under the imposed colonial social order which denied their equality with men. Cardinal-Schubert represents a generation of Aboriginal women artists who took a leading role in reclaiming their heritage,² their culture³ and a place for themselves in society.

Amongst the women from the previous generation, Odawa artist Daphne Odjig achieved remarkable progress in bringing Aboriginal art to contemporary audiences. Following in Odjig's footsteps, artists such as Cardinal-Schubert and Jane Ash Poitras have achieved great success on their own terms. These artists would find their work represented in ground breaking exhibitions, such as *Beyond History* at the Vancouver Art Gallery (1989) and *INDIGENA: Perspectives of Indigenous Peoples on Five Hundred Years* at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (1992). This thesis will examine the life and career of Cardinal-Schubert in light of the pivotal points of recognition for Aboriginal art in general, and Aboriginal women artists in particular.

Cardinal-Schubert's achievements went beyond those of an accomplished artist in the 1980s and 1990s. Following her arts education at the Alberta College of Art and Design and the University of Alberta, she worked as a curator at the University of Calgary's Nickle Arts Museum. She was also involved with arts groups such as the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) to help establish Aboriginal representation on boards of galleries exhibiting Aboriginal work. As well, she was part of the efforts to help initiate Aboriginal arts programming at the Banff Centre for the Arts,⁴ a place where she would develop some of her own seminal ideas.⁵

An educator and political activist, Cardinal-Schubert frequently used her art to express her convictions about racial prejudice or environmental conservation. She embraced a variety of artistic mediums, and made written contributions to cultural theory as well. While much of her work drew attention to those marginalized by colonialism, her ultimate goal seemed to be the betterment of society as a whole, which she felt could only happen if its shortcomings were addressed and acknowledged by a broad audience. Although she succumbed to cancer in 2009 at the relatively young age of 67, Cardinal-Schubert left a formidable legacy as a role model for artists and non-artists alike.

Cardinal-Schubert grew up in rural Alberta. While her maternal great-grandmother was a Piegan holy woman, she was not entirely aware of her Aboriginal heritage until later in life. After working as a nurse and starting a family, she returned to school to study painting, history and anthropology. Having left the relative shelter of her home and family, she became keenly aware of her ancestry through her own research and experiences. In particular, she was driven to address Canada's history, and its past and present strained relationship with Aboriginal people. Cardinal-Schubert's initial

development as an artist coincided with her growing awareness of her identity as an Aboriginal person. That these two aspects of her life occurred almost in tandem had a significant impact on how she approached her artistic practice, and how she was received as an Aboriginal woman artist.

While the effects of colonialism can be readily identified, its motivations can be wide ranging, and more complex. In his discussions of postcolonialism,⁶ Robert J.C. Young explains how over the last 500 years a variety of factors, including economics, race and gender influenced the events that helped shape contemporary North America.⁷ The imposition of laws and value systems based on race are, perhaps, the most visible effects of colonialism, while the impact of differing attitudes towards gender are harder to detect since Indigenous customs have been largely suppressed by a patriarchal system of rule.

Aboriginal women engaged in contemporary art making have demonstrated that they have a drive and vision equal to men, whether Aboriginal or not. In her film *Hands of History* (1994), Métis director Loretta Todd documents four such women; namely Cardinal-Schubert, Jane Ash Poitras, Doreen Jensen and Rena Point Bolton. The film makes clear that art created in the last half of the twentieth century has allowed for a greater range of mediums and voices, including those of women, and women from minority groups. Since these latter individuals have experienced a greater degree of marginalization than most, their stories can arguably be seen as having a greater sense of urgency. Moreover, as noted by Jensen, racism and the imposition of colonial attitudes towards gender have had a marked effect on the production and reception of art by Aboriginal women. Especially damaging has been the relegation of their work to the category of artifact or craft,⁸ making it irrelevant to any discussion of contemporary art.

As discussed by Ruth B. Phillips⁹ and Lee-Ann Martin,¹⁰ through a combination of increased societal freedoms afforded to Native people and a greater acknowledgment of Aboriginal culture, the 1960s marked what has come to be considered a “renaissance” in Aboriginal art. By the mid-twentieth century, the repeal of legislation that had banned activities such as the sundance and potlatch allowed Aboriginal artists to more easily reconnect with their culture. At the same time, curiosity amongst the general public, prompted by exhibitions in commercial galleries and international venues, such as Expo 67 in Montréal in 1967, helped create a demand for Aboriginal art.¹¹ Hence, Indigenous art forms that may have been regarded by Western audiences as “traditional”, or associated with cultural practices preceding European contact, became blended with contemporary forms of artistic expression, as individuals experimented with new media and pushed the limits of their practice.

With a burgeoning awareness of Aboriginal culture, art exhibitions began to appear across Canada in the early 1980s and 1990s. As documented by Allan J. Ryan¹² and Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin,¹³ Aboriginal curators also emerged at this time to wrest representation of their culture from less enlightened professionals who harboured colonial views. For example, in 1986, Garry Mainprize curated the exhibition, *Stardusters*, for the Thunder Bay Art Gallery. The show featured works by Cardinal-Schubert, Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui and Edward Poitras, and travelled nationally over the course of a year. In the introduction to the exhibition catalogue Mainprize underscores the talent of the artists regardless of their Native ancestry, and the apparent lack of attention each had received up until that time.¹⁴ Subsequent shows, such as *Revisions* at the Walter Phillips Gallery in 1988, celebrated Aboriginal culture in defiance of

colonialism, and any other associated ideologies that had historically suppressed Aboriginal people.

Although colonial dominance has been theorized and challenged in the works of writers such as Homi K. Bhabha¹⁵ and Cardinal-Schubert herself,¹⁶ Aboriginal art still occupies an uneasy relationship to mainstream Canadian society since it can be difficult to categorize according to standards established by European art historians. Compounding the difficulty is the fact that some artists intentionally make their work challenging to viewers, while others confound the logic of the very institutions that seek to collect their work. For instance, Cardinal-Schubert deliberately made works from non-artistic materials such as masking tape and newspaper to thwart museum conservation practices, and gave different works identical titles so that they could only be identified by their size.¹⁷ It is difficult to predict whether or not this uneasy relationship will ever be reconciled, but the resultant tension has arguably produced some of the most engaging and important works of art.

To expand the relevance of Cardinal-Schubert's many notable achievements, I propose to examine them from a variety of postcolonial theoretical perspectives. Robert J.C. Young's notion of colonialism as a capitalist system that continues into the present¹⁸ will help to clarify some of the motivations for the racial and sexual suppression of Aboriginal women noted earlier. Hence, my reading of colonialism will necessarily consider a Marxist view of material history, where society is seen as largely the result of economic forces.¹⁹ In his writing, Homi K. Bhabha considers postcolonial criticism to be a strategy of survival, with history as an ongoing process of cultural translation. Such a position helps draw out questions of cultural marginalization.²⁰ I will also consider the

work of Aboriginal women artists in light of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's ideas on subaltern women whose marginalized voices are often denied,²¹ as well her notion of privilege as loss, whereby one may establish a meaningful dialogue with oppressed individuals by considering how a position of privilege may actually diminish one's experiences.

Lastly, I will look at Aboriginal women artists' work through the lens of feminism, and more specifically, Indigenous feminism. Linda Nochlin identifies the difficulty of intervening in or opening up a broader, more inclusive art historical narrative, when it has been established on the basis of genius or talent determined from an exclusively male European perspective.²² Similarly, Kathy M'Closkey looks at how such prescribed notions of art and craft apply to women who work in the Pangnirtung Tapestry Studio situated on Baffin Island where individual creativity and expression may be denied more often than granted. To avoid taking an essentialist stance towards Aboriginal women artists, I will also consider such writers as Grace Ouellette, Julia Emberley, Emma LaRocque, and Cardinal-Schubert herself to help delineate the concerns of an Aboriginal women's movement with a necessarily different focus than the feminism developed within Western societies and cultures. Ouellette asserts that the challenges facing Aboriginal women are distinct from those faced by non-Native women due to racial and colonial oppression, identifying a Fourth World view as a viable means for Aboriginal women to express themselves. Emberley discusses textual resistance techniques that she refers to as "voice", while LaRocque takes a similar literary approach, indicating four sites of oppression that hinder Aboriginal women writers, and three sites of resistance. In an excerpt from a speech made in the late 1980s at the Glenbow Museum, Cardinal-Schubert identifies

racism and colonial oppression as the greatest obstacles facing Aboriginal women artists, but also the areas where the greatest advances can be made.

To get a more direct sense of Cardinal-Schubert's own practice and challenges during her career, my approach to this study will combine first-person interviews with aspects of the artist's life and work drawn from secondary sources. I will also review the artist's past solo and group exhibitions to establish the greater cultural context in which she was working. Such exhibitions will be considered in relation to movements such as the formation of SCANA to gauge the progress that Aboriginal women artists have made.

Cardinal-Schubert is not the first Canadian Aboriginal woman artist to emerge in the late twentieth century and achieve prominence – Daphne Odjig, Shelley Niro and Rebecca Belmore have all gained significant recognition – but her position in art history is important to understand as part of a bridge to the present from past generations for whom Aboriginal ancestry was something to be deliberately concealed or denied, or recognized merely as inspiration for the production of artifacts or crafts. Directly related to this is the fact that the imposition of colonialism on Indigenous populations has been extremely misguided in its treatment of gender, as seen in legislation between 1869 and 1985 under the Indian Act²³ that withheld the same marital rights and privileges from Aboriginal women that were granted to Aboriginal men. As an artist and a curator, Cardinal-Schubert responded to racism and the general mistreatment of Aboriginal people.

In Chapter One, this thesis will address how Aboriginal women artists such as Cardinal-Schubert took a leading role in reclaiming their heritage, culture and a place in society. Hence, I will examine the artwork and related accomplishments of Cardinal-Schubert, as representative of a generation of Aboriginal women artists who made

significant achievements in their own careers that created opportunities for future generations. The broader context for Cardinal-Schubert's achievements will be considered to understand how the opportunities she was given differed from those of the previous generation of Aboriginal women artists, as well as those of the generation that followed.

In Chapter Two, I will discuss how postcolonial theorizing can offer insight into the experience of Aboriginal women, given the particular circumstances of colonialism in Canada. Writing on the history of colonialism, Robert J.C. Young outlines a set of conditions that were initially established to benefit European interests, but that continue to support the current global market system, which is very useful in attempting to determine the nature of postcolonialism. The writings of Spivak on the subaltern will prove particularly important in helping to present my ideas in support of, rather than on behalf of, Aboriginal women. Work by various artists, writers and theorists, including Marcia Crosby and Cardinal-Schubert, will be reviewed in light of postcolonial theory to consider whether or not such ideas of representation can adequately address the concerns of Aboriginal women.

Chapter Three will address how Aboriginal women artists assert feminist concerns in a society that has only recently begun to address women's rights and Aboriginal rights. Again, looking at the period in which Cardinal-Schubert developed her body of work and overall career, Chapter Three will compare non-Aboriginal feminism with Indigenous feminism. The material presented in Chapter Three will expand on concerns raised in Chapter Two. Areas where postcolonial theory and Western feminism do not address issues brought forward by Indigenous feminism will be of particular interest, especially in light of how artists such as Cardinal-Schubert achieved so much in spite of their

circumstances during the late twentieth century in Canada.

Chapter One

In Loretta Todd's film, *Hands of History*, discussed earlier, the four Aboriginal women artists speak of the challenges they have faced due to the legacy of colonialism. Although they are from British Columbia and Alberta, their experiences are relevant across Canada in light of the history of the country's colonial settlement.

According to artist Doreen Jensen, it was the colonial authorities who relegated Aboriginal material culture to the category of artifact or craft, and determined that cultural items made of trade goods were without value. Moreover, early academics considered women's work insignificant and not worth recording.²⁴ Rena Point Bolton relates how colonial policy, particularly the Indian Act,²⁵ made Aboriginal ceremonies illegal, as well as the manufacture of items for use in such ceremonies. She recounts how, to make a living, women such as her grandmother kept Aboriginal art and culture alive by making intricate and highly utilitarian baskets which were then sold on the streets of Vancouver for a few dollars.²⁶

All four women in the film share their awareness of the past and the losses incurred but they also establish strong voices in the present. Although Jensen and Point Bolton are best known for traditional cultural practices such as carving and basketry, and Cardinal-Schubert and Poitras are known for blending traditional and contemporary imagery in their mixed media works, notions of tradition and authenticity²⁷ are still problematic when it comes to determining what constitutes art.²⁸ This is especially true when artistic categories are determined by individuals from outside a culture that makes no distinction between past (tradition) and present. When referring to "tradition", it is best to keep in mind who is using the word and in what context. Arts professionals Hill,

Mitchell and New offer a useful definition from an Aboriginal perspective, whereby tradition is always

dynamically expanding, a way of thinking passed on from our ancestors to which we are bound to add our own distinctive patterns.²⁹

Cardinal-Schubert's work can then be seen as traditional in the Aboriginal sense, with its links to her ancestors, while at the same time it is contemporary in the Western sense, with its use of fine art techniques, approaches and methods of display.

Joane Marguerite Cardinal was born in Red Deer, Alberta, in 1942, to Joseph Cardinal, a game warden, and his wife Francis, who was a nurse. The fourth of eight children,³⁰ Cardinal-Schubert lived off the land with her family for the first five years of her life. She fondly recalls the creativity that surrounded her while growing up, both in terms of natural surroundings and familial activities.³¹ Her development as an artist started at a young age. During time spent bed-ridden as a child due to illness, art presented itself as a means of escape.³² Her interest in art grew throughout her teenage years. A fascination with gravestones led her to consider not only leaving evidence of one's existence behind, but also the need to communicate in as broad a sense as possible.³³

Cardinal-Schubert met her future husband, Eckehart, or Mike Schubert, in a high school theatre class. They married in 1965 and raised two sons, Christopher, born in 1969, and Justin, born in 1970.³⁴ However, she did not let marriage or raising a family stop her from realizing her artistic dreams and ambitions. In fact, her son Justin worked closely with her for twenty-two years.³⁵ Cardinal-Schubert and her husband shared concerns for the preservation of historic sites such as Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, whose pictographs of which frequently informed the artist's work.³⁶ The two would also become

supporters of local environmental movements.³⁷ On one occasion, when Cardinal-Schubert travelled abroad to take down a show in London, England, she also made a trip to the Louvre to see works such as the Mona Lisa, considering herself fortunate to have her sons and husband along to share with her some of art history's acknowledged masterpieces.³⁸

Cardinal-Schubert was deeply inspired by her mixed-blood heritage,³⁹ and sought to portray it in much of her art. Deborah Godin, the guest curator for Cardinal-Schubert's 1985 exhibition, *This Is My History*, says that the artist's sense of her own history was fundamental to her work.⁴⁰ Cardinal-Schubert's paternal great-grandmother, Rose Bobtail, was a Piegan Holy Woman, and a convener of the summer solstice Sundance.⁴¹ Her maternal great-grandmother, Marguerite Rach, was an Albertan of German ancestry and also a spiritual woman, who held her own services and was imbued with an understanding of the natural world.⁴² Although she had a mixed European and Aboriginal heritage, the artist identified primarily with the Blood or Kainai people of the greater Blackfoot nation⁴³ (see Appendix A). As Cardinal-Schubert investigated her own ancestry, she also considered how her paintings could allow other people to explore their past with a sense of pride.⁴⁴

Over the course of her career, Cardinal-Schubert's prime motivation was racism.⁴⁵ Although she came to a gradual understanding of her Aboriginal identity, its significance was sometimes made apparent to her in abrupt and challenging circumstances. In one instance, while attending a printmaking class in art school, a fellow classmate asked her in passing what tribe she was from. Her immediate reaction was simply to respond, "Blood." From that brief encounter, she realized that it was not worth being intimidated by anyone,

that it was simply a losing situation.⁴⁶ Cardinal-Schubert was constantly aware of racism and resolute in her resistance to its power.

If you look like a Native, you are treated like one, and that is many things to many people. We all get the 100 percent expression of racism; there is no 25 percent or 50 percent amount of prejudicial treatment.⁴⁷

The artist's ability to see beyond racism, and beyond how she was treated by others, was reflected in how she saw herself. Her parents instilled the importance of self-acceptance in their children, over and above trying to fit in with what everyone else was doing.⁴⁸ This sensibility extended to the ideas and creativity that developed within the family, that thinking or feeling different was not only acceptable, but could be quite wonderful, and those that failed to recognize such values could only be pitied.⁴⁹

Various experiences with education played an important role in Cardinal-Schubert's development, particularly in her art work. At a young age, she attended convent school until her father removed her due to the deplorable conditions; thereafter she continued her education at a public school.⁵⁰ In light of residential school activity in the early to mid-twentieth century, many Aboriginal people from Cardinal-Schubert's generation would likely have had similar educational experiences. Residential schools, established in Canada by the church as early as the 17th century,⁵¹ and run collaboratively with the Canadian government from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century,⁵² sought to assimilate Aboriginal children into Canadian society by denying them contact with their families, language, spirituality and systems of knowledge.⁵³ Cardinal-Schubert's early experiences with education can be seen as influencing her installation and collage work through their use of classroom settings, texts and examinations of history and ideology (Figs. 1, 2).

Cardinal-Schubert went on to study at the Alberta College of Art and Design in her late teens and early twenties (1961-63 and 1967), and later enrolled at the University of Calgary, graduating in 1977 with a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Painting and Printmaking.⁵⁴ In addition to her artistic pursuits, she took courses in Canadian history, anthropology, ceramics, photography and video.⁵⁵ She initially questioned her artistic abilities, being unfamiliar with the new mediums and techniques,⁵⁶ but soon became adept at the use of line, colour and composition, as evidenced by the large multi-panel *Great Canadian Dream Series* which she completed upon graduation when she was almost forty years of age and the mother of two young children (Figs. 3, 4).

Throughout her artistic training, Cardinal-Schubert was exposed to many aspects of contemporary art and museum practice. Following graduation, she worked as an assistant curator at the University of Calgary's Nickle Arts Museum until she left in 1985 to pursue painting full-time.⁵⁷ She later undertook independent study tours at the National Gallery of Canada and major museums in New York City.⁵⁸ Having her work included in the Stockholm International exhibition in 1983 next to Cy Twombly and Chuck Close⁵⁹ allowed her to travel to see significant works in Europe, including the Rosetta Stone, the Elgin Marbles, and Stonehenge.⁶⁰ In 1984, Cardinal-Schubert also visited Japan with the Alberta Society of Artists for the group exhibition, *Sharing Visions*.⁶¹ These opportunities undoubtedly broadened her appreciation for culture on an international basis. However, as seen in works influenced by Stonehenge and the pictographs around southern Alberta, travel abroad ultimately allowed her to develop a greater appreciation for her own Aboriginal heritage (Fig. 5).

Education beyond her fine arts training gave Cardinal-Schubert further

opportunities. For example, in 1981, she attended the Canadian Museums Conference in Ottawa, and in 1983, she earned a certificate in Cultural Resource Management, and Management Development for Arts Administrators from the Banff Centre.⁶²

In the following section, Cardinal-Schubert's achievements will be considered in a broader context to better understand how the opportunities afforded her as an Aboriginal woman artist differed from those of the previous generation and the one that followed. To do this, I will look at some of the historic events that served as a backdrop to her career.

The emergence of politically and culturally engaged Native artists in the aftermath of the Second World War⁶³ can be attributed in part to the massive social upheavals associated with that war.⁶⁴ These artists differed from their predecessors in that they would not so much observe and record the world, but actively participate in it, particularly through the display of their work in public institutions and galleries.⁶⁵ While Blood (Kainai) artist Gerald Tailfeathers conveyed scenes of Aboriginal culture through Western realism, Anishinaabe artists Norval Morrisseau and Daphne Odjig developed unique and personal modes of expression that combined "Aboriginal motifs" with the materials and aesthetic concerns of modern and abstract art.

Contemporary Aboriginal art reached an international audience in 1967 with the Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67 in Montréal. Works reflecting contemporary influences, such as a drawing by Gerald Tailfeathers, and more traditional pieces, such as a Kwagulth totem pole by Tony and Henry Hunt, were shown in the same setting, along with more critical content, such as displays about broken treaties, conflicts with settlers, the imposition of Western religion, the displacement of hunting and fishing grounds, and the contrast of lifestyles between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.⁶⁶ The successful

lobbying for and autonomy represented by the exhibition, which was organized by Aboriginal curators,⁶⁷ marked a watershed moment in awareness of Aboriginal issues in Canada, and would prepare the ground for the next generation of artists to make further gains.

Government support for Aboriginal culture came from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) in 1969, with the announcement of a five-year plan to develop cultural industries providing economic benefits to Aboriginal people.⁶⁸ The culturally specific categories of production by which these benefits were distributed left little room for individual expression, so artists responded in kind, and the Professional Native Indian Artists Incorporated (PNIAI), also known as the Indian Group of Seven, formed in 1974.⁶⁹ PNIAI attempted to sell their work independently, competing with the craft-oriented marketing strategies established by DIAND. The group was not able to match the government's efforts, and their demanding schedules as individual artists caused them to dissolve the organization a year later. However, other efforts, such as the exhibition *Treaty Numbers 23, 287, 1171: Three Indian Painters of the Prairies* at the Winnipeg Art Gallery in 1972, helped bring contemporary Aboriginal art to public attention, rather than art based solely on Western notions of Aboriginal tradition or authenticity.⁷⁰

In a newspaper article from 1989, Cardinal-Schubert expressed hope that individuals categorized as "Native artists" would earn distinction as artists who also happened to be Native. She saw some of the country's more prominent artists, including Alex Janvier, Edward Poitras and Pierre Sioui, as being able to help erase such categorization.⁷¹ These concerns help distinguish the challenges facing Aboriginal women

artists from non-Aboriginal women artists at this time. While the artists identified by Cardinal-Schubert are all male, the perceived gender imbalance is not nearly as problematic to her as being classified according to race (Chapter Three gives further consideration to the issue of gender in its discussion of Indigenous feminism).

Cardinal-Schubert and her fellow artists were very engaged politically, further illustrating the particular zeitgeist of the times. Anticipating the repatriation of Canada's constitution, the early 1980s saw the emergence of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) from the National Indian Brotherhood,⁷² and following the third National Native Indian Artists Symposium at K'san, the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) was formed in 1985 to consider the exclusion of Aboriginal art from many mainstream art institutions.⁷³ In addition to helping organize important symposiums such as *Networking*, the fourth National Native Indian Arts Symposium at the University of Lethbridge in 1987, SCANA helped develop landmark exhibitions such as *Beyond History* at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1989.⁷⁴ Although the organization did help generate greater attention for contemporary Aboriginal art that dealt with colonialism and identity politics, senior artists, particularly those working with modes of expression considered traditional by Western standards, tended to be overlooked as a result.⁷⁵ A series of events in the 1980s, such as the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary and the debacle surrounding the exhibition, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, followed by the Oka crisis in 1990 and the 1992 quincentenary of Columbus' arrival in the Americas, became favoured subject matter for a number of Aboriginal artists, including Cardinal-Schubert.

The context for Cardinal-Schubert's achievements differed from that of the

generation that came afterwards in the sense that her generation fought to establish the idea of contemporary Aboriginal art.⁷⁶ Aboriginal women artists who were able to reap the benefits of that struggle include Rebecca Belmore, who represented Canada at the 51st Venice Biennale in 2005, as well as KC Adams and Mary Anne Barkhouse, both of whom are widely recognized for challenging and ambitious work. As noted by Martin, these artists, along with their male counterparts, tended to embrace their subject matter with an ironic stance towards colonialism, rather than anger.⁷⁷ Other Aboriginal women artists working in a similar manner include Rosalie Favell and Nadia Myre.

I will now briefly review a selection of Cardinal-Schubert's solo and group exhibitions to better understand the scope of her talents and the breadth of her achievements. *This Is My History*, mentioned earlier, was organized in 1985 at The Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, now the Thunder Bay Art Gallery. The exhibition was co-curated by Cardinal-Schubert and Calgary writer Deborah Godin. As noted by Carol Podedworny, the gallery's exhibition co-ordinator and primary curator, the work can be seen as both contemporary Canadian and Native.⁷⁸ This was the first exhibition of Cardinal-Schubert's work in eastern Canada, and while it drew on many personal aspects of the artist's mixed heritage, the audience could relate to the broader themes of history and the presentation of two distinct cultures. Large-scale oil on canvas works in diptych and triptych form, as well as smaller painted works and graphite drawings, reveal the influence of Western artistic practices. *Great Canadian Dream – Pray for me, Louis Riel*, a large oil on canvas triptych, exemplifies such works (Fig. 3). Cardinal-Schubert completed the piece in 1978, strategically employing European artistic conventions, such as realistic portraiture and hieratic scale, to convey historiographic

subject matter, namely a history of the Métis people within a dominant colonial discourse.⁷⁹ Other historical portraits included those of John Ware, a former African-American slave who emigrated to Alberta and eventually established a ranch,⁸⁰ and Chief Robert Smallboy, who moved his followers to the Kootenai Plains in the 1960s to revive Aboriginal lifestyles,⁸¹ for which he received the Order of Canada⁸² (Figs. 6, 7). Cardinal-Schubert's interest in pictographs as an artistic subject extended to the large circular rock formations known as medicine wheels found in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Montana and Wyoming.⁸³ She found the mysterious form of Stonehenge in England analogous to these medicine wheels,⁸⁴ as both were products of ancient cultures. The artist also depicted various constellations of stars, including Hercules and the Buffalo Nebula, a personal creation symbolizing Native life and survival⁸⁵ (Figs. 8, 9).

In 1986, *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras*, was also organized by the Thunder Bay Art Gallery and curated by Garry Mainprize. Over the period of a year, the exhibition travelled nationally to Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Alberta, back to Ontario and stopped twice in Québec. The exhibition title suggests that the art on display presents a shared concern for “a world which is much larger than the mere physical”, illuminating the mysteries of the human condition.⁸⁶ As noted by Flora MacDonald, then Minister of Communications, the artists were chosen from amongst 200 who had “received traditional academic training and whose works display a contemporary vision.”⁸⁷ Sharon Godwin, Acting Director for the gallery, also stressed the current nature of the exhibition, which featured a panel discussion on contemporary Aboriginal art.⁸⁸ Mainprize similarly characterized the artists as “contemporary”, but also as individuals who “have not received the attention their art

deserves.”⁸⁹

Commenting on her work in the exhibition, Cardinal-Schubert says her subject matter consists of Native history expressed through contemporary art, while Mainprize mentions the combination of Aboriginal spiritual values and political issues.⁹⁰ One can see these themes play out through the artist’s two and three-dimensional works, often in subtle and unexpected ways. For instance, *Warshirt: A Declaration* presents a central figure reminiscent of pictographs, which one can perceive visually, but whose meaning is not completely clear⁹¹ (Fig. 10). Similarly, *Songs of My Ancestors – Medicine Rib Stones*, *Contemporary Artifact – Medicine Bundles: The Spirits are Forever Within*, and *Self-Portrait – Warshirt Shield* are all plaster forms that, while visually compelling, are intentionally impenetrable (Figs. 11, 12, 13). In that sense, the plaster warshirt can be seen as offering protection, unlike the plaster medicine bundles which arose out of a traumatic experience the artist had when a museum curator showed her a dismantled power bundle that had been methodically tagged and stored in a cupboard.⁹² By creating the bundles out of plaster, such desecration would be impossible. *Rider* includes the notation “C-31” just above the figure of a horse, both of which are superimposed over a distraught female form, a not so subtle reference to amendments to the Indian Act, while *Four Directions – Warshirts: This is the Spirit of the West, This is the Spirit of the East, This is the Spirit of the North, This is the Spirit of the South* along with *The Earth Belongs To Everyone II* consider the Chernobyl disaster, and how such events have the positive power to bring people together⁹³ (Figs. 14, 15, 16). Following, perhaps, from her interest in ancient pictographs, Cardinal-Schubert incorporates stencils of handprints into these works, at once recalling prehistoric cave paintings found in Europe and South America.

Mounted in 1988 at the Walter Phillips Gallery at the Banff Centre, the exhibition, *Revisions*, featured Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Jimmie Durham, Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds, Zacharias Kunuk, Mike MacDonald, Alan Michelson, Edward Poitras and Pierre Sioui. Four years later, a catalogue was published, in which the exhibition curator, Helga Pakasaar, describes how Native artists had “become increasingly valorized by white culture”,⁹⁴ particularly as the anniversary of Columbus’ expedition drew near.⁹⁵ She argues that real progress would only come from political developments in the form of Aboriginal self-determination,⁹⁶ and says that a celebration of contemporary Native culture was necessary to counter ethnographic displays associated with *The Spirit Sings* exhibition.⁹⁷ In their work, the artists in *Revisions* attempted to confound any sense of representation except for the immediate ones that they generated through their own artworks.⁹⁸ Cardinal-Schubert’s contribution to this exhibition included a series of collage work panels entitled *Keepers of the Vision* that combined aspects of Native culture as well as the artist’s trademark sweatlodge and warshirt forms (Fig. 17). Accompanying the panels, *Burial Platform: Contemporary Artifact VI (Keine Erste Hilfe)* uses sculptural elements to address the plight of the Lubicon Cree people in northern Alberta.⁹⁹ Beneath what appears to be a sarcophagus, in the form of an infant wrapped in a Hudson’s Bay blanket, and unceremoniously skewered by a small flagpole, lies a first-aid kit bearing the inscription, “No First Aid for Canada’s First Peoples”, written in German and English. (Fig. 18).

Presenting a similar perspective, *Beyond History* was an exhibition organized by Karen Duffek and Tom Hill at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1989. The show featured ten Aboriginal artists, primarily Canadian, including Carl Beam, Bob Boyer, Joane Cardinal-

Schubert, Domingo Cisneros, Robert Houle, Mike MacDonald, Ron Noganosh, Jane Ash Poitras, Edward Poitras, and Pierre Sioui. As stated in catalogue essays by Hill¹⁰⁰ and Duffek,¹⁰¹ the artists in the exhibition sought to challenge dominant notions of Canadian culture. At the same time, they did not seek to associate themselves with notions of tradition or tribal affiliations, which Duffek describes as a potentially marginalizing practice through ethnicity.¹⁰² Instead, the artists spoke from very personal, and highly politicized perspectives, signaling a break from the collective and tribal responses of Native artists in the 1960s.¹⁰³ In addition to six warshirt assemblages, Cardinal-Schubert created two other large works for the *Beyond History* exhibition: *Preservation of A Species: Shroud-Spill* and *Preservation of a Species: Deep Freeze* (Figs. 19, 20, 21). The works defy easy categorization as the artist incorporated a variety of media, combining wall-mounted two-dimensional works with sculptural works situated in the round. Like the warshirts, the theme of preservation critiqued the tendency of museums to lock Native culture and, by implication, Native people in the past.¹⁰⁴ At the same time, Aboriginal material culture preserved within a museum was not allowed to function as it was intended by simply returning to the earth.¹⁰⁵ Cardinal-Schubert used everyday materials such as tape and newspaper to construct components of the *Deep Freeze* installations, drawing on her knowledge and experience working within galleries and museums to make a starkly anti-conservationist statement.¹⁰⁶

In 1992, *INDIGENA: Perspectives of Indigenous Peoples on Five Hundred Years*, a large group exhibition featuring eighteen contemporary Aboriginal artists, was held at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull (now Gatineau), Québec. The exhibition was co-curated by Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, and ran for six months, six weeks of

that concurrently with *Land Spirit Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada*. Meanwhile, in the United States, *Creativity Is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Art* opened at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, while *The Submuloc show/Columbus wohs* exhibition, curated by Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, travelled to twelve venues in the United States between 1992-1994. It was no accident that the exhibitions coincided with the quincentenary of Columbus' voyage, or, in the case of *INDIGENA*, with the 125th anniversary of Canada's Confederation as well. *INDIGENA* provided a checkpoint for the last 500 years of history to consider what the future might hold.¹⁰⁷ The impetus for the project can be attributed¹⁰⁸ in part to the impassioned speech made in 1989 by George Erasmus, then national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, at the "Towards 1992" conference held in Ottawa, in which he pointedly asked, "What are we going to celebrate?"¹⁰⁹

For the exhibition, Cardinal-Schubert presented *Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built)*, which referenced aspects of her family life, including her father Joseph and her brother Douglas, as well as the historical and contemporary experiences of Aboriginal people within Canada (Figs. 22, 23). The piece was shown the previous year in Toronto as part of *Visions of Power: Contemporary Art by First Nations, Inuit and Japanese Canadians*. Regarding the work's configuration, Cardinal-Schubert states, "There is a choice being offered to the viewers as to how they wish to look at Native people."¹¹⁰ The arrangement of the installation forces the viewer into uncomfortable positions in order to read the text through tiny peepholes, some tinted with red glass, while the others were clear. Cardinal-Schubert describes how those viewing the installation may attempt to take apart the narratives that are presented,

deconstructing her identity and that of her family.¹¹¹

Coinciding with the twentieth anniversary of the opening of the Muttart Public Art Gallery in 1997, now the Calgary Art Gallery, the exhibition *Two Decades* offered a twenty year retrospective of Cardinal-Schubert's artistic achievements that travelled to Ontario, the Yukon and British Columbia over a period of two years. As director/curator Kathryn Burns notes, Cardinal-Schubert's career started in many ways at the Muttart, with her work developing to address not only Native concerns, but those of all humanity.¹¹² The exhibition tended to eschew a linear, chronological display, and instead, showed new works amongst older ones, forming more of a circular view, reminiscent of an Indigenous understanding of time as cyclical,¹¹³ as well as reflecting the artist's own process-based approach to making work.¹¹⁴ The show featured early two-dimensional works from the 1970s, such as *Once I Held A Rabbit (Mary 74)*, as well as works from *This Is My History* and *Beyond History*, and more recent mixed media installations. In spite of attempts to prevent viewers from reading the exhibition chronologically, Cardinal-Schubert's commitment to environmental and political causes, as seen in *Oka, Oka, Aiee eee*, one of a series of mixed media works made to resemble flags, and *Warshirt for Clayoquot Sound*, provide glimpses into the arc of her work's trajectory.

This brief overview of Cardinal-Schubert's solo and group exhibitions reveals a deep concern for political issues, autonomy and engagement with contemporary art. The following section will consider her artwork and related accomplishments as representative of a generation of Aboriginal women artists who made significant achievements in their own careers while paving the way for others. As a child of the early 1940s, the artist would reach adulthood just as the rights of women¹¹⁵ and Aboriginal people were

receiving greater public attention.¹¹⁶ Cardinal-Schubert would see Bill C-31 come to pass in 1985, amending discriminatory treatment of Aboriginal women under the Indian Act.¹¹⁷ While her training and career as an artist took place after the “renaissance” of Aboriginal art that began in the 1950s and 60s,¹¹⁸ they coincided with the increasing awareness of contemporary Aboriginal forms of expression.¹¹⁹ Tanya Harnett, Assistant Professor in the Department of Art and Department of Native American Studies at the University of Lethbridge, describes many of Cardinal-Schubert’s artistic generation as activists,¹²⁰ but they can also be characterized as “...socially active, politically aware, and professionally trained individuals...” who share a “...wry and ironic humour that permeates much of their art.”¹²¹

Cardinal-Schubert approached art making with a subversive sense of humour when it came to engaging with Western art history and the art historical process, even as she introduced more serious aspects of her own culture.¹²² Her transgressive approach to art making can be attributed in part to her particular understanding of art and art history.¹²³ She appreciated art because it not only involved physical expression, but could also offer additional forms of expression, where one could cross boundaries of race and academic disciplines.¹²⁴ In the visual arts, she worked primarily in four areas: painting, installation art, works on paper, and collage.¹²⁵ She also worked in sculpture and public art, and was an admitted “closet poet” until seeing her work in print made her take poetry more seriously.¹²⁶ Regardless of the medium, Cardinal-Schubert was prolific, and was motivated by the imperative task of portraying the strength, power and sophistication of Aboriginal people.¹²⁷

In addition to Indigenous imagery and compositions, Cardinal-Schubert drew on a

variety of source materials, particularly when using collage and text. She admitted to wanting to express Aboriginal identity in new ways, and avoid what other artists had made appear commonplace.¹²⁸ At the same time, she realized that she was part of a larger cultural convention.

The premise of the ‘works of art’ that I do is based on old knowledge, passed down to me through generations of people. I was taught by my parents and interpret the world to this day through their eyes and the eyes of those who taught them.¹²⁹

Cardinal-Schubert also sensed the gravity of her position as an artist, and the opportunities it could offer in terms of communication. Early in her career, she decided that she wanted to make important statements through art. She expressed it best in saying that she was “...not going to take this lightly, not going to just paint pretty pictures.”¹³⁰ While her work may be visually compelling in terms of colour and form, she saw that beauty as merely a way to attract people to her work, and then take over their minds.¹³¹ Although Cardinal-Schubert’s art tends to have a strong political message, she ultimately saw it as a place where people could come together, and she often used text to attract a more inclusive audience.¹³²

Cardinal-Schubert’s work addresses many political and environmental causes; as a result, her art tends to have complex and varied associations. She drew fondly from her family’s history, as well as aspects of Native culture, such as the ancient pictographs noted earlier¹³³ (Fig. 24). Although brief, her exposure to Christian iconography and brightly painted idols at convent school influenced her choice of colours,¹³⁴ and she likened her depiction of red dots on open hands to stigmata¹³⁵ (Figs. 2, 5, 15). The artist described her approach to art making as working in a circle, with many circles spinning off from it,

allowing her to explore different tangents, and then return to the main circle.¹³⁶ As Cardinal-Schubert remarked, she saw life reflected in art, and art reflected in life, and worked in the continuum that resulted between the two.¹³⁷

Early in her career, Cardinal-Schubert recognized the importance of history in relation to both the present and the future. Immediately following graduation from university she proceeded to make what I consider would be some of her most important paintings, the *Great Canadian Dream* series, in addition to a number of historical portraits that recognize marginalized Canadian histories. She ended her series of historical portraits to avoid sentimentalizing her subjects or presenting them as romanticized images of Aboriginal people.¹³⁸ As noted by Godin, the portraits in this series only presented a portion of the history that the artist wanted to communicate to her viewers.¹³⁹ She later drew inspiration from Native pictographs, seeking a connection with her own ancestry, while drawing attention to a highly developed Indigenous culture.¹⁴⁰ Cardinal-Schubert noted the skill necessary to create the original pictographs, comparing her experience making metal engraving plates for printmaking with making a curvilinear line in stone.¹⁴¹ The artist also recognized that the pictographs were being vandalized and defaced, and that her only opportunity to save them would be to recreate them, relying in some instances on early twentieth century photographic records from the Glenbow Museum.¹⁴²

Some of Cardinal-Schubert's most distinctive and emblematic creations are her warshirts. The warshirts are a series of works begun in the mid-1980s, executed in a variety of media, from delicate paper assemblages to lush and vibrant paintings on canvas and even installation works. Throughout all of their various permutations, the works in the series were inspired by Cardinal-Schubert's desire to reclaim Aboriginal culture. In that

sense, they can be seen as creating opportunities for future generations. Her direct experience with warshirts can be traced directly to her ancestry as a member of the Blood or Kainai nation, a people who historically occupied territories throughout southern Alberta. The artworks often incorporate personal accoutrements, just as historic hide warshirts did, recording a narrative related to the person who wore it. As noted by Berlo and Phillips, an individual's identity could be associated so strongly with the accomplishments recorded on articles such as a warshirt, that a person would be recognized on the basis of what was worn, rather than any physical likeness.¹⁴³ Cardinal-Schubert describes her interest in the warshirt,

Metaphorically speaking, I view the ancestral warshirts as an honest outward expression of power - a badge of courage... Visible from afar - there was an allowed decision to be made independently of whether to approach the wearer or not.¹⁴⁴

The warshirt series can also be seen as a stinging indictment of collection and storage practices by museums. Prompted by a visit to the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa to view the historic garments stored there, Cardinal-Schubert was horrified to find them stored in plastic bags far away from public view.¹⁴⁵ What she perceived as disrespectful treatment can be seen reflected in the six paper warshirts that would feature prominently in the *Beyond History* exhibition. Each warshirt from that particular series was covered in a transparent plastic sleeve, referencing the storage of the actual objects in museums, and mounted on wooden crosses, which Cardinal-Schubert referred to as an imposed mark of desecration from another culture¹⁴⁶ (Fig. 19).

Given the warshirts' strong link to the artist's personal identity, as well as their almost tangible spiritual dimension,¹⁴⁷ it is no surprise that Cardinal-Schubert found the

museum storage of these items to be egregious. She also recognized that the objects constituted an important part of Aboriginal heritage, but due to their appropriation by collectors, traders, and ultimately institutions, their histories would be restricted or altogether unavailable to the families that still asserted ownership of these garments.¹⁴⁸ Cardinal-Schubert's treatment of the subject is akin to Fred Wilson's re-staging of museum collections that draws attention to the manner in which institutions consciously or unconsciously promulgate racist attitudes or behaviour.¹⁴⁹ In spite of the link to personal identity, Cardinal-Schubert also likened the warshirts, and other works protesting the mistreatment of sacred cultural objects, to "protective armour", countering the ways in which the actual objects were handled.¹⁵⁰

Celebrating the artists with whom she exhibited in *Beyond History*, Cardinal-Schubert created the installation *Art Tribe* for the exhibition *Preservation of a Species* at Galerie Articule in Montréal in 1990. *Art Tribe* was also an examination of cultural, curatorial and institutional practice. The installation was later remounted as part of a traveling exhibition at The New Gallery in Calgary called *Fear of Others*. In its Calgary incarnation, the installation was an amalgamation of cheap, mass-produced department store goods, where kitsch items such as plastic toy cowboy and Indian figures, awards of authenticity and seals of approval critique the seemingly arbitrary division between high and low culture, while presenting incisive social and political commentaries.¹⁵¹

Also installed as part of the *Preservation of a Species* exhibition at Galerie Articule was *The Lesson*.¹⁵² The temporary walls that comprise a makeshift classroom setting were painted black, which Cardinal-Schubert then covered with empowering messages about Aboriginal heritage and culture written in chalk. The installation

eventually developed an interactive component with First Nations people gathering to speak about their own experiences in residential schools.¹⁵³ According to the artist, the experience allowed residential school survivors to re-assert their voice under a new educational paradigm.¹⁵⁴

Cardinal-Schubert also created *Drum Dancer: the Messenger AKA Prairie Pony*, a permanent public art piece commissioned for the Calgary International Airport, which she worked on over a period of four years and completed in 2005.¹⁵⁵ The sculpture depicts a horse in a decidedly non-Western form, as the artist returned again to the pictographic images to honour them in a new way.¹⁵⁶ Mounted on a large mound-shaped base, the work overlooks a terrazzo floor designed by the artist depicting the four directions. The sculpture points south to the pictographs in Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park.¹⁵⁷ Painted with Cardinal-Schubert's signature motifs and vibrant colours, the sculpture is shaped predominantly out of plaster, with steel mesh, plywood and rebar reinforcements. Although secured to a base, the sculpture has incurred some damage due to people climbing on it, and has required some repairs and a Plexiglas partition to be placed around it¹⁵⁸ (Fig. 25). The piece is meant to remind travelers of the history and continued presence of Aboriginal people in the area.

Throughout her career, text was an important component of Cardinal-Schubert's art, no more so than in the series, *Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr*, which was inspired by imagined conversations with the well known west coast artist. Cardinal-Schubert also published poetry (see Appendix B), some of which, like the text in the *Birch Bark Letters* series, was written on the surface of two-dimensional artworks (Figs. 26, 27, 28).

Cardinal-Schubert also wrote critical essays, the best known being “In the Red”, originally published in Fuse Magazine in 1989,¹⁵⁹ and later re-published in 1997 in *Borrowed Power*, a collection of essays on appropriation.¹⁶⁰ She wrote for other artists as well, such as Margo Kane, for whom she wrote the catalogue essay for her 1992 performance, *Memories Springing Waters Singing*, staged at the Banff Centre for the Arts as part of their *As Public As Race* performance series. In addition, she wrote essays for her own exhibition catalogues and curatorial work. Cardinal-Schubert was also a passionate public speaker. An excerpt from a speech she delivered in conjunction with the exhibition, *Diversities*, at the Glenbow Museum, was published as “Surviving as a Native Woman Artist” in Canadian Women Studies/Les cahiers de la femme in 1990. She also gave the keynote address for *Making A Noise: Aboriginal Perspectives on Contemporary Art, Art History, Critical Writing and Community* held in 2003, in which she recounted a metaphorical voyage on the Aboriginal Concorde.

Cardinal-Schubert’s work as a curator can also be seen as a significant achievement that created opportunities for others. Beyond her curatorial work at the Nickle Arts Museum, she acted as an independent curator on numerous exhibitions elsewhere, among them, *Art Is Our Game: A Selection of 50 Art Works Which Celebrate the Olympic Year 1988*, which featured work by forty-seven members of the Alberta Society of Artists. The show travelled to five Alberta galleries between April and December, 1988, and celebrated artistic achievements alongside the athleticism heralded by the Olympics. Cardinal-Schubert not only curated the exhibition, she designed the catalogue as well.

Another curatorial project was *Seven Lifetimes: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: An Exhibition of the Art of Aboriginal Artists of Alberta*. Among the forty-four artists included were Jane Ash Poitras, Faye Heavyshield, Alex Janvier, George Littlechild, Sarain Stump and Gerald Tailfeathers. The exhibition was held at the Triangle Gallery for Visual Arts, now the Museum of Contemporary Art Calgary, from May to July 1993. The title of the exhibition references a prediction by elders that Aboriginal people would reassert themselves seven generations or lifetimes after Columbus' arrival.¹⁶¹ Mounted in the "Year of the World's Indigenous People",¹⁶² the show comprises three generations of artists; those considered elders who worked in the 1950s, those mentored by the elders, and the upcoming generation, aged 5-22 at the time of the exhibition.¹⁶³ The fifth exhibition of Aboriginal Artists of Alberta, the show presented an opportunity to reflect on past struggles and future promise, as well as healing between Native and Non-Native communities.¹⁶⁴

Mark Makers First Nations Graphics was another exhibition that Cardinal-Schubert curated. Part of the Regina-based MacKenzie Art Gallery's Outreach program, the show travelled throughout Saskatchewan between 1997 and 1999. All twenty-three of the artists featured had lived and worked in Saskatchewan over the previous twenty years.¹⁶⁵ Not only did the show present work to rural audiences, it broadened "the notion of First Nations graphics to include mark making on any surface by scoring, beading, quillwork, pigment and collage application," in a contemporary art context.¹⁶⁶

Cardinal-Schubert's last curatorial project, *Narrative Quest*, was recently mounted at the Royal Alberta Museum from November 2011 to April 2012. The show featured the

work of twenty-two Aboriginal artists from the Alberta Foundation for the Arts (AFA) collection, and addressed the importance of storytelling as shared by elders, and the related search for meaning and understanding.¹⁶⁷ The exhibition had its roots in a desire to present together the works of senior Aboriginal artists alongside those of the upcoming generation represented in the AFA collection. Cardinal-Schubert, to whom the show was dedicated, offered curatorial assessment and recommendations.¹⁶⁸ An excerpt from her poem, *Keeper*, was reprinted as part of the wall text and on the exhibition invitations. It read “Let the next Generation be born with the knowledge of what has passed.”¹⁶⁹

Cardinal-Schubert’s interest in the non-profit cultural sector allowed her to draw on her broad range of experiences and develop them in very positive ways. For example, she had an active role with SCANA as a panel member for *Swimming the Mainstream: A Dialogue With Artists of Native Ancestry Who Are Receiving Critical Acclaim*, part of the *Networking* symposium organized at the University of Lethbridge in 1987. She later served as a SCANA board member.¹⁷⁰ Cardinal-Schubert also volunteered for the Calgary Aboriginal Arts Awareness Society (CAAAS), and served a term as president.¹⁷¹ During the time that she was involved with CAAAS, it provided a stable gallery space for the presentation of Aboriginal art with the F’N (First Nations) Gallery, explored theatre productions, and developed a video project that led in part to the establishment of the Aboriginal Program at the Banff Centre.¹⁷² She also maintained an active relationship with her alma mater, the University of Calgary, serving on the Senate and the Alumni Association board, staying involved with the Native Centre, and presenting the Honourable Dr. Douglas Cardinal Award at the annual graduation ceremony.¹⁷³

Cardinal-Schubert was recognized on countless occasions for her achievements. In

addition to receiving numerous scholarships and grants, she was elected to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1985,¹⁷⁴ and admitted in 1986 as the fourth woman in Alberta to receive that honour.¹⁷⁵ In 1993 she was given the Commemorative Medal of Canada, and for her work with CAAAS, she was honoured in a Sik Sika capturing ceremony in 1998,¹⁷⁶ and given the name “Pano Kaki”, or “Elk Woman”.¹⁷⁷ In 2003, Cardinal-Schubert received an Honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of Calgary. She was also presented with the Queen’s Golden Jubilee Medal in 2005, an Alumni Award of Excellence from the Alberta College of Art and Design in 2006, and a National Aboriginal Achievement Award in Art from the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation in 2007.

While recognized for her many personal accomplishments, Cardinal-Schubert did not seek to celebrate what she alone had achieved, but strove to create opportunities for younger artists to gain recognition as well. In a recent reflection on the Glenbow Museums’s website artist and writer Sandra Vida comments on Cardinal-Schubert’s unintended development into a role model for younger Aboriginal artists. Not only did she offer encouragement, but actively presented new opportunities through the exhibition of their work.¹⁷⁸ Following her death, her older brother Douglas noted her courage and determination to be heard, while Jeffrey Spalding, past president of the Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts, extolled Cardinal-Schubert’s importance in getting Native art recognized beyond the field of anthropology.¹⁷⁹ Alex Janvier spoke of her importance in terms of making a place for Aboriginal art in academia by virtue of her own training.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, Jane Ash Poitras, a friend for thirty-five years, recalled talking at great length with Cardinal-Schubert about a wide range of subjects, and her colleague’s importance in

her own development as an artist.¹⁸¹

In a personal interview with this writer, Tanya Harnett spoke of the mentoring role that Cardinal-Schubert provided for her artistic growth.¹⁸² For the 1994 exhibition *White Buffaloes All* at the Triangle Gallery, Harnett, then an undergraduate student at the University of Alberta, was asked to provide some art for Cardinal-Schubert to take to the gallery. The young artist was overwhelmed when she eventually saw the show, as her abstract prints were hung opposite Alex Janvier's work. Both Janvier and Cardinal-Schubert have played a mentoring role for Harnett, and the show had a significant impact on her. As she notes, "it was a private change, but Joane created the environment for that development."¹⁸³ She also described how Cardinal-Schubert supported the exhibition of other Aboriginal artists simply to make sure that their presence, and not merely her own, was known in the province. Harnett cites the sense of responsibility instilled in her by Cardinal-Schubert, to do as she had done, and provide opportunities for her own up and coming students.¹⁸⁴ Having reviewed Cardinal-Schubert's various achievements and contributions as an Aboriginal woman artist, the following chapter will consider whether or not postcolonial thought can adequately represent her concerns.

Chapter Two

Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, from a Maori perspective, on how early observations of Indigenous women by European explorers were based on “Western notions of culture, religion, race and class”, and as these views became widely disseminated, they helped to establish an imperial view of race, as well as gender, amongst the colonizers.¹⁸⁵ She goes on to say that restoring “traditional roles, rights and responsibilities” is central to “any challenge of contemporary indigenous (sic) politics.”¹⁸⁶ Yvonne Poitras Pratt, a Métis scholar from Alberta, shares Smith’s view on the importance of self-determination in overcoming colonialism. She became friends with Cardinal-Schubert through the Native Centre at the University of Calgary, where Poitras Pratt undertook her Bachelors, Masters and doctoral programs. She speaks warmly of Cardinal-Schubert, describing her as “very outgoing, very vibrant”, having a “colourful personality” and extremely generous in terms of offering herself or her brother Douglas as speakers for students.¹⁸⁷ Poitras Pratt also notes how Cardinal-Schubert’s work offered her a connection in terms of recognizing and standing up for her own Aboriginal identity. As both a scholar and an individual, Poitras Pratt could have avoided self-identifying as Métis and actively claiming her heritage, but she recognized that this was not her path, a belief that she holds very strongly.¹⁸⁸ In light of concerns about colonialism expressed in the writing and art work of Cardinal-Schubert, the following chapter will consider how postcolonial thought can represent the plight of Aboriginal women in Canada, given the general and particular circumstances of the country’s founding. So as to properly contextualize postcolonialism, I will first present its relation to imperialism and colonialism.

In his discussion of postcolonialism, Robert J. C. Young explains how over the last

500 years, a variety of factors, including economics, race and gender, influenced events that helped shape contemporary global economic systems for the betterment of Western powers.¹⁸⁹ Young credits Edward Said with the development of postcolonial studies,¹⁹⁰ as he demonstrated that the practices and effects of colonialism on territories and peoples could be analyzed and studied.¹⁹¹ Young underlines the importance of ongoing postcolonial critique rather than dismissing colonialism as a by-product of modernity, particularly given colonialism's unprecedented scope and scale and the alignment of so many disparate societies under one economic model.¹⁹² A brief examination of the different forms of imperialism and colonialism will help to expand on these ideas.

Young makes several distinctions between imperialism and colonialism that prove helpful when considering Canada's past and present, and the issues raised in Cardinal-Schubert's artwork and writings. Imperial empires operated as entities controlled bureaucratically from a central government, which promoted specific ideological and financial interests, although Young argues that imperialism was very inefficient in terms of economic exploitation.¹⁹³ Colonial empires developed along more practical lines for purposes such as settlement or through a trading company for the sake of commerce.¹⁹⁴ Essentially, imperialism could be seen as having an organized, central driving force, while colonialism for the sake of trade tended to operate on a less centralized basis.¹⁹⁵

To further contextualize postcolonialism, one must consider the expansion and thorough entrenchment of imperial and colonial interests during the early years of North American exploration starting with Christopher Columbus. According to Young, Columbus' accidental encounter with part of what is now the Americas was not simply the result of seeking a shorter trade route to the East, but was also an opportunity to approach

Spain from the east, and strike a decisive victory against invading Muslims, even though the Moors still occupied parts of northern Italy, likely complicating such a campaign.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, while transatlantic voyages had been made prior to those of Columbus',¹⁹⁷ Young also cites the improvement of ocean-going ships that would make colonization possible alongside the development of European capitalism, which rapidly began to advance in the 16th century.¹⁹⁸ However, the main economic impetus to colonize was simply gold, and once one colony had been established, it was more strategic to establish many.¹⁹⁹ In addition, having colonies overseas necessitated the development of navies, and these personnel could be used effectively for further settlement abroad.²⁰⁰ Hence, the simultaneous activities of imperialism and colonialism augmented their original purposes, and complemented each other in turn. To consider these events in terms of the present, Young likens the ongoing goal of increased production and consumption of imperialism to mature capitalism.²⁰¹

The spread of imperialism in the nineteenth century was influenced by France's contemporaneous policies of foreign expansion, a model that was adapted by other colonial powers such as Britain due to a competitive global economic and political system.²⁰² According to the French approach to colonization, those colonized were assimilated or absorbed, so they were not actually colonies at all. The approach seems egalitarian and humanitarian on the surface, with the assumption that all are created equal, and that all could achieve greatness, provided that French culture was the guiding force.²⁰³ Young refers to the phenomenon as the "paradox of ethnocentric egalitarianism."²⁰⁴ Meanwhile, British imperialism assumed superiority based on race, and hence, justified itself through the civilizing mission. In other words, since those who had been colonized

could never attain the same level of learning as Europeans, colonial rule would be necessary and constant.²⁰⁵ Although the ideology of imperialism may have been one of civilizing the masses, the main goal was combined political and economic stability at home along with “national prestige and closed markets in the international arena through conquest.”²⁰⁶

Despite the all-encompassing nature of imperialism and colonialism, forces working against them still managed to emerge. Young discusses three forms of anti-colonialism that were rarely well defined and often came about through collaborations, including resistance through anti-imperialist socialism, colonial modernity, and nationalism ideologically based on a return to Indigenous forms.²⁰⁷ Another form of anti-colonialism that was often dominant was self-determination through self-modernization developed as a reaction to the military might of the West. Leaders of colonies who travelled amongst Western societies returned home with ideas of modernization that typically denounced Indigenous culture.²⁰⁸ Soon, Western lifestyles were adopted while established customs were rejected, including feudalism and cultural practices such as female infanticide. While these goals could be seen as compatible with and sympathetic to women’s emancipation, their source can still be tied to colonial powers.²⁰⁹ Another difficulty with anti-colonial sentiment is that it can manifest itself as a form of imperialism through economic dominance, and Young cites the United States as encouraging such circumstances following the Second World War.²¹⁰

Much to the chagrin of artists such as Cardinal-Schubert, Young also describes one of the major contradictions of postcolonialism. While countries such as the United States, Australia and Canada have reached a position where they can more or less be seen as

former colonies, the original colonists, even if they fled persecution, or any other severe form of social or economic deprivation, went on to persecute the Indigenous populations, who, hence, remain colonized.²¹¹ In Canada, not only were such conditions established early in the country's history, but persist through legislation such as the Indian Act.²¹² But, rather than be overly critical and dismiss the important opportunity provided by postcolonial theory to study colonialism, and hence, move beyond it, it is perhaps best to acknowledge that postcolonialism is not without its own inner conflicts or limitations. As Young puts it, the "postcolonial operates simultaneously as the colonial."²¹³

According to Young, the difficulty in applying postcolonial theory to the representation of women is that their voices are typically non-existent.²¹⁴ It is not that women were uninterested in anti-imperial efforts, but that they had a more immediate interest in education and civil rights.²¹⁵ In addition to the subordinate roles of colonized women in colonial societies, a lack of education in the colonial languages of English and French limited their participation in the media, publishing, education and political spheres, at the same time as male chauvinist colonial rulers and historians exacerbated their situation.²¹⁶

Although women actively participated in anti-colonial movements in Latin America, Asia and Africa, men were often credited for their seemingly more visible roles. For instance, at the Sixth Pan-African Congress in 1974, only one woman, Angela Davis, was recalled amongst the numerous men who struggled for rights and freedoms in Africa and abroad.²¹⁷ In somewhat of a contradiction, the Congress of that same year also reflected on the roles, needs and contributions of women, and acknowledged that women in traditional African societies were regarded as equals, while colonialism took away their

roles in economics and agriculture.²¹⁸ Regardless, women's struggles tended to be seen as separate, rather than inherent to the Congress.²¹⁹ Poitras Pratt notes a similar scenario in her Métis community, whereby men are seen as the public face of a political structure inherited from colonial models, but women in the community are really the driving force behind any decision-making.²²⁰

Young goes on to describe how some women amongst the international feminist movement believed that they were without a nation, since nations were seen as part of the greater patriarchy.²²¹ As Young makes clear, women were both colonized and gendered subjects.²²² While some women refused to align themselves with colonial interests, others used the colonial system to establish their equality within society through the courts.²²³

Young also describes how women's emancipation through nationalism could be seen as counter-productive in a colonial context. Patriarchal exploitation could be common to colonial regimes and Indigenous societies. Thus, women would have to fight "double colonization",²²⁴ or what Poitras Pratt refers to as being "doubly marginalized".²²⁵ A national cultural identity could be formed against that of the colonizer, but might be adapted from local practices that were just as problematic in terms of oppression. For instance, Indian women could be identified with *Bharat Mata*, Mother India, or *sati*, the good Hindu wife, and might be subjected to *sati-daha*, or widow burning,²²⁶ while women in Kenya could be subject to *irua*, or cliterodectomy.²²⁷ Young also cites the instance where women's independence is temporary, only to revert back to its previous state when national freedom is achieved. Such was the case for women who entered the workforce during World War II, and afterwards had their freedoms and independence revoked by the state that they supported through the war effort.²²⁸ Feminist theory from the West has also

been criticized on the basis of its Eurocentrism, whereby essentialist ideas of womanhood can be just as harmful as imperial ideology, and equally bound by culture.²²⁹ Young offers the example of Muslim dress, which is often viewed by the West as backwards and repressive.²³⁰ However, as he indicates, veiling is not a “unitary phenomenon”, and may be practiced differently in various cultures, with only some of them being oppressive.²³¹

In spite of the problems that Young identifies with postcolonialism, particularly for women, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak identifies useful ways for understanding its positive implications. The following section will consider her ideas on the subaltern, un-learning privilege as loss, and other strategies that Spivak presents as useful in order to assert a postcolonial critique in support of, rather than on behalf of, Aboriginal women.

In her essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?”, Spivak considers the various ways that Indian women have been silenced. In addition to generalizations put forth by intellectuals such as Foucault and Deleuze,²³² she is critical of the way British authorities regarded Indian customs and traditions, such as widow burning. Regardless of what can be considered colonial interference and what can be considered local tradition, the matter of real consequence is that the subaltern woman be heard. In responding to her initial question, Spivak concludes that the subaltern woman cannot speak, because others speak on her behalf.²³³

Following from the idea of speaking on behalf of others, Spivak discusses her concept of “un-learning our privilege as our loss.”²³⁴ She describes different aspects of the project, questioning how one becomes enabled to speak on someone else’s behalf, and looking at how ideas of other people are constituted by means that are specific to various situations and cultures.²³⁵ As discussed by Landry and MacLean, the privilege of one’s

position, including race, class, nationality and gender, and even one's situation in academia, can prevent that person from attaining knowledge of the Other,²³⁶ which, as Spivak notes, is often a 'Third World' woman.²³⁷ Two possible approaches to un-learning include diligently working to gain knowledge of those hidden by one's privilege, and to speak to those same people directly so that they might sense one's sincerity and feel that they can respond in kind.²³⁸

Spivak explains how those in a position of privilege can also earn the right to be critical rather than allow their position to silence them.²³⁹ For instance, if a man feels that as a white male, he cannot speak on a subject as his social position prevents him from doing so, it is important for him to become critically aware of that position as well as the position of the other. As Spivak suggests, it is advantageous to avoid a deterministic view of one's life, and seek to undermine histories that silence oneself on the basis of privilege.²⁴⁰ Otherwise, one has simply opted out of any sort of meaningful dialogue, and the situation will likely remain the same. In choosing to write about Cardinal-Schubert, part of my intention has been to un-learn my own privilege as loss.

Having discussed Young and Spivak, who argue for the merits of postcolonialism in spite of its problems, I will now review the work of several Indigenous artists, writers and theorists to consider whether or not postcolonial ideas of representation can adequately address the present concerns of Aboriginal women or reflect their lived experience. In a 1994 article entitled, "The Post Colonial Landscape", Martha Gartner discusses a 1993 exhibition of the same name at the Mendel Art Gallery. Over a period of three years, the exhibition would use a series of public presentations, including billboards, to "build a different understanding of the land, how land means different things to

different people.”²⁴¹ While works in the exhibition would explore landscape imagery during the eighteenth and nineteenth century colonial state, as well as the twentieth century postcolonial state, Gartner is quick to point out that a denial of Aboriginal self-government indicates that a postcolonial era has not yet been reached.²⁴² While admitting some ambivalence to the exhibition title, *The Post-Colonial Landscape*, Bruce Grenville, the project coordinator and curator of the exhibition, says that an awareness of colonialism suggests a state of transition beyond it, as evidenced by land claim settlements and self-government.²⁴³

Contradictions aside, the curatorial committee was comprised of local, national and international members, including Peter White, Bruce Grenville, Janice Acoose, Lee-Ann Martin, Jean Fisher, Joyce Whitebear Reed, Marjorie Beaucage and Loretta Todd. Reed, who curated the billboards, echoed Gartner’s sentiment saying, “We’re not in post-colonialism (sic) because there is still a domination of language, the law to learn English is still the basis of a dominant society.”²⁴⁴ Kay WalkingStick, who created one of the billboards, based on a diptych called *Finding the Centre*, compares her experience as a Native American living in a postcolonial culture to living a double life. Whether living on a reserve or apart from a tribal experience, her work invites the viewer to look for “the continuity between the universal and the specific, the inner and outer experience of the world”²⁴⁵ (Fig. 29). From these varying examples, one might conclude that experiences of colonialism and postcolonialism are born out of the particular, rather than the general.

In her essay, *Construction of the Imaginary Indian*, Haida/Tsimpshian educator and writer Marcia Crosby explores her ambivalence towards the term postmodernism, and by extension, postcolonialism. As she states, the recent interest in “difference” or “the

other” is not new, as Europeans have devoted themselves to studying Aboriginal people and collecting their culture for hundreds of years.²⁴⁶ However, the idea of what constitutes other cultures, particularly Indigenous ones, has also been conceptualized and bestowed by Europeans. So, when postmodernism appears to embrace “difference”, Crosby remains skeptical, and does not accept yet another space set aside by Western civilization for Aboriginal people. Instead, she outlines her argument as an act of “confrontation and resistance”, revealing the self-serving and limited nature of postmodern notions of alterity.²⁴⁷

Writing in early 1991, Crosby approaches her critique from her own experience of post-secondary education, where she found alternatives to negative stereotypes and assumptions, but was no more enchanted by positive constructions of who people thought she was and what she was actually capable of accomplishing.²⁴⁸ She comes to terms with understanding the role and function of the “Imaginary Indian” in relation to Western concepts of knowledge, history and identity.²⁴⁹ Much like Edward Said’s discussion of the Orient, as a necessary but wholly imaginary construct by which the West can establish itself,²⁵⁰ Crosby singles out the notions of “other” and “difference” as demarcations of power relationships that have been assigned by Europeans. Responding to the postmodern tendency to parody, as seen in the play *Burning Water* by George Bowering, Crosby states, “There is a difference between using a theoretical critique and being used by it.”²⁵¹ In short, for Crosby, postmodern and postcolonial discourse is self-congratulatory and continues to benefit only the West.

Postmodernism and postcolonialism, although by no means perfect, signal a break from the past, the end of the “master narratives” that Crosby derides, and the opportunity

for different perspectives and voices to be heard. She references Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin's book, *The Empire Writes Back*, in which they point to the similarities between the "Western historicizing consciousness" and the postmodern concept of Otherness, in spite of the latter's ability to destabilize cultural authority. However, it is through that very act of destabilization, "a major cultural redemption", that the ongoing appropriation and control of culture remains hidden.²⁵² While that might hold true in some instances, destabilization also provides the opportunity for anyone to come forward and guide the discourse in a new direction. In her writing, Crosby seems to suggest that the odds are against an Aboriginal person having many opportunities to do so, again, a very salient point, but she and Cardinal-Schubert are proof that it is possible.

In her 1989 essay, *In the Red*, Cardinal-Schubert cites the profit-motive as that which maintains, and indeed, exacerbates colonization as seen in the appropriation and denigration of Indigenous culture. At the same time, she questions the role of ethics and the reluctance of the law to intervene.²⁵³ Cardinal-Schubert also shows that aspects of colonialism and postcolonialism have had unintended, contradictory outcomes, while the overall effect of both can be negative. Recounting historical events of the late nineteenth century, she argues that sometimes residential schools and agricultural work programs actually strengthened Aboriginal culture, as people were able to gather and share information in confined circumstances.²⁵⁴ However, banning sacred ceremonies such as the potlatch and the sweatlodge until the mid-twentieth century, curtailing freedoms to tiny reserves, issuing sub-standard rations, and withholding the Aboriginal right to vote to the early 1960s did much to interrupt cultural practices.²⁵⁵ The introduction of Bill C-31 in 1985 attempted to reverse the damage done to two to three generations through the loss of

language, and particularly the loss of Indian status when Native women married non-Native men. But, as will be seen in Chapter Three, Bill C-31 introduced new problems for Aboriginal women. Meanwhile, the collection of sacred objects by institutions and individuals from as far away as the former U.S.S.R., Germany and Sweden only compounded problems related to the loss of heritage.²⁵⁶

Cardinal-Schubert asserted that Native people had not remained in the past, becoming artists, amongst many other things.²⁵⁷ However, stereotypes, labels, and a refusal to acknowledge a progressive and dynamic contemporary Native culture persisted; a person was Native first, and anything else second.²⁵⁸ She also looked at the hypocrisy of a governing body such as the Canada Council that appeared to withhold funding on the basis of an artist's Aboriginal heritage,²⁵⁹ while non-Native curators were free to apply for funding to exhibit Native artists.²⁶⁰ Further harm came from associating Native art and artisans with "primitive" art, which could contribute to seeing them as "dead art makers of a dead art"²⁶¹ and tended to encourage the appropriation and misuse of Aboriginal culture.

Cardinal-Schubert lauded the innovative establishment of groups such as the Canadian Native Arts Foundation to counter exclusion, but questioned whether such efforts were truly necessary.²⁶² Instead, she called for a stop to racist attitudes on the part of curators and administrators, and the need to recognize and respect the rights of artists of Native ancestry. The organizational efforts of SCANA, mentioned in Chapter One, seemed more progressive, as did those of the Native Business Summit organized in Toronto in 1985 by Robert Houle, which introduced Native businesses to one another and the public.²⁶³ Cardinal-Schubert cited *Revisions*, also discussed in Chapter One, as a

counterpoint exhibition to the Glenbow Museum's *The Spirit Sings. Revisions* attempted to communicate a Native perspective, as well as provide an opportunity to show that Aboriginal people were both the producers and owners of their culture. To emphasize this point she added that Aboriginal people in Australia and New Zealand were becoming equally informed.²⁶⁴

In the same essay Cardinal-Schubert discussed copyright and intellectual property, firmly situating Native artists within contemporary society. She considered the protection of Native cultural icons and ceremonial practices under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and cited Harry Hillman Chartrand's assertion that protection of intellectual property had to be enforced by necessity, since stealing was a barrier to trade.²⁶⁵ She returned to her main thesis, that money was to blame for appropriations, and that Native culture was especially valued because it could be considered an original and truly Canadian commodity.²⁶⁶ Still, she was troubled by the low level of attention paid to Native artists by the Canada Council in terms of providing grants, and the National Gallery in terms of exhibitions and collections, setting a poor example for other Canadian public galleries to follow. The perceived minimal value of Native culture compounded the issues around copyright as people assume that since public institutions did not recognize Aboriginal art, it was free for the taking. For Cardinal-Schubert, it was the commercial galleries, thoroughly connected to money, who were actually the saving grace for such art and the artists who created it.

Cardinal-Schubert concluded her essay by discussing the misguided approach of officials whose position allowed them to determine what constituted Native art. In light of

her own particular challenges to art making, the artist did not let institutional constraints stand in her way, but rather drew on them to inspire and drive her work forward. As such, she dedicated the installation in *Beyond History* entitled, *Preservation of a Species: Deep Freeze*, to the Canada Council, while privately calling it *In the Red*. At the end of the essay, Cardinal-Schubert noted that since its first publication six years earlier, some gains had been made in government, educational institutions and the home.²⁶⁷

In the catalogue essay for Margo Kane's 1992 performance, *Memories Singing, Waters Springing*, at The Walter Phillips Gallery in Banff, Alberta, Cardinal-Schubert again asserts ideas of Aboriginal culture. Appropriately enough, Kane had previously invited her to participate in a Vancouver forum, *Telling Our Own Story: Appropriation and Indigenous Writers/Artists*, which Kane later summarized and submitted as a report to the Canada Council. Cardinal-Schubert resists qualifying Kane's performance as art, rather stating that it

transcends art, it is not a peripheral postmodern adaptation of recorded, dusted off artifice, it is a living reality, strongly intermeshed with past, present and future – a continuum of what has been done, what has continued and what will continue.²⁶⁸

Cardinal-Schubert describes how Kane has developed her performances over the years from her own cultural identity, instead of those found in libraries and museums. After eight years of travelling to numerous communities as a mentor to young Native people with Health and Welfare Canada, Kane retreated to Hawaii. In looking for its pre-colonial past, she was impressed by the strength of Hawaii's Indigenous people in the present. She felt encouraged to bring her culture to mainstream audiences, inviting participation from Native and non-Native audiences alike. The performance at The Walter Phillips Gallery served as a ceremony of “deconstruction and reconstruction”, symbolized

by taking apart and putting back together direct experience, as well as that which has been imposed.²⁶⁹ Throughout the work, Kane teases viewers with her activities, as some seem magical, such as a video of the artist appearing to transform herself into a buffalo, or completely ordinary, whereby dumping a pail of elk dung on the ground in order to stir it represents just that. Eventually, audience members are drawn into the work as they share in taking down Kane's performance space, carrying it outside the studio and up the side of the mountain to rebuild it, returning as it were, to the source.

Although writing in the particular context of the late 1980s and early 1990s, the concerns presented by Gartner, Crosby and Cardinal-Schubert indicate dissatisfaction with postcolonial theorizing. As noted by Gartner, the term implies that the colonial period is over, making it more problematic to those displaced, disenfranchised and otherwise marginalized. One can see in Cardinal-Schubert's own writing and work how she asserts Aboriginal ideas first, resisting a peripheral or marginalized cultural role as may seem appropriate to postcolonialism or postmodernism. As discussed previously in Chapter One, with the exhibitions *Beyond History* and *Revisions*, and the writings presented in Chapter Two, Cardinal-Schubert's resistance to being labeled as "Native", and her desire to simply be seen as a contemporary individual with her sovereignty intact, have certain parallels with the goals of the feminist movement that will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

A desire to establish a sense of sovereignty or autonomy can be seen in many of Cardinal-Schubert's artworks, starting with her presentation of historical portraits in the late 1970s. *Great Canadian Dream: Canadian Heroes* included, amongst others, portraits of Emily Carr, Crowfoot, Poundmaker and Red Crow. It was, as Cardinal-Schubert said,

“an attempt at taking back my voice to declare who the heroes of Canada were.”²⁷⁰ At the same time, she was publicly acknowledging her Aboriginal heritage, something unknown to some of her friends and acquaintances. In creating the pieces for the exhibition, Cardinal-Schubert considered the stark ramifications of Treaty Number 7 on its 100th anniversary in 1978. As she notes,

if we are to heal as a people we must take the facts out examine them and hold them up to the light, we must let people know and understand that we know and understand what has happened to us.²⁷¹

The artist’s statement belies an understanding of the situation of Native people within Canada that is distinct from officially sanctioned histories and theoretical approaches suggested by postcolonialism and postmodernism. Both theories purport to allow room for such experiences, as can be seen in Bhabha’s discussion of the hybrid²⁷² and Third Space²⁷³, and Jameson’s characterization of postmodernism as a practice of pastiche and schizophrenia.²⁷⁴ However, while both of these theorists present ideas that can help one grapple with colonialism, circumstances suggest that Western readers may benefit more, as the theories tend to explain conditions according to their perspective rather than those of the marginalized. As noted by Crosby, such theories can be seen as a further colonization of Aboriginal people into a postmodern landscape.²⁷⁵ No one can be seen as more keenly aware of her own situation than Cardinal-Schubert when she expresses her concern with being labeled “exotic” or “other”, idealized or made anonymous in portraits by Western artists, popular culture, souvenir shops, as well as being commodified through brand names for items including automobiles, tobacco products, household appliances, toys and sports teams;²⁷⁶

Looking at the images of these popular icons I thought of my own babies and I

said, 'God help them when they grow up and they are not just cute anymore.'²⁷⁷

Cardinal-Schubert's aversion to being classified under an imposed system of postcolonial thought is understandable, given postcolonialism's seemingly close proximity to colonialism. However, it is certainly more difficult and less productive to deny that colonization occurred. Moreover, as seen in the next section, postcolonial theory can provide some useful strategies for addressing the concerns of Aboriginal women.

Following from the historical portrait series, Cardinal-Schubert's interest in pictographs can be addressed through Bhabha's ideas on culture as a strategy for survival. He proposes the idea by first humbling himself and honouring his subject, suggesting that we learn the most salient lessons from those who have suffered in terms of displacement, subjugation and domination.²⁷⁸ He goes on to explain that the application of culture as a survival strategy can be seen as emerging through social marginality, changing how we think of culture beyond its usual sites of reception, and encouraging us to experience it as unfinished in terms of its meaning or value, comprised of "incommensurable demands and practices, produced in the act of social survival."²⁷⁹

Pictographs are an excellent example of culture beyond its usual sites of reception. Not only are they located outside of a museum or gallery space, subject to the elements and the whims of any individual who happens upon them, but those found in southern Alberta are beyond the typical Western comprehension of art and art history as it has developed since the Renaissance. While some of the pictographs found in Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park depict more recent historical events, as evidenced by the inclusion of guns or horses, methods for providing accurate dates for the images do not exist.²⁸⁰ Archaeological evidence indicates that Native people have inhabited the area for 3,000-

5,000 years,²⁸¹ but the pictographs in southern Alberta do not feature largely in Western art history, and hence, may still be seen as mysterious and exotic. When Cardinal-Schubert introduced this means of depicting events, human beings, and animals into her imagery, along with images of sweatlodges and tipi forms,²⁸² she transformed what was once thought marginal into the familiar²⁸³ (Fig. 30).

Bhabha's notion of culture as a strategy for survival can likewise be seen in Cardinal-Schubert's interest in warshirts, through which she offers histories that have been marginalized using unfamiliar formats. She began to work with the warshirt motif in the 1980s, creating works on paper, as well as a three-dimensional warshirt made of plaster that she could wear.²⁸⁴ Each work contained an aspect of the artist's "diarized accounts of (her) life and struggles", as well as considerations for the future.²⁸⁵

In the series of six warshirts created for *Beyond History*, Cardinal-Schubert used personal anecdotes as well as references to historical events that had been obscured. For instance, with *Is This My Grandmother's*, the artist was inspired by a piece of crochet found in her grandmother's sewing machine (Fig. 31). While such a small detail might seem trivial, Cardinal-Schubert recognized that it allowed her to know something about her grandmother's life,²⁸⁶ just as accoutrements on an actual warshirt identified and said something about the individual who wore it. So, while the particular warshirt has a personal meaning for the artist, it can also be related to the appropriation of Aboriginal culture in both public and private collections. Through the generic allusion to a "grandmother", a broader public could also consider similar implications for aspects of their own histories if personal items or family heirlooms were stolen or lost. Other warshirts in the series for *Beyond History* include *Remember Dunbow*, which prompts

viewers to consider the experience of Aboriginal students at the Dunbow Industrial School,²⁸⁷ one of many such institutions active across the country between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century;²⁸⁸ and *Remnant II*, which includes a caption indicating the faux garment's purchase from Christie's auction house. Cardinal-Schubert also inscribed accession numbers onto the works to indicate their collection by museums.

As she developed the series of works further, Cardinal-Schubert likened her warshirts to "protective armour", as in the plaster medicine bundles she created to counter disrespectful displays²⁸⁹ and the disassembling of sacred objects by public institutions²⁹⁰ (Fig. 12). From 1991, *Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt* incorporates abstract references to warshirts and tipi lodgepoles, as well as a collage of various other elements, including a bingo card, a photograph of the artist, a fortune cookie fortune, and a poem from the artist's *Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr* series. In addition to other fragments of text, the artist has signed her name "Cardinal-Schubert, RCA", referencing her induction into the Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts (Fig. 26).

Created in 1992 and displayed as part of *About Face*, a 2005 exhibition of contemporary Native American, First Nations and Inuit self-portraiture, *Self-Portrait, Warshirt; The Americas Canopy*, a painting/installation, recalls both a "spiritual, woman's home space", as well as "the bloody history of Native peoples and the suffering of Native women"²⁹¹ (Fig. 32). While the large painting is framed under glass, the piece also includes a tambourine hung off to the right with a red handprint on it, as well as a lacrosse mask, which has been painted pink, hanging just above the work. These motifs allude to Cardinal-Schubert's interest in protection, either through the mark made by a hand²⁹² or the sturdiness of the mask.

In her warshirt from the *Dream Bed* series, Cardinal-Schubert related a spiritual experience she had at Head Smashed In Buffalo Jump in the mid-1980s to her surgery for breast cancer ten years later²⁹³ (Fig. 33). The artist describes how thinking back to the dream bed, a hill used in a vision quest,²⁹⁴ allowed her to relax and feel safe on the operating table.²⁹⁵ *Urban Warshirt - Metro Techno*, part of a more recent series from 2007, combines aspects of Aboriginal culture with technology from the urban environment, such as beadwork and a DVD²⁹⁶ (Fig. 34). As discussed further in Chapter Three, urban life may pose another set of challenges for Aboriginal people to overcome. Whether Cardinal-Schubert developed her warshirts as paper assemblages, paintings on canvas or as sculptures in the round, they can all be seen as presenting culture from a marginalized position in order to survive.

Cardinal-Schubert's use of text in her artwork and poetry can also be seen as a cultural strategy for survival. As an Aboriginal woman artist, her writing emerges from a marginalized position, covering a variety of related subjects, from the experiences of Aboriginal people in Canada to those of another woman artist, namely, Emily Carr. Cardinal-Schubert was not alone in her aesthetic use of text; in fact, several of her artistic peers, including Jane Ash Poitras, Kay WalkingStick, Carl Beam and Robert Houle, also used text effectively in their work to address the plight of Aboriginal culture, and the imposition of a new language and colonial ideology. One of Cardinal-Schubert's initial uses of text came about during the creation of some of her early warshirts and plaster medicine bundles. While these works were meant to counter the display of ceremonial or otherwise sacred objects in museums, she found her work was drawn into the same scenario. It had been labeled "Native", and the works were seen as "contemporary

artifacts”, so she used text in such instances to regain control of how the work was received.²⁹⁷ Poitras Pratt also recognizes the value of text in Cardinal-Schubert’s work, even in the titling, as it allows the viewer to see what the artist is trying to do, providing context and guiding one’s interpretation of the work.²⁹⁸

For the installation piece, *Art Tribe*, Cardinal-Schubert produced her own text panel, which was mounted on the gallery wall to explain what the piece was about. Aware that such information is usually put in a catalogue, she was determined to exercise her own right to talk about the work, rather than leave it to critics or historians to determine what her thought process was when she made it.²⁹⁹ Similarly, she often found that the curatorial writing in catalogues did not present a lot of information related to the artist’s creative process. She was further troubled that some people believed that artists had no place speaking about their work.³⁰⁰ She argued that artists prefer to communicate as directly as possible with their audience, and that there is a desire to “eliminate this middleman, this interpreter.”³⁰¹

As with the series of works featuring historical portraits, pictographs and warshirts, Cardinal-Schubert used text as a cultural strategy for survival in her installations that sought to present marginalized histories through unfamiliar formats. For *The Lesson*, the walls of the gallery space were painted black, allowing the artist to write directly on them. As with *Art Tribe*, the text was placed in a very immediate position in relation to the viewer, but since *The Lesson* considered, amongst other things, the residential school system, the walls mimicked blackboards and the means for presenting previously obscured histories of Aboriginal people. *Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built)* also presented marginalized

histories in chalk text on black walls. Using narratives drawn from her family life and that of other Aboriginal people, and presented in a context and by means that might have been both unfamiliar and challenging to the viewer, the artist changed the typical reception of culture, encouraging us to experience it as incomplete and divergent.

Cardinal-Schubert's poetry similarly presented marginalized histories. Her series *The Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr* presented fictional conversations with Carr, addressing obstacles that both artists faced in their career based on either gender or race. As Cardinal-Schubert explains,

...if I can talk to Emily Carr about these issues then ... non-Native people will [respond]...Because we have so much importance attached to words ...we tend to read them – we even read graffiti – so I'm fairly confident that people will read the words.³⁰²

Through her poems to Carr, Cardinal-Schubert expressed regret over such events as the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage, as well as absurd justifications for why she was denied arts funding by the Canada Council. The artist also wrote poems inspired by Aboriginal subjects, such as her experience of visiting Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, her Homage to Robert Smallboy, and the importance of Native heritage (see Appendix B).

In spite of her struggles to assert a sense of Aboriginal sovereignty, Cardinal-Schubert seemed proud of the various mainstream honours bestowed upon her, such as being inducted into the Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts. Such seemingly contradictory behaviour can also be seen as a cultural strategy for survival, and perhaps a reflection of her bi-racial heritage. Cardinal-Schubert's actions can be compared to the British-born artist Yinka Shonibare, who has added the title of Member of the "Most Excellent Order of the British Empire" to his name since it was awarded to him. As

Shonibare notes, he could have refused the honour as others in his position had, given its association with colonial power. But he felt it was more useful to accept it, and “make an impact from within than from without.”³⁰³ Similarly, Cardinal-Schubert’s brother Douglas remarked that although he has accepted several honorary degrees from institutions that still very much observe European traditions of education, he considers the experience worthwhile in terms of what he can learn.³⁰⁴ Chapter Two indicates that postcolonial thought attempts to explain to a Western audience the circumstances of those who have been colonized. But, as with the subaltern, postcolonialism does not provide a direct means for the colonized to communicate their concerns. Chapter Three will further consider the means for Aboriginal women artists to establish their voices in light of Cardinal-Schubert’s work.

Chapter Three

According to Harnett, advocacy for recognition of contemporary Aboriginal art occupied a large part of Cardinal-Schubert's role as an artist due to the particular period in which she and her peers emerged.³⁰⁵ While this generation of activist-artists could be seen as establishing many frontiers benefiting those that came after, the sense of struggle was not always appealing to her. Although Harnett acknowledges the privilege she has been afforded, such as the immediate recognition of her work as both Native and contemporary, she has considered less openly defiant ways to effect change.³⁰⁶ Similarly, Poitras Pratt discusses the need to make change in how Aboriginal culture is received, such as the use of "voice" in her digital storytelling project in order to reclaim heritage, even introducing audiences to people from the Fishing Lake Métis Settlement via on-line communication tools.³⁰⁷ The project reflects Poitras Pratt's interest in partnering, establishing an actual dialogue, and allowing members of the Fishing Lake community to see how an external audience appreciates their stories.³⁰⁸ To broaden the ideas set forth by Harnett and Poitras Pratt, the following chapter will consider how Aboriginal women writers assert concerns in a society that has only begun to address women's rights and Aboriginal rights in a general sense. To provide some context, I will begin by briefly examining the history of women's experiences in Canada.

European women who came to the country as pioneers were largely responsible for raising families, and could work in partnership with their husbands to manage the household economy.³⁰⁹ Native women also played an active role in society, helping to link and support both Indigenous and European cultures through the fur trade.³¹⁰ However, by 1867, Victorian society, transplanted from England, only allowed women to work outside

of the home as teachers or nurses.³¹¹

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, upper-class women were able to participate in reform movements engaged in various causes, such as religious instruction, bans on liquor sales, improving working conditions, housing, providing for single women, and socialised health and child welfare.³¹² The reform efforts gradually developed into the Suffrage Movement, Canada's first wave of feminists. The opportunity for women outside of Québec to vote came with the end of the First World War.³¹³

The opportunity to vote did not bring full equality, however. Even though women entered the work force in unprecedented numbers during World War II, they returned to the home afterwards.³¹⁴ It was not until the 1960s, with the protest of nuclear weapons, that the second wave of Canadian feminists formed.³¹⁵ In 1967, the government responded to women's concerns over the lack of opportunities and institutional inequalities with a royal commission, studying the status of women, but providing few solutions.³¹⁶ At the same time, definitions of art materials and processes became more expansive.³¹⁷ Notable non-Aboriginal Canadian women artists included Mary Pratt, Kim Ondaatje, and Christiane Pflug, who documented their immediate domestic environments,³¹⁸ Gathie Falk, who transformed everyday acts into performance art, and Joyce Wieland, who merged a variety of materials and concerns, creating paintings, drawings, films, textile works and sculptures.

As in Canada, women in the United States also began to advocate for equal rights during the 1960s, with artists such as Judy Chicago developing "central core" imagery,³¹⁹ Martha Rosler juxtaposing images of domestic spaces and the Vietnam War,³²⁰ and Carolee Schneeman, who used the female body as her medium in a number of

performance-based works. Writing in 1971, Linda Nochlin outlined the fallacies and pitfalls that branch out from the question as to why there are no great women artists. Nochlin set forth the hypothesis that women are incapable of greatness, to which many respond that great women artists are merely undiscovered, or that women artists produce distinctively different art forms than men. However, Nochlin rejected efforts to seek out great women artists, simply because the standards by which white male artists achieve greatness, be it “Genius” or “Talent”, have all been established by and for white male artists.³²¹ She tested her premise further by considering the artistic output of the aristocracy in comparison to women, and arrived at the conclusion that social situations are responsible for how art is made, who makes art, and whether or not it is considered great. In closing, Nochlin suggested that women could use their subjugated position to draw out fallacies, and either with or without men, build anew on what has previously not been established, that is, the unknown.

If one follows Nochlin’s logic, there have been no great Aboriginal women artists in Western art history simply because the social situation has not allowed for such a possibility. Aboriginal material culture, no matter how distinctive and creative, was not acknowledged by the dominant settler society as such. As voiced by Jensen in Chapter One, Native art and culture were typically the purview of anthropology, and art by Native women, if it happened to receive any notice, was relegated to artifact or craft. In order to consider the struggle of Aboriginal women artists asserting concerns in a society that has only recently begun to address the rights of women and Aboriginal people, it is useful to further consider art and craft designations and their effect.

A weaver and curator, Kathy M’Closkey looks at how European views of art and

craft have developed, and how those views have informed the production of textiles by Aboriginal women. In terms of origins, she points to the distinction and conceptual elevation of art during the Renaissance, with the subsequent colonial empires spreading similar ideas on an international basis.³²² In addition to the separation of art from craft, the notion of art being a solely male pursuit was also promulgated.³²³ Against the historical backdrop of art's escalation in Western society, M'Closkey examines its implications at the Pangnirtung Tapestry Studio on Baffin Island.

Echoing Jensen, M'Closkey traces the European evolution of fine art, particularly painting and its conceptual component of drawing, which were seen as distinct from manual crafts such as weaving, and other Indigenous forms of material culture, often superficially viewed as craft and left for anthropologists to study.³²⁴ M'Closkey looks at how the art and craft designations became canonized by philosophers such as Kant during the late eighteenth century, and how those working in so-called craft areas of production were disparaged further by the mechanization and fierce economic competition of the Industrial Revolution. As a result, textiles, particularly those produced by women, whether European or non-European, went largely unnoticed. As M'Closkey points out, the distinction between art and craft was almost as devastating to Indigenous people as the loss of land to property ownership,³²⁵ since it did not exist in Aboriginal societies until it was introduced by Europeans.

M'Closkey then goes on to discuss the success of the Pangnirtung weave shop as a paradox. The conditions of the workshop, where the process of weaving appears as a collaborative activity amongst the women employed there, rather than as singular, individual expression, in addition to the imported technologies and materials used to

create the works, would seem to deny the status of these works as ‘art’ and relegate them to the lesser category of ‘craft’ under the art and craft designation. However, individuals who develop a design for weaving may be distinguished as artists from those that merely weave.³²⁶ Ultimately, the workers may not see what they produce as anything more than a way to make a living.³²⁷ M’Closkey concludes by stating that the designation of products from the weave shop as art, along with adept marketing, tends to obfuscate the ways in which the goods are actually produced to make them economically viable. In spite of its success, the weave shop may be limiting creativity more than promoting it,³²⁸ given the focus on making saleable products that are designed by only a few of the workers. While the conditions of the Inuit weavers in Pangnirtung are quite particular, their story provides a useful opportunity to consider how objects were made before the introduction of capitalism and the distinction of art from craft, in order to recognize how greatly those concepts can deprive individuals of their self-expression.

Writing in 1973, Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro consider how women artists have asserted their concerns using imagery based on the “central cavity” despite its historically negative reception. As they write,

to be a woman is to be an object of contempt, and the vagina, stamp of femaleness, is devalued. The woman artist, seeing herself as loathed, takes that very mark of her otherness and by asserting it as the hallmark of her iconography, establishes a vehicle by which to state the truth and beauty of her identity.³²⁹

Chicago and Schapiro discuss the iconography of several twentieth century women artists working in the Western tradition of art, from Georgia O’Keefe to Emily Carr. In their own work, they incorporate the “central cavity which defines them as women” in order to change the negative connotations of such imagery.³³⁰ Their efforts can certainly

be seen as pioneering in terms of feminism and Western art history. However, non-Western women, or women of colour, are not considered in their brief essay. As with Chicago's monumental installation work, *The Dinner Party*, completed in 1979, a tendency to identify essential characteristics belonging to all women can ignore certain complexities of historical and daily lived realities.³³¹ Similarly, working in the same context as Chicago and Schapiro, artists such as Martha Rosler assert a difference between "feminist art" and "women's art".³³²

Here, it is worth returning to Young's assertion in Chapter Two that Indigenous women were discriminated against twice, on the basis of their race and their gender. As well, it is important to be aware of the limitations of Western female subject constitution, as discussed by Spivak,³³³ Mohanty,³³⁴ hooks³³⁵ and Minh Ha.³³⁶ The situation is no less diverse within Canada, as Poitras Pratt identifies some of the very particular circumstances facing Métis women and men as they attempt to establish their rights under what has become known as the "Hunt for Justice".³³⁷ Hence, it is important to bear in mind the historical, geographical, racial and socio-economic differences amongst women, and address these complexities with the care and attention they deserve. In discussing the means by which Aboriginal women artists assert their concerns, I will attempt to do so while maintaining, as Doreen Demas has done, that there is no essential or universal Aboriginal woman.³³⁸

In this regard, Grace Ouellette considers the areas in which post-colonial theory and Western feminism do not address issues brought forward by Indigenous feminism. She argues that contemporary feminism typically does not address the "multi-oppression" of Aboriginal women, and calls for the recognition of a "distinctly Aboriginal

worldview".³³⁹ In Canada, Ouellette recounts how Aboriginal women were mobilized in the late 1960s at roughly the same time as the broader feminist movement, but for vastly different reasons.

According to Ouellette, discrimination on the basis of race, gender and marital status under the Indian Act provided the motivation for the Aboriginal women's movement in Canada.³⁴⁰ Groups such as Indian Rights for Indian Women (IRIW) and the Tobique women's group, from the Tobique reserve in New Brunswick, sought help from the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, as well as writer Janet Silman and artist Shirley Bear to help document their experiences.³⁴¹ Following several successful conferences in the early 1970s, the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) was formed in 1974, to represent "Indian, Inuit and Metis (sic) women."³⁴² In particular, Aboriginal women sought to change the legislation that denied their Native Indian status once they married a non-treaty person. While Aboriginal women recognized that men from their communities were not responsible for the Indian Act, they none-the-less benefit from the systemic discrimination.³⁴³

Sexual oppression did become a matter of contention, though, because NWAC was not always included in Aboriginal delegations to conferences held by the federal government.³⁴⁴ While amendments to the Indian Act came in 1985 with Bill C-31, Ouellette observes that the reinstatement of Indian status was not always straightforward, and the entrenchment of sexism within Aboriginal communities almost made matters worse. For instance, as described by Mary Two-Axe Early, the federal government returned the status of Aboriginal women, but then gave the power to band councils to decide who was welcome and who was not, frequently turning away those that had voiced

political opposition.³⁴⁵

Ouellette contends that feminist theory, whether Liberal, Marxist or Socialist, might not be appropriate or useful when addressing the oppression of Indigenous women. Here, she highlights the work of several feminist writers but particularly Jennifer S.H. Brown and Sylvia Van Kirk who examine the experiences of Aboriginal women during periods of initial contact with Europeans. Invariably, the views of women are not addressed, nor is there any attempt to extrapolate them from the records kept by fur traders and missionaries.³⁴⁶

As Ouellette plainly states, Aboriginal women have a strategy for affecting social change that is all their own, based on their personal experiences and their grandmothers' teachings, both of which can lead to decolonization and co-existence.³⁴⁷ Where Euro-American/Canadian feminists see women's liberation achieved through the creation of a genderless society, Aboriginal women must deal with racism and colonial oppression in addition to sexual oppression.³⁴⁸ Ouellette proposes the Fourth World as a unique place from which Aboriginal women can express their beliefs.³⁴⁹

Fourth World theorizing is not meant to maintain the status quo, but instead allows for recognition of cultural values, such as the Four Directions and the Circle of Life. The Four Directions can be seen as representative of attributes including compass points, colours, seasons, peoples, means of sustenance, abilities, gifts and can be shown in diagrammatic form as a circle with concentric rings, known as the Circle of Life or Medicine Wheel.³⁵⁰ Ouellette also stresses the importance of motherhood, integral to the Circle of Life philosophy, particularly in the need for reciprocal nurturing relationships between Mother Earth, women, and future generations.³⁵¹ After using a Euro-Canadian

organizational model that gave power only to those in office, NWAC aligned itself with the Four Directions, involving all regions, distributing responsibilities, and ensuring representation of all affiliated women's organizations in decision-making.³⁵²

As part of her study, Ouellette interviewed Aboriginal women involved with women's groups to further understand their concerns. From these interviews, she identified a variety of issues affecting Aboriginal women, particularly in urban centres. These included racism, poverty, housing, health and welfare, education, unemployment, transportation, alcoholism, youth prostitution and suicide.³⁵³ Ouellette also found that Aboriginal women believed that urban settings make matters worse due to cultural differences, and the absence of Aboriginal values, spirituality, and support systems. Interestingly, sexual oppression was not seen by informants as the source of their ills.³⁵⁴ She concludes by calling for self-government on Aboriginal terms, employing the Fourth World concept³⁵⁵ and the Indigenous Circle of Life philosophy, emphasizing harmony over dominance, and incorporation of the Four Directions model for both governmental structure and process.³⁵⁶

Like Ouellette, Emma LaRocque recognizes that Native women have suffered from both sexism and racism. Such attitudes can take the form of stereotypes and violence, but also can be seen in the treatment of Native and non-Native knowledge. For example, Western scholarship is typically regarded as objective and canonical in comparison with the presumed subjectivity of Native scholarship.³⁵⁷

LaRocque presents the idea that Aboriginal women assert feminist concerns through "post-colonial (sic) voices", or simply "voice". As the author explains, the latter is a "textual resistance technique",³⁵⁸ which maintains an oral tradition through writing,

engages various genres through an interdisciplinary approach, and archives sensitive material, such as residential school accounts, in an ethical manner.³⁵⁹ In addressing criticism of Native women writers as being subjective in comparison to Western forms of knowledge, LaRocque offers encouragement to those who continue to “cross borders and seek greater understanding”.³⁶⁰ She also outlines the importance of traditions, while carefully considering their forms in accordance with contemporary and international human rights. In closing, she states that both history and scholarship must involve dignity, equality and humanity.³⁶¹

Julia Emberley also suggests a literary approach for Aboriginal women to assert feminist concerns. She identifies four theoretical problems facing Aboriginal women writers. First, one has to acknowledge racist and colonial assumptions in discourses presented by “non-Aboriginal feminist theorists, readers, and interpreters of Aboriginal women’s writings”.³⁶² Second, Aboriginal women’s writing emerges out of resistance due to the experience of colonization, and that contextualization must be considered in cultural studies and feminist cultural studies. The third problem involves formal concerns around writing by Aboriginal women, including the constitution of difference, history as opposed to “story telling (sic)”, and the relation between the tradition of oral storytelling and producing those stories in print.³⁶³ The fourth theoretical problem involves asking what possibilities Aboriginal women’s writing offers in terms of a “feminism of decolonisation (sic)”.³⁶⁴

Emberley then goes on to outline three sites of resistance related to Aboriginal women’s writing. First of all, it is important to recognize the writing as just that, to resist categorization as “minority” or “ethnic”, and fiction or non-fiction. Instead, importance is

given to works as being imaginative, presenting a people's experience not present in mainstream literature. Emberley suggests that Aboriginal women's writing should not be affiliated with critical practices that harbour colonial assumptions, including feminism. As she sees it, the problem is linked to the exclusion of Aboriginal people from academic privilege, and she notes how Aboriginal women musicians, writers, performers, and artists, including Joane Cardinal-Schubert and the filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin, were largely absent from officially recognized institutions in the 1980s.³⁶⁵ Lastly, the author discusses how Aboriginal women writers are both characterized by and subjects of their work. In other words, writing as it relates to history very much embodies self-determination. Emberley also considers the greater articulation of a postcolonial feminism, combining mainstream and Indigenous feminist concerns, rather than the two practices occupying autonomous, and often counter-productive, positions. She concludes by noting the ability of oral histories to present truth that is often ignored by the "hegemonic inscriptions of history and literature",³⁶⁶ but which often emerges at their contested boundaries and limits. It is worth noting that Emberley's description of oral histories is similar to Bhabha's notion of cultures of survival.

Cardinal-Schubert used LaRocque's concept of "voice" in both the figurative and literal sense to communicate her distress over the daily struggles of Aboriginal women. In an excerpt from a speech delivered at the opening of the exhibition, *Diversities*, at the Glenbow Museum in 1989, she raises concerns about the survival of Aboriginal people in contemporary society. She recounts the various advancements of Indigenous people in Canada in comparison to ancient cultures in Europe, showing how the latter are revered, while the former are still heavily criticized after more than a century of mistreatment by

the government. Noting that her work is frequently viewed as political, she refutes the association of Native people with the political and with the notion of artifacts, both of which influence the treatment of contemporary Native artists and heritage, by creating her own “contemporary artefacts (sic)”.³⁶⁷

Looking back at the racism she experienced growing up, Cardinal-Schubert stated that much remains the same today. She criticized the *Diversities* exhibition itself for typifying and segregating the work by “Native Artists”, while other work in the museum by Canadian artists has not been curated according to race. She also criticized *The Spirit Sings* exhibition for presenting a non-contemporary view of Indigenous culture. However, she also considered how she has frequently turned negative treatment into a positive force. In quoting her father, she reassured anyone else who has faced similar struggles, “Just take a stand, just fight and never give in, never give in to those bastards.”³⁶⁸

Here, it is worth reviewing the exhibitions and art works discussed in Chapter One in light of the means identified by Ouellette, LaRocque, Emberley and Cardinal-Schubert by which Aboriginal women assert their concerns. I will use the literary theories proposed by LaRocque and Emberley to discuss displays and works of art, since many can be read as visual narratives, particularly Cardinal-Schubert’s work with the pictographs.

This Is My History from 1985 presents a distinctly Aboriginal woman’s view as described by Ouellette. Cardinal-Schubert is not so much presenting her past or the events around her in terms of her gender, but through her own experiences and heritage. She considers both Western and non-Western bodies of knowledge, and the imbalance related to the greater history of colonialism in Canada, and how that has affected her as a person. The artist’s historical portraits can be likened to Ouellette’s description of the Fourth

World perspective, a separate view of the world that stems from oppression and segregation, while the images inspired by the pictographs and sweatlodge allow for the recognition of cultural values. Cardinal-Schubert also shares very personal historical narratives through the works, such as her mother's sweatlodge vision, which, although presented in a visual format, can be likened to LaRocque's idea of "post-colonial voice" or "voice". As with Emberley's claim that oral history presents truth, the title of the show, *This Is My History*, as well as its content, can be related back to the artist. Although the work is mainly visual, it embodies self-determination. Through the depiction of pictographs and Stonehenge, Cardinal-Schubert draws attention to the disparity between the importance attached to ancient European culture and the disdain and ignorance of Canadian Aboriginal culture, in spite of each one's greater value to humanity.

Race and culture can be seen as the primary themes of the exhibitions, *Stardusters* and *Revisions*. Although *Stardusters* was split equally in terms of the gender of its four artists, and Cardinal-Schubert was the only woman amongst the eight artists in *Revisions*, neither show seemed overly concerned with sexual oppression. Instead, the display of Aboriginal culture provided the thesis for each exhibition, either through its absence and exclusion, or its assertion as a vibrant contemporary expression. Regardless of the artists' gender, both exhibitions once again exemplify Ouellette's notion of the Fourth World, as well as Cardinal-Schubert's drive to situate Aboriginal culture in the present. Emberley's concerns with exclusion and affiliation with colonial assumptions are equally present in both shows, at the same time that the artists embody self-determination. In light of LaRocque, the exhibitions present history and scholarship with dignity, equality and humanity.

Beyond History rallied against the dominant culture's notion of what Native culture consists of, particularly what are deemed to be traditional, or tribal connections, but it was not explicitly concerned with the imbalance of gender in the dominant society. Of the ten artists, only two were women, and the plight of women and children is still present in the work of artists of either gender. For instance, Bob Boyer's use of blankets as a painting surface can be likened to quilting,³⁶⁹ typically associated with craft, and tipi liners,³⁷⁰ whereby tipi making was seen as the domain of women.³⁷¹ Similarly, co-curator Duffek also notes the general concern of the artists for the Lubicon people, which Ron Noganosh addressed with his piece *Lubicon*, its soundtrack alternating between laughter and tremendous sorrow, reflecting the ongoing struggles of those displaced from their land.³⁷² Given the circumstances of colonialism in Canada as discussed by Ouellette, matters of gender have a different priority amongst Aboriginal women. It could also be that the curators and artists were picking their battles, addressing the primary goal of establishing cultural sovereignty, as noted by Jensen at the *Networking* symposium in 1987.³⁷³ Such tactics could allow for the determination of gender roles on Indigenous terms at a later time. In attempting to disrupt the association of Aboriginal people with notions of tradition established by Europeans, the curators of *Beyond History* sought to address the criticisms raised by Cardinal-Schubert of biased curatorial practices and public perception.

As with *This Is My History* and *Beyond History*, *INDIGENA* looked at the position of Aboriginal people, both men and women, within North American society. The exhibition focused on what followed from Columbus' voyage and the Confederation of Canada. Hence, it is not surprising that differences in gender did not form the focus of the show, and that of the nineteen artists featured, only four were women. Although the

apparent imbalance in representation by gender may again seem blatant, the issues of race and colonial oppression could be seen as more immediate.

As set out by McMaster and Martin in their curatorial essay, the themes of the exhibition included autonomy for Aboriginal values and philosophies, personal and cultural histories from the last five hundred years, a critique of Euro-North American traditions, and the belief that in spite of the past, the future could be different.³⁷⁴

Aboriginal artists, regardless of gender, could address these themes. As well, the curators drew attention to the critical nature of language, particularly with colonialist terminology such as “discovery” and the “‘founding’ of Canada by the French and the English”,³⁷⁵ which is demonstrative of acknowledging racist and colonial assumptions, as indicated by Emberley.

The division of gender amongst those who wrote catalogue essays for *INDIGENA* is evenly divided. However, few talk about the experiences of Aboriginal women, and instead focus on the devastating effects of contact with Europeans and post-contact, and efforts to contend with the aftermath. In particular, the introduction of European diseases and claims of superiority on the basis of race were totalizing, and did not discriminate according to gender. Given the diversity of cultures and lifestyles of Aboriginal people in Canada, it may not be worth considering gender as a measure of equality at all, which can likely just be seen as another notion introduced by Europeans, further disrupting societies that may have had no concept of gender equity.³⁷⁶

In terms of selecting artists for *INDIGENA*, the curators do not say why more men were chosen than women. Given the professional training that many of the artists in the exhibition had received, the proliferation of male artists could be traced back to the gender

bias of the institutions they attended. As well, as Nochlin argues, the prejudices of the societies in which the artists were situated would have also played a part in determining who would have prospered, and become prominent enough to be included in the exhibition.

In the *Two Decades* exhibition one can see that Cardinal-Schubert is interested mainly in racism and the history of colonialism in North America. Gender and sexual oppression did not feature prominently in the exhibition, and these same priorities can be seen in the artist's own life. In speaking with Eckehart Schubert, it became clear that Cardinal-Schubert was not interested in reclaiming her Indian status following the amendments provided to the Indian Act by Bill C-31, as she did not agree with how the government had defined Métis simply as someone with mixed blood. While being of mixed-blood heritage herself, the artist believed that the Métis have a distinct culture based on their heritage and location within Canada, and she did not see herself in those terms.³⁷⁷ Likewise, in consideration of gender or sexual oppression, Cardinal-Schubert saw herself as a "womanist", in that she was very pro-female, but did not consider herself a feminist.³⁷⁸ So, although Cardinal-Schubert had particular views on the rights of women, the reality of her situation was determined to a more drastic degree by her race. Once more, *Two Decades* reflects a Fourth World perspective, and the artist's increased use of text in both the works and the catalogue indicate the growing importance of "voice", as well as Emberley's affirmation of a literary approach to addressing concerns.

As discussed in Chapter One, Cardinal-Schubert made a conscious decision early in her artistic career to use her art responsibly to effect change. However, just as she denounced the labelling of Native art as political, it is no surprise that after creating work

for twenty years, she equally resisted the labelling of her own work this way,

I am tired of hearing that my art is political. If people think that emotion and caring about issues are political then I can't stop dealing with that. It is too much of a reality for Native people. I don't want to do empty art.³⁷⁹

The artist is correct on both counts. The passion for her work is apparent in the subjects that she addresses, the conviction by which she pursues those subjects, and by her statement about the day to day lives of Native people. Due to legislation like the Indian Act, the everyday reality of Aboriginal existence is largely determined through the political since birth.³⁸⁰ In the following section, I will examine how Cardinal-Schubert asserts some of her key concerns.

In the historical portraits series Cardinal-Schubert created likenesses of those who had been marginalized, or whose voices were non-existent in historical accounts. It is apparent in the *Great Canadian Dream* series that her concerns are not simply those of a woman artist, but as an Indigenous person, fully recognizing that colonialism and racism are the biggest threats to her sovereignty. By intentionally using the Western genre of portraiture and mediums such as oil paints or graphite, Cardinal-Schubert is able to present a Fourth World perspective to a mainstream audience. *Great Canadian Dream – Pray for me, Louis Riel* and *Treaty No. 7* stand out as examples of such works (Figs. 3, 4).

The large triptych and diptych offer respective histories of the Métis people as well as a series of betrayals against Aboriginal people that followed from signing hunting rights away in exchange for reserve lands, food, and treaty money.³⁸¹ By using hieratic scale in both works, and assigning the importance of figures based on their relative size, Cardinal-Schubert visually affects a “post-colonial voice”, disrupting the canonical view of Canadian history. For instance, in *Pray for me, Louis Riel*, the Plains Cree Chief

Poundmaker, seen in the central panel, as well as Michel Dumas and Gabriel Dumont, seen on the right panel, are very large and quite prominent in comparison to General Frederick Middleton. Similarly, in *Treaty No. 7*, the image of Sir John A. MacDonald is diminutive in scale compared to Crowfoot, who looms above him. In addition to presenting art and history from a contemporary viewpoint that stems from oppression, Cardinal-Schubert also avoids the strict Western categorization of a traditional Native artist.

For the works that employ imagery based on pictographs, Cardinal-Schubert presents a Fourth World view while challenging canonical forms of knowledge. Unlike artists such as Judy Chicago, she is not so much interested in depicting female imagery as Aboriginal imagery. The artist seeks to make a personal connection with a particular history, one that has been obscured by colonialism. As described by Emberley, Cardinal-Schubert's compositions, which double as visual texts, develop out of resistance, and presenting the pictographs in a fine art context, again, resists labels such as "minority", "ethnic", and fiction or non-fiction. Given her Blood ancestry, the works also characterize the artist. She is their subject, embodying self-determination through the relationship of the pictographs to history, including her own personal narrative. Perhaps most important is the opportunity for the pictographs to present a narrative that is not written, emerging at the contested boundaries and limits of history and literature.

Cardinal-Schubert's warshirts are similar to the pictographs in that they present a Fourth World perspective and narratives that are non-canonical. Although she includes brief passages of text in the works, they function more as clues, rather than authoritative statements. The materials presented in each piece, either literally or figuratively, can be

seen as stemming from oppression and segregation, particularly in how they relate to the collection and storage of sacred Aboriginal regalia. Thus, Cardinal-Schubert asserts Aboriginal concerns over the collection and storage of material culture, as well as events that affected women, as well as men and children.

While one of the works in particular, *Is This Is My Grandmothers'*, can be directly related to Ouellette's description of a Fourth World view as a strategy for social change, the pieces that address living in an urban setting, such as *Urban Warshirt - Metro Techno*, present Cardinal-Schubert's concerns for Aboriginal culture within that built environment (Figs. 31, 34). A number of the warshirts are characterized as self-portraits, which the artist described as "diarized accounts of my life and struggles."³⁸² From 1992, the work *Self-Portrait, Warshirt: The Americas Canopy* presents a space that can be seen as feminine, given the artist's use of reds and pinks, but it is also undeniably Aboriginal. In light of LaRocque, the artist has taken a multi-disciplinary approach in creating the warshirts, drawing on various mediums, and allowing the works to develop from drawings into three-dimensional objects and installations. By crossing the boundaries of various artistic disciplines and bodies of knowledge, Cardinal-Schubert is able to address a broad audience, even while presenting painful or hateful material, such as the Dunbow residential school and a general loss of culture.

Cardinal-Schubert's installations present a Fourth World viewpoint, but frequently incorporate a literary component as a "voice", particularly a storytelling voice. Through her avid use of text written in white chalk as though it were on the surface of a blackboard, the artist sought as direct a relationship with her audience as possible. As she did in *The Lesson* and *Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the*

house that Joe Built), Cardinal-Schubert used the form and setting of her installation, *Kitchen Works: sstorsiinao 'si*, to further establish that relationship (Fig. 35). In reviewing the installation for an article in *Alberta Views*, as part of the '98 -'99 Alberta Biennial of Contemporary Art, Pamela McCallum notes the overwhelming sense of anger and dispossession in the work.³⁸³ She writes that in the decade since the *Diversities* exhibition, Cardinal-Schubert has recognized how the term “Native” has been reclaimed by artists such as herself, allowing them to begin to tell their own stories and those of their families and communities.

For *Kitchen Works*, Cardinal-Schubert set up the space with her signature chalk writing on would-be blackboard surfaces along with a large charcoal on paper mural, overwhelming viewers with information. McCallum writes that in order to read the text, one has to move back and forth across a black-and-white chequered floor, similar to those found in kitchens,³⁸⁴ including the artist's own kitchen. Given the view of what could be soldiers, a church, and figures screaming in distress, the work is similar to Rosler's juxtapositions of domestic spaces and war, as well as Barbara Kruger's installations comprised entirely of bold text, colours and images. However, instead of a kitchen counter, Cardinal-Schubert has situated a large display cabinet in the space, much like those found in museums, another topic of contention for the artist. Within the case, there are six tiny papooses, or Aboriginal children, and fragments of text from both newspapers and the Bible. As with the chairs in *The Lesson*, the legs of the display case have been tethered with rope, a form of hobbling in one sense, and in another, as McCallum notes, forcibly linking disparate histories.³⁸⁵ Presenting a further visceral response to the images and text is a teacup, mounted on top of the display case and filled with what appears to be

blood. The liquid can also be seen tracked across the floor in bright red footprints. The idea of blood evokes uneasy notions of suffering in both Christian iconography and Aboriginal histories in Canada, while the teacup, representative of British culture, attempts to contain them. Meanwhile, the footprints on the floor lead out of the space, ignoring the boundaries of the black and white squares.

In her writing, Cardinal-Schubert once again presents a Fourth World perspective, using a creative and imaginative “voice”. For example, the *Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr* series is both playful and cutting in terms of exploring the parallels between Carr’s life and her own experiences as an artist. From *Birch Bark Letters to Emily Carr: Astrolabe Discovery*, Cardinal-Schubert describes her understanding of why Carr was not included in the Group of Seven, although she also painted landscapes (Fig. 36). As explained within the poem, it was not her gender that held Carr back, but the immediacy with which she painted her subject, “Your work is screaming, ‘I am in the landscape.’”³⁸⁶ The poem also notes that, aside from Tom Thomson possibly, the rest of the group “paint landscape like they were looking through a window.”³⁸⁷

In her essay for the catalogue accompanying Margo Kane’s Banff performance, Cardinal-Schubert eschews colonial assumptions, post-modernism, postcolonialism, and feminism. As with *In the Red*, she does not delve into critical practices, but directly examines appropriation and the profit motive as subjects that are problematic. In “Flying With Louis”, a keynote address given in 2003 at *Making A Noise: Making A Noise: Aboriginal Perspectives on Contemporary Art, Art History, Critical Writing and Community*, Cardinal-Schubert takes the audience on the last international flight of the Aboriginal Concorde, piloted by Louis Riel. Through the speech, she reviews the cultural

accomplishments of Aboriginal people in the short time since contact with Europeans, particularly the Aboriginal Art Secretariat with the Canada Council for the Arts, Aboriginal curatorship, and dedicated Aboriginal arts funding. In referencing the words so often attributed to Riel, that his people will sleep for 100 years and that upon awaking, it will be the artists who give them back their spirits, Cardinal-Schubert explains that it is the Concorde's last flight, as it represents the last chance; the last chance to reclaim culture as opposed to living "in a continuing reactionary soap opera with scripts written for us by others."³⁸⁸ This last chapter of the thesis provides instances where Aboriginal women artists speak from their own perspective, and on their own terms. The work of Cardinal-Schubert serves as an excellent backdrop for a further examination of some of these aspects of Aboriginal feminism.

Conclusion

In considering the life and work of Joane Cardinal-Schubert, the goal of this thesis has been to address a gap in art historical research on an artist that I believe to be of major importance. Behind that effort, the question resounded as to why a cohesive body of research had not been previously created. Scholars such as Young, Spivak, Crosby, Ouellette and Cardinal-Schubert herself provided an answer hinted at early on by Rena Point Bolton; Aboriginal women have been discriminated against twice, on the basis of race and gender. Until the mid-twentieth century, when a resurgence of Aboriginal culture brought mainstream attention to non-Western art forms, work by Aboriginal artists was largely seen as artifact, and the purview of anthropology, or craft, and not worthy of any serious attention from art dealers and collectors, including large public institutions. Aboriginal artists were also constrained by non-Native designations of what was considered traditional, and therefore authentic. Hence, Aboriginal art that was made using contemporary materials or forms was dismissed, as was work by Aboriginal women artists labouring under imposed colonial gender roles.

Cardinal-Schubert was a dynamic and determined artist, advocate, mentor, mother and wife. She reached adulthood during a period of increasing awareness of the dire circumstances of Aboriginal people in Canada, and joined the vanguard of those struggling to have Indigenous arts and culture recognized internationally. The artist achieved a high level of public recognition, through solo and group exhibitions that travelled extensively, through works collected in numerous private and public collections, as well as through an array of honours and awards bestowed upon her. However, considering her goals and interests, seeking recognition, particularly for its own sake, was

not one of them, and if asked why she was so driven, one could imagine that she would simply respond that it was her responsibility; looking and seeing according to how her parents taught her, and how her grandparents had taught them.

Although her career as an artist really only began when she was in her late thirties, when she was married with two young children, Cardinal-Schubert was keenly aware of her role as a creative artist who would convey the intellectual and human value of Aboriginal culture in Canada, which had been denied for centuries through colonial oppression. She was active in a particularly memorable period of Canada's history, witnessing amendments to the Indian Act that would promise greater equality for Aboriginal women, and events that would deeply inform Aboriginal relations with the nation-state of Canada, such as the Oka crisis and the Columbus quincentenary. In spite of the obstacles facing women artists in general during the late twentieth century, Cardinal-Schubert succeeded in reclaiming her heritage, culture and a place for herself in society. She valued the formal education she received, recognizing the opportunities it could lead to. Working through organizations such as SCANA and CAAAS, and as an independent curator and scholar, she helped organize people and projects that would find their fruition in numerous exhibitions and conferences, and build on her legacy as a role model, mentoring those that came after her and inspiring them to do the same.

While this thesis has attempted to address as many aspects of Cardinal-Schubert's career as possible, it may have neglected to discuss aspects of her life cherished by her friends and family. Although she may be seen as a resolute agent for change in the lives of Aboriginal people, whether or not they were involved in the arts, she defied the characterization of her work as political. While racism could be seen as an immense

motivating factor in her life, legislation such as the Indian Act ties any efforts to combat racism to politics by necessity. However, for Cardinal-Schubert, the subject matter of much of her work was also marked to a large degree by compassion, as seen in works that addressed the Lubicon Cree community and residential school survivors. As well, the spiritual dimension of Cardinal-Schubert's life and work could easily be the subject for another thesis, given her exposure to different forms of religion, the experiences of each of her great-grandmothers as spiritual figures, her initial education in convent school, and the use of Aboriginal spiritual motifs in her art, such as various animal forms, the warshirt and the sweatlodge.

Complementing her vehement approach to addressing injustice in the art world and beyond, was Cardinal-Schubert's sense of humour, which was equal to her passion. The artist noted that the ever present humour and irony in her work was simply part of her character, "If I say something, just a statement about anything, I always put a twist on the end of it, I notice."³⁸⁹ Similarly, although viewers may be drawn to her works by their lush sense of colour, the varying use of texture, or intriguing composition, they can expect their minds to be equally engaged by the messages they contain. In a brief moment during the filming of Loretta Todd's film, *Hands of History*, the artist herself coyly summed up her approach to making art by saying, "I like to play a lot."³⁹⁰ While her sense of play may seem wicked at times, humour and irony also tend to indicate a genuine warmth, and should not be seen as diminishing the anguished and powerful subjects that comprise her work, but rather as an opportunity to communicate more directly with her audience.

Honouring the life and work of Cardinal-Schubert has been only part of this project. With it came a greater recognition of the difficulties facing Aboriginal women in

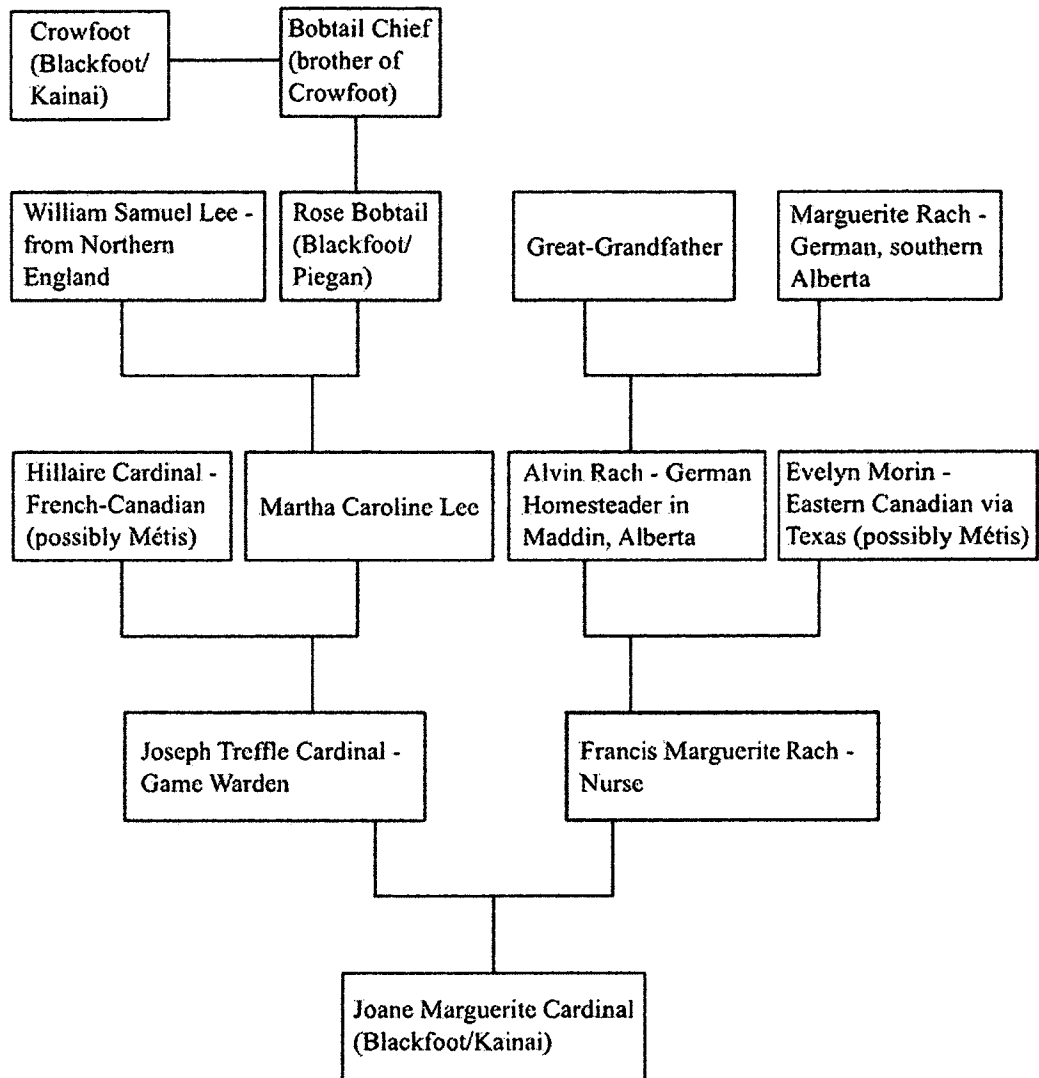
Canada. Reviewing the various means by which ideas could be presented in support of, rather than on behalf of Native women has been just as important, and no less challenging, given the legacy of the country's founding, and the imperative nature of the task. Young's writing proves very helpful in terms of comprehending the nature and scope of imperialism and colonialism, and what that has meant to women internationally. Likewise, Spivak offers an invaluable means for understanding the situation of Aboriginal women in Canada through the subaltern, as well as un-learning one's privilege as loss. These ideas prepare the way for writers such as Gartner, Crosby and Cardinal-Schubert to be heard in the broadest sense possible. Similarly, Bhabha's notion of culture as a strategy for survival helps one gain further perspective on the circumstances of Aboriginal women, and to become more receptive to their marginalized voices, whether they are seen as artists, or not. Although space prevents further elaboration and incorporation of their ideas into this thesis, Chandler and Lalonde provide vital insights into the literal application of culture as a means of survival, as it has been shown to lower suicide rates in Aboriginal communities.³⁹¹

Like Nochlin's probing into the nature of cultural production in the early 1970s, one has to consider that, while a problem has been acknowledged, the opportunity to seek some form of resolution has to be taken up on an ongoing basis. With each new generation comes new challenges, and problems that developed over generations will not necessarily disappear any sooner. A Fourth World view, as proposed by Ouellette, presents a viable means for Aboriginal women to assert their concerns about racial and gender oppression. LaRocque and Emberley both stress the benefits of a literary approach for Aboriginal women to express a voice that is uniquely theirs, while Cardinal-Schubert identifies

racism, the profit-motive and colonial oppression as major threats to Aboriginal women artists. As a marker for progress, an article published by NWAC in 1992 and reprinted in 2009 cautions that there will be no Aboriginal self-government without the participation of Aboriginal women.³⁹² Equally dismaying, following presentations by NWAC and the Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA) in March 2012, to the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights in Washington, DC on the disappearance of Aboriginal women in British Columbia, and the systemic failures that have contributed to racially and sexually motivated violent crimes against Aboriginal women,³⁹³ funding cuts to NWAC's Health Department by Health Canada were announced in late April.³⁹⁴

The current state of Aboriginal women artists is the topic for another research project altogether. However, it is important to acknowledge the hard work and precedents set by Cardinal-Schubert and her peers that provide a platform from which a new generation of Aboriginal women scholars and artists can speak. Take, for instance, the quiet nature of Harnett's 2007 photographic exhibition *Persona Grata*, in which the artist documents herself as though contemplating a mirror in various guises, except it is the viewer that stands before the artist's would-be reflection when taking in the large format prints. Likewise, although Poitras Pratt has since completed her doctoral thesis, her 2002 master's thesis, *Our Voices Must Be Seen To Be Heard: Contemporary Native Art in Canadian Society*, considers the vital role of Aboriginal culture in determining Canada's national identity. These are but two examples of Aboriginal women who are making gains within their given field, and they are not alone.

Appendix A



Appendix B

oh Canada

Not so many
months ago
I applied

To the Canada Council
Arts B Grant

To study
Canadian Painter
Emily Carr.

Wanted to use her as
my mentor
Post Humously.

Seemed like a good idea....
The RCA used her
Posthumously....
Even awarded her
An Accolade.

Good painting
they said
the jury
said

Loved your Warshirts.
(they shortlisted me)

But ...
they said
the jury said

We were worried
If you went to
B.C.
You might end up
painting the totems
Red

What of it
I thought
It is art historica.

now I know better
Next time
I will apply to
go to visit
the pyramids....

oh Canada

Source: Native Literatures in
Canada: A Collection of
Writings by Indian, Inuit and
Métis Authors

Near the Ledge, Writing on Stone

My Father
 Never
 Took me
 There.
 But here
 I am
 At
 This Holy Place.
 A Power is here
 Strong
 Enough
 To raise
 The Hair
 on my neck
 And send
 shivers
 Down
 my spine.

We follow
 the warden
 sheeplike
 and
 Listen
 to bed-time
 stories
 from the lips
 of this

Interloper

The magic
 Holds
 for me
 in the hot
 Summer afternoon
 And later when we
 Approach
 The Ledge
 where
 folk-lore
 promises
 A wrapped Skeleton
 will be found
 I stoop
 and
 loosen from the earth
 A Bone Bead
 That
 Everyone
 has
 walked
 On.

Source: Native Literatures in
 Canada: A Collection of Writings by
 Indian, Inuit and Métis Authors

**There is no Hercules
(Homage to Robert
Smallboy)**

You
with your face of wisdom
your
comforting hands
your older age should
Demand
Respect

Yet
no one let you in
In Banff.

It was a cold night
you froze both legs
then,
they took you in
to the hospital
they took everything
away from you
including your legs.

They gave you
New things.

You could not burn
Sweetgrass
or have
Your food.

You went home
to die.
Finally.
Painfully.
Two years later.

Wasn't it you
Who had
special
audience
with the Pope.

Didn't you save
Your people
by example
on the Plains.

Didn't you receive
the Order of Canada.

Too bad
There is no Hercules

In Banff
For an Old Indian
Out of Ceremonial Dress

(1987)

Source: Passage To Origins I :Joane
Cardinal-Schubert, FAB Gallery,
University of Alberta

Keeper
Keeper of the Vision
Spirit of the Four Directions
Your Heads

Thrusting

Screaming Out

Keeper! Keeper!
Scream for
All Creatures
on the Earth.

Your Warshirts
Marked with the White-Hot
Brands
of Words
of the
Lost Generation.

You bring forth
Your Animal Spirits
resting on their
barren stumps –

Grave markers.

Let the next
Generation
be born
with the knowledge
of what has passed.

Source: Revisions

From: Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt
(1991)
61.5 x 91 cm
Mixed media on chiro bark paper
Collection: Glenbow Museum
Source: Glenbow Museum

From: Beginning of Life (1991)
102 x 127 cm
Acrylic and conte collagraph on rag
paper
Source: The Trickster Shift:
Humour and Irony In Contemporary
Native Art

Letter to Emily:

Feb 23, 1991

Dear Emily,

I was really knocked out the other day when I was in Ottawa perusing the Group of Seven even though I studied them in school and know their names- you have to know them to pass the course- I just had never realized that they were all men. Poor Emily I guess you didn't even think that there might be a bias. I think you were just too busy working and doing what you wanted to realize that that was one thing not in your favour. Of course I really don't know what you were thinking but some people do they have spent years of their lives reconstructing your life and painting too bad they just don't ask people while they are still alive but I guess they would lose control.

Regards
Joane Cardinal Schubert

PS I want to apologize for all those people who used to cross the street when they saw you coming. I think you should know they all talk about what a great friend you were to them.

Beginning of Life

03-91

Dear Emily,
It's been a while since I've written you. Everyone is madly getting ready for the 500th anniversary of the discovery of Columbus of the Americas. This is outrageously funny as the Aboriginal peoples of the Americas were not lost. The increasingly common habit of the media to flood the papers magazines and the tube with new information about the habits of these 'owners' of the New (Old World) World has unearthed some frightening historical truths. Hard to live with such a legacy. I guess you can understand what I mean

Best

JC-S

Notes

- ¹ While the term Aboriginal may be used to indicate a person of First Nations, Inuit or Métis descent within Canada, I will use it interchangeably with the term Indigenous to refer to those descended from a region's primary inhabitants.
- ² For my purposes, heritage can be seen as one's ancestry, and that which is determined by birth.
- ³ Culture can be seen as including knowledge, belief systems and activities, of which art is a part.
- ⁴ Clint Buehler, "Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert to receive National Aboriginal Achievement Award for Arts," *First Nations Drum*, last modified February 2007, <http://firstnationsdrum.com/2007/02/dr-joane-cardinal-schubert-to-receive-national-aboriginal-achievement-award-for-arts/>.
- ⁵ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 33; 36.
- ⁶ Postcolonialism implies the state in which an individual can study colonialism, it is not meant to indicate that colonialism has ended.
- ⁷ Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, (London: Blackwell, 2001).
- ⁸ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
- ⁹ Ruth Phillips, "First Nations Art, c. 1880-1970," Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss, and Sandra Paikowsky, eds., *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- ¹⁰ Lee-Ann Martin, "Contemporary First Nations Art Since 1970: Individual Practices and Collective Activism," Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss, and Sandra Paikowsky, eds., *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- ¹¹ Ruth Phillips, "First Nations Art, c. 1880-1970," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 365-66.
- ¹² Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).
- ¹³ Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, eds., *INDIGENA: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992).
- ¹⁴ Gary Mainprize, Introduction to *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras*, (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1986).
- ¹⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge Classics, 1994).
- ¹⁶ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," *Borrowed Power*, eds. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 122-133.
- ¹⁷ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 143.
- ¹⁸ Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, (London: Blackwell, 2001).
- ¹⁹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968), 89.
- ²⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge Classics, 1994).
- ²¹ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Nelson, C., and L. Grossberg, eds., (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education), 1988), p. 66-111.
- ²² Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, Amelia Jones, ed., (New York: Routledge), 2003), p. 229-233.
- ²³ Lawrence provides a detailed history of the development of the Indian Act. Bonita Lawrence, "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview." *Hypatia*, Volume 18 Number 2 (Spring 2003) : 3-31.
- ²⁴ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
- ²⁵ When legislation was first initiated in 1850 as a protective measure for Native territory, Aboriginal people were not eligible to participate in government. J.R. Miller. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 138.
- ²⁶ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
- ²⁷ From a western perspective, tradition implies the past, different from present or contemporary practice, which can become a measure of authenticity. Janet Catherine Berlo, and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 32.

- ²⁸ Janet Catherine Berlo, and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 9.
- ²⁹ Rick Hill, Nancy Marie Mitchell, and Lloyd New, *Creativity Is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Indian Art*, (Santa Fe: Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development, 1992), 10.
- ³⁰ Eckehart Schubert, e-mail message to author, 24 July 2012.
- ³¹ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 1.
- ³² Carly Morton, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert," *My Heroes Have Always Been Indians*, ed. Cora J. Voyageur. (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 2010), 83.
- ³³ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 1.
- ³⁴ Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 41.
- ³⁵ Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.
- ³⁶ While pictographs are painted, and petroglyphs are incised, the artist titled her work as the former, although the techniques can also be combined. Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 5.
- ³⁷ Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.
- ³⁸ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 31.
- ³⁹ Gerald Vizenor's notion of "narrative chance" can be similarly attributed to his mixed-blood lineage, accommodating contradictions within a communal setting. *Native American Novelists: Gerald Vizenor* (Eureka, CA: Films Media Group, 1994), VHS.
- ⁴⁰ Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 3.
- ⁴¹ Patricia Janis Broder, *Earth Songs, Moon Dreams: Paintings By American Indian Women* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 227.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 227.
- ⁴³ *2nd Annual New Sun Symposium*, organized by Allan J. Ryan (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, 2003), VHS.
- ⁴⁴ Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 4.
- ⁴⁵ Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.
- ⁴⁶ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
- ⁴⁷ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," *Borrowed Power*, eds. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 132.
- ⁴⁸ *From the Spirit, Season I*, directed by Raymond Yakalea and Bill Stewart (2005. Edmonton, AB: Earth Magic Productions, 2005), DVD.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.
- ⁵¹ "A Condensed Timeline of Events," in *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools*, eds. Marlene Brant Castellano, et al. (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008), 64.

⁵² “Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools system,” *Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper*, 11 June 2008, accessed 16 March 2012, <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=2149>.

⁵³ In 1920, Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs made residential school attendance compulsory, and it wasn't until 1944 that Senior Indian Affairs officials considered a shift in policy from residential to day schools. Integration of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal education only began to occur in the 1940s and 1950s. While Indian Affairs Regional Inspectors recommended the abolition of residential schools in 1958, the closure of all government-run schools did not occur until 1996. “A Condensed Timeline of Events,” in *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools*, eds. Marlene Brant Castellano, et al. (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008), 64.

⁵⁴ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 44.

⁵⁵ Deborah Godin, “Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History,” in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 42.

⁵⁶ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

⁵⁷ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 31.

⁵⁸ Deborah Godin, “Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History,” in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 42.

⁵⁹ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 30.

⁶⁰ Deborah Godin, “Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History,” in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 42.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶³ Ruth Phillips, “First Nations Art, c. 1880-1970,” in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 362.

⁶⁴ Zena Pearlstone and Allan J. Ryan, *About Face: Self-Portraits By Native American, First Nations, and Inuit Artists*, eds. Zena Pearlstone and Allan J. Ryan (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian), 27.

⁶⁵ Ruth Phillips, “First Nations Art, c. 1880-1970,” in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 363.

⁶⁶ “CBC Digital Archives – Expedition – Expedition: Expo 67's Indians of Canada,” *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, accessed 30 April 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/discover/programs/e/expedition/expedition-july-7-1967.html>.

⁶⁷ Ruth Phillips, “First Nations Art, c. 1880-1970,” in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 366.

⁶⁸ Lee-Ann Martin, “Contemporary First Nations Art Since 1970: Individual Practices and Collective Activism,” in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 372.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 376.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 376-77.

⁷¹ Wendy Dudley, “Curator Hopes To Change Racism,” *Calgary Herald* (Calgary, AB), May 5, 1989: C1.

⁷² Aboriginal political leaders were concerned for their rights provided under the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Lee-Ann Martin, “Contemporary First Nations Art Since 1970: Individual Practices and Collective Activism,” in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 380.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 381.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 381.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 383.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 380.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 389.

⁷⁸ Carol Podedworny, Foreword to *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 2.

⁷⁹ Alisdair MacRae, "Mimicry and Hybridity: Postcolonial Strategies In the Historical Portraits of Joane Cardinal-Schubert," (Presentation Paper, Carleton University, 2011), 2.

⁸⁰ David H. Breen, "John Ware." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, Department of Canadian Heritage*, accessed 19 March 2012, <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=41252>.

⁸¹ Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 8.

⁸² "The Governor General of Canada > Find A Recipient," *The Governor General of Canada*, accessed 28 April 2012, <http://www.gg.ca/honour.aspx?id=2292&t=12&ln=Smallboy>.

⁸³ Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 6.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 7.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁸⁶ Garry Mainprize, *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1986), 7.

⁸⁷ MacDonald can be seen as referring to "traditional academic training" in the western sense. Flora MacDonald, "Message from Flora MacDonald, Minister of Communications," *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras*, ed. Garry Mainprize (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1986) 4.

⁸⁸ Sharon Godwin, Foreword to *s*, ed. Garry Mainprize (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1986) 5.

⁸⁹ Garry Mainprize, *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras* (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1986), 7.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 21.

⁹¹ Ibid., 22.

⁹² Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 134.

⁹³ Ibid., 23.

⁹⁴ Helga Pakasaar, Deborah Doxtater, Jean Fisher and Rick Hill, *Revisions* (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1992), 1.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 1.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 1.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 2.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁹⁹ See Goddard for a detailed account of the Lubicon's struggle for territory and adequate health care in light of a tuberculosis epidemic. John Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1991).

¹⁰⁰ Tom Hill, "Beyond History," in *Beyond History*, (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989), 5.

¹⁰¹ Karen Duffek, "Beyond History," in *Beyond History*, (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989), 27.

¹⁰² Ibid., 27.

¹⁰³ Tom Hill, "Beyond History," in *Beyond History*, (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989), 5.

¹⁰⁴ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 139.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 139.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 143.

¹⁰⁷ Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, Introduction to *INDIGENA: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, eds. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992), 22.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 14-15.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 8.

¹¹⁰ Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, *INDIGENA: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, eds. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992), 133.

¹¹¹ Robert Enright, "The Sky is the Limit," *Border Crossings* Issue No. 44 (Dec. 1992) : 48.

¹¹² Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 4.

¹¹³ Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 13.

¹¹⁵ Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, and Naomi Black, "A Bomb Already Primed and Ticking," *Canadian Women: A History*, ed. Tilly Crawley (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 352.

¹¹⁶ A 1954 amendment to the Indian Act allowed for traditional cultural practice, while Canadian citizenship and the vote were granted to status Aboriginal people in 1960. Lee-Ann Martin, "Contemporary First Nations Art Since 1970: Individual Practices and Collective Activism," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 371.

¹¹⁷ Grace J.M.W. Ouellette, *The Fourth World: An Indigenous Perspective on Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Activism* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2002), 29-30.

¹¹⁸ Lee-Ann Martin, "Contemporary First Nations Art Since 1970: Individual Practices and Collective Activism," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 372.

¹¹⁹ Sarain Stump, PNIAI, and the Winnipeg Art Gallery exhibition *Treaty Numbers 23, 287, 1171*, helped introduce contemporary Native culture. Lee-Ann Martin, "Contemporary First Nations Art Since 1970: Individual Practices and Collective Activism," in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, eds. Anne Whitelaw, et al. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010), 375-76.

¹²⁰ Tanya Harnett, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 January 2012, interview 1, transcript.

¹²¹ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), xi.

¹²² *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

¹²³ A desire to make things, watching her father as a young person, and innovate rather than repeat past ideas or forms fuelled Cardinal-Schubert's interest in art. Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 18.

¹²⁴ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Clint Buehler, "Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert to receive National Aboriginal Achievement Award for Arts," *First Nations Drum*, last modified February 2007, <http://firstnationsdrum.com/2007/02/dr-joane-cardinal-schubert-to-receive-national-aboriginal-achievement-award-for-arts/>.

¹²⁷ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 26.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 27.

¹²⁹ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Artist Statement," Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., n.d.

¹³⁰ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

¹³¹ *2nd Annual New Sun Symposium*, organized by Allan J. Ryan (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, 2003), VHS.

¹³² *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

¹³³ Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, ed. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 11.

¹³⁴ Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.

¹³⁵ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

- ¹³⁸ Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 5.
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ¹⁴¹ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
- ¹⁴² Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "About the Warshirt Series," *Background info for painting presented to the National Gallery of Canada on behalf of Albertans to the People of Canada* (Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., n.d).
- ¹⁴³ Janet Catherine Berlo, and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 112.
- ¹⁴⁴ "ArtPad: A Collection. A Connection. – Gallery – Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt," *Glenbow Museum*, accessed 28 April 2012, <http://www.glenbow.org/artpad/en/look/gallery/details.html?controller=ArtGalleryController&action=loadArtwork&artworkid=61>.
- ¹⁴⁵ Karen Duffek, "Beyond History," *Beyond History* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989), 36.
- ¹⁴⁶ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 138.
- ¹⁴⁷ Janet Catherine Berlo, and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 113.
- ¹⁴⁸ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 138-139.
- ¹⁴⁹ Judith E. Stein "Sins of Omission," *Art in America* (October 1993) : 112.
- ¹⁵⁰ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 36.
- ¹⁵¹ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), xiv-xv.
- ¹⁵² Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 41.
- ¹⁵³ "Preservation of a Species: The Lesson," from *DIG: An Installation by Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert RC* (Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd.), 2009.
- ¹⁵⁴ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 40-41.
- ¹⁵⁵ "Artist Portfolio. Joane Cardinal-Schubert (1942-2009), Blackfoot artist," *Spirit Wrestler Gallery*, accessed 28 April 2012, http://www.spiritwrestler.com/catalog/index.php?artists_id=57.
- ¹⁵⁶ Clint Buehler, "Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert to receive National Aboriginal Achievement Award for Arts," *First Nations Drum*, last modified February 2007, <http://firstnationsdrum.com/2007/02/dr-joane-cardinal-schubert-to-receive-national-aboriginal-achievement-award-for-arts/>.
- ¹⁵⁷ "About Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert LL.B. (Hon), R.C.A.," in *An Evening with Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert R.C.A.* (Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., 2008).
- ¹⁵⁸ Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.
- ¹⁵⁹ For a time, Cardinal-Schubert was also the Alberta editor for Fuse Magazine. Jennifer MacLeod, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert – At the Centre of Her Circle," *Galleries West*, last modified 31 December 2002, <http://www.gallerieswest.ca/reviews/joane-cardinal-schubert,-at-the-centre-of-her-circle/page-4.html>.
- ¹⁶⁰ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," *Borrowed Power*, eds. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 122-133.
- ¹⁶¹ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Curator's Message," *Seven Lifetimes: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: An Exhibition of the Art of Aboriginal Artists of Alberta* (Calgary: Triangle Gallery, 1993), 3.
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 4.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 4.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁶⁵ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Curatorial Forward," *Mark Makers First Nations Graphics+* (Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1997), 1.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Heather Andrews Millers, "Impressive showcase of old, new generations of art," *Windspeaker – AMMSA: Aboriginal news, issues and culture*, accessed 28 April 2012, <http://www.ammsa.com/publications/alberta-sweetgrass/impressive-showcase-old-new-generations-art>.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ "Royal Alberta Museum: Exhibits & Events: Feature Exhibits: Narrative Quest," *Royal Alberta Museum*, accessed 28 April 2012. <http://www.royalalbertamuseum.ca/events/exhibits/feature.cfm?id=8>.

¹⁷⁰ "Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, Board Meeting, 18 November 1994," minutes, Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Regina, 1994; "Society for Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, Committee Developing Programs and Planning Structure for IAC, Conference Call, 7 May 1996," transcript, University of Lethbridge, 1996.

¹⁷¹ Clint Buehler, "Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert to receive National Aboriginal Achievement Award for Arts," *First Nations Drum*, last modified February 2007, <http://firstnationsdrum.com/2007/02/dr-joane-cardinal-schubert-to-receive-national-aboriginal-achievement-award-for-arts/>.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ "Cardinal-Schubert | News & Events | University of Calgary," UToday, University of Calgary, last modified 22 September 2009. <http://www.ucalgary.ca/news/utoday/september22-09/Cardinal-Schubert>.

¹⁷⁴ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 46.

¹⁷⁵ Clint Buehler, "Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert Cancer Claims Prominent Native Artist," *First Nations Drum: Canada's National Native Newspaper*. September 2009, <http://firstnationsdrum.com/2009/09/dr-joane-cardinal-schubert-cancer-claims-prominent-native-artist/>.

¹⁷⁶ Eckehart Schubert, e-mail message to author, 25 July 2012.

¹⁷⁷ Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.

¹⁷⁸ Sandra Vida, "ArtPad: A Collection. A Connection. – Gallery – Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt," *Glenbow Museum*, accessed 28 April 2012, <http://www.glenbow.org/artpad/en/look/gallery/details.html?controller=ArtGalleryController&action=loadArtwork&artworkid=61>.

¹⁷⁹ Nancy Tousley, "Artist Cardinal-Schubert leaves lasting legacy: Painter fought for native work," *Calgary Herald*, 19 September 2009, <http://www2.canada.com/calgaryherald/news/entertainment/story.html?id=c48cc26a-88db-4e2c-b8ec-ec194018e55f&p=1>:

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² Tanya Harnett, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 January 2012, interview 1, transcript.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Introduction to *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (London: Zed Books Ltd., 2006), 8-9.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁸⁷ Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2001), 5.

¹⁹⁰ Fanon and Sartre's contributions to postcolonial theory preceded Said's, who also did not differentiate between imperialism and colonialism, nor discuss anti-colonial stances. Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2001), 18.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 27.

-
- ¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 16.
- ¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 17.
- ¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 21.
- ¹⁹⁷ Ingstad credits Leif Eiriksson with reaching the shores of what is now North America roughly 500 years before Columbus. Helge Ingstad. *The Viking Discovery of America: The Excavation of a Norse Settlement in L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland* (St. John's: Breakwater Books Ltd., 1991), 1.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 21.
- ¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 21.
- ²⁰⁰ Ibid., 21.
- ²⁰¹ Ibid., 31.
- ²⁰² Ibid., 30.
- ²⁰³ Ibid., 32.
- ²⁰⁴ Ibid., 32.
- ²⁰⁵ Ibid., 33.
- ²⁰⁶ Ibid., 31.
- ²⁰⁷ Ibid., 371.
- ²⁰⁸ Ibid., 374.
- ²⁰⁹ Ibid., 375.
- ²¹⁰ Ibid., 91.
- ²¹¹ Ibid., 20.
- ²¹² Matthew Pearson, "Abolish Indian Act, Elijah Harper says," *Ottawa Citizen*, last modified January 27 2012, <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Abolish+Indian+Elijah+Harper+says/6063423/story.html>.
- ²¹³ Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2001), 20.
- ²¹⁴ Ibid., 360-361.
- ²¹⁵ Ibid., 360.
- ²¹⁶ Ibid., 361.
- ²¹⁷ Ibid., 368.
- ²¹⁸ Ibid., 368.
- ²¹⁹ Ibid., 369.
- ²²⁰ Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.
- ²²¹ Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2001), 369.
- ²²² Ibid., 370.
- ²²³ Ibid., 370.
- ²²⁴ Ibid., 379.
- ²²⁵ Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.
- ²²⁶ Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2001), 379-380.
- ²²⁷ Ibid., 380.
- ²²⁸ Ibid., 381.
- ²²⁹ Ibid., 377.
- ²³⁰ Ibid., 378.
- ²³¹ Ibid., 378.
- ²³² Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 272.
- ²³³ Ibid., 307.
- ²³⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Criticism, Feminism and the Institution," *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. Sarah Harasym (Routledge: New York, 1990), 9.
- ²³⁵ Ibid., 9.
- ²³⁶ Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, Introduction to *The Spivak Reader*, eds. Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean (New York: Routledge, 1996), 4.
- ²³⁷ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Criticism, Feminism and the Institution," *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. Sarah Harasym (Routledge: New York, 1990), 9.
- ²³⁸ Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, Introduction to *The Spivak Reader*, eds. Donna Landry and Gerald

MacLean (New York: Routledge, 1996), 4-5.

²³⁹ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Questions of Multi-culturalism," *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. Sarah Harasym (Routledge: New York, 1990), 62-63.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁴¹ Martha Gartner, "The Post Colonial Landscape," *Talking Stick: First Nations Arts Magazine*, Vol. 1 No. 2 (Winter 1994) : 15.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁴⁶ Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian." *Vancouver Anthology*, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991), 267.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 267.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 269.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 269.

²⁵⁰ Edward Said, Introduction to *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 2-3.

²⁵¹ Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian." *Vancouver Anthology*, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991), 271.

²⁵² Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back* (London: Routledge, 1989), 162.

²⁵³ Exploitative practices are less common where Native people still hold the information relating to their culture. Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," *Borrowed Power*, eds. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 122.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 123.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 126.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 128.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 128.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 128.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 129.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 129.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

²⁶⁵ Harry Hillman Chartrand, *The Crafts in the Post-modern Economy: The Pattern Which Sells the Things* (Ottawa: Canada Council, 1988), 24.

²⁶⁶ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," *Borrowed Power*, eds. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 131.

²⁶⁷ Cardinal-Schubert recognized that Native artists had reclaimed their title as a distinct people, and that "Native" was no longer a derogatory qualifier of race. Pamela McCallum "Linked Histories: Recent Art By Three First Nations Women," *Alberta Views* (Fall 1999) : 20.

²⁶⁸ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, *Memories Springing, Waters Singing* (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1993), 1.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁷⁰ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 26.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁷² Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge: London, 2004), 168-169.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

²⁷⁴ Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays On Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hall Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), 113.

²⁷⁵ Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," *Vancouver Anthology*, ed. Stan Douglas

(Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991), 267.

²⁷⁶ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 19.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁷⁸ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge: London, 2004), 246.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 246-247.

²⁸⁰ Neil L. Jennings, *In Plain Sight: Exploring the Natural Wonders of Southern Alberta* (Surrey: Rocky Mountain Books, 2010), 89.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁸² Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.

²⁸³ As noted by Melnyk, associating the origins of Alberta's literary traditions with those pre-dating the English language merely brings recognition to the cultural diversity of the region. George Melnyk, *The Literary History of Alberta: From Writing-on-Stone to World War Two* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998), 8.

²⁸⁴ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "About the Warshirt Series," *Background info for painting presented to the National Gallery of Canada on behalf of Albertans to the People of Canada* (Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., n.d).

²⁸⁵ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Personal communication with Allan J. Ryan, March 28 2005," *About Face: Self-Portraits By Native American, First Nations, and Inuit Artists*, ed. Zena Pearlstone and Allan J. Ryan (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian), 136.

²⁸⁶ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 138.

²⁸⁷ Originally known as St. Joseph's Industrial School, operated in High River Alberta from 1884-1924. "The Glenbow Museum > Archives Main Catalogue Search Results," Glenbow Museum, accessed 9 May 2012, <http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesMainResults.aspx>.

²⁸⁸ Shauna Troniak. Introduction to *Addressing the Legacy of Residential Schools*. (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2011), 1.

²⁸⁹ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 36.

²⁹⁰ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 134.

²⁹¹ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Personal communication with Allan J. Ryan, March 28 2005," *About Face: Self-Portraits By Native American, First Nations, and Inuit Artists*, eds. Zena Pearlstone and Allan J. Ryan (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian), 27.

²⁹² The handprint motif indicates protection, as seen with *Contemporary Artifact – Medicine Bundles: The Spirits Are Forever Within*, a grouping of plaster medicine bundles. Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 134.

²⁹³ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 41.

²⁹⁴ "Joane Cardinal-Schubert and *Song of My Dream Bed Dance*." *Government of Alberta*. Accessed 24 July 2012. <http://www.gov.ab.ca/acn/200511/19093B3CBF733-E9C6-E63E-5B213C0E92905E22.html>

²⁹⁵ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 41.

²⁹⁶ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Urban Warshirt – Metro – Techno," *Artist Statement*, Masters Gallery Ltd., 2007.

²⁹⁷ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster, *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades* (Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997), 36.

²⁹⁸ Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.

²⁹⁹ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), xv.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, xv.

³⁰¹ Ibid., xv.

³⁰² Ibid., 131.

³⁰³ Anthony Downey, "BOMB Magazine: Yinka Shonibare by Anthony Downey," *Bomb Magazine*, accessed 28 April 2012, <http://bombsite.com/issues/93/articles/2777>.

³⁰⁴ *10th Anniversary New Sun Conference On Aboriginal Arts: Shining Through*, organized by Allan J. Ryan, 2011, (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, 2011), DVD.

³⁰⁵ Tanya Harnett, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 January 2012, interview 1, transcript.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Jane Errington, "Pioneers and Suffragists," *Changing Patterns: Women in Canada*, eds. Sandra Burt, Lorraine Code, and Lindsay Dorney (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993), 62.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 69.

³¹¹ Ibid., 68.

³¹² Ibid., 73.

³¹³ Women in Québec were not allowed to vote until 1940, and Native women were not allowed to vote until 1960.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 84.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 85.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 85.

³¹⁷ Maria Tippett, *By A Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art By Canadian Women* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992), 154.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 160.

³¹⁹ Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro, "Female Imagery," *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Ameila Jones (London: Routledge, 2003), 42.

³²⁰ Martha Rosler, "Martha Rosler: An Artist Who Works With Images and Texts In Brooklyn, New York," *Martha Rosler*, accessed 30 April 2012, <http://www.martharosler.net/>.

³²¹ Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Ameila Jones (London: Routledge, 2003), 231.

³²² Kathy M'Closkey, "Art or Craft," *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength*, eds. Christine Miller, Patricia Chuchryk, Marie Smallface Marule, Brenda Manyfingers, and Cheryl Deering (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 113.

³²³ Ibid., 114.

³²⁴ Ibid., 116.

³²⁵ Ibid., 119.

³²⁶ Ibid., 125.

³²⁷ M'Closkey also notes that the weave shop has received government subsidies, in spite of running high deficits, which further clouds its nature as a place for creative activity. Ibid., 123.

³²⁸ Ibid., 125.

³²⁹ Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro, "Female Imagery," *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Ameila Jones (London: Routledge, 2003), 43.

³³⁰ Ibid., 43.

³³¹ In a review of Chicago's seminal piece, Mia Fineman recognizes the shift between "second-wave essentialism" and the notions of gender as a performative construct. Mia Fineman, "A return visit to Judy Chicago's The Dinner Party. – Slate Magazine," *Slate Magazine*, last modified 25 April 2007, http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/art/2007/04/table_for_39.html.

³³² Rosler distinguishes "feminist art" from "women's art" by the former's critique of socio-economic power relations and commitment to collective action. Martha Rosler, "The Private and the Public: Feminist Art in California," *Artforum* (Sept., 1977) : 66.

³³³ The mother as subject is ignored by Western Marxist feminism, due to the trivialization of value in work and mothering as work. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 258.

³³⁴ Mohanty terms what can be referred to as a characterization of women in the third world by western feminism as “third-world difference”. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.” *Feminist Review*, No. 30 (Autumn, 1988) : 63.

³³⁵ Revolutionary feminism considers issues of class, while mainstream reformist feminism dismissed the class struggle given the equality achieved with male peers in terms of “class power”. bell hooks. *Where We Stand: Class Matters* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 101.

³³⁶ Euro-American feminism can be equated with westernization, by which Third World women are ignored, and oppressive traditions remain unchallenged. Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Women, Native, Other* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 106.

³³⁷ Yvonne Poitras Pratt, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 21 February 2012, interview 2, transcript.

³³⁸ The heterogeneity of Aboriginal groups can be seen by the designations of Status, Non-status, Treaty, Métis and Inuit. Doreen Demas, “Triple Jeopardy: Aboriginal Women With Disabilities,” *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, eds. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009), 94.

³³⁹ Grace J.M.W. Ouellette, *The Fourth World: An Indigenous Perspective on Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Activism* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2002), 15.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 31.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 43.

³⁴⁴ Nahanee writes about the exclusion of Aboriginal women from the 1992 Constitutional Debates. Teresa Nahanee, “Aboriginal Women and the Constitutional Debates,” *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, eds. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009), 248.

³⁴⁵ Mary Two-Axe Early, “Presentation by Mary Two-Axe Early,” *AWCS Newsletter*, (Prince Albert: Aboriginal Women's Council of Saskatchewan, 1992), 23.

³⁴⁶ Grace J.M.W. Ouellette, *The Fourth World: An Indigenous Perspective on Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Activism* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2002), 34.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

³⁴⁹ As described by Ouellette, a Fourth World view is a separate view of the world that stems from oppression and segregation, particularly legislation such as the Indian Act. *Ibid.*, 91.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 47-48.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 90.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 55-56.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁵⁵ Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel also suggest the viability of the Fourth World model, seeing it as a starting point to a process of regeneration. Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, “Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism,” *Government and Opposition*, 40 (2005): 611. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00166.x

³⁵⁶ Grace J.M.W. Ouellette, *The Fourth World: An Indigenous Perspective on Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Activism* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2002), 96.

³⁵⁷ Emma LaRocque, “The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar,” *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength*, eds. Christine Miller, Patricia Chuchryk, Marie Smallface Marule, Brenda Manyfingers, and Cheryl Deering (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 12.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁶² Julia Emberley, “Aboriginal Women's Writing and the Cultural Politics of Representation,” *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength*, eds. Christine Miller, Patricia Chuchryk, Marie Smallface

- Marule, Brenda Manyfingers, and Cheryl Deering (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 98.
- ³⁶³ Ibid., 98.
- ³⁶⁴ Ibid., 98.
- ³⁶⁵ Ibid., 100.
- ³⁶⁶ Ibid., 105.
- ³⁶⁷ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Surviving as a Native Woman Artist." *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme*, "Feminism and Visual Art," 11 (1) (Spring 1990) : 51.
- ³⁶⁸ Ibid., 51.
- ³⁶⁹ Boyer mentions how he used to help his mother make quilts, an important part of Plains culture. Robert Enright, "The Sky is the Limit," *Border Crossings* Issue No. 44 (Dec. 1992) : 54.
- ³⁷⁰ Karen Duffek, "Beyond History," *Beyond History* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989), 35.
- ³⁷¹ Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips. *Native North American Art*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 113.
- ³⁷² Karen Duffek, "Beyond History," *Beyond History* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989), 37.
- ³⁷³ Doreen Jensen, "Commissioned Art – Is this the new standard of Artistic Prominence?" *Networking: Proceedings From National Native Indian Artists' Symposium IV*, ed. Alfred Young Man (Lethbridge: Graphcom Printers Limited, 1988), 100.
- ³⁷⁴ Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, Introduction to *INDIGENA: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, eds. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992), 15.
- ³⁷⁵ Ibid., 16.
- ³⁷⁶ As a two-spirit woman, Alex Wilson avoids the division of the world by gender, and instead uses Cree distinctions of animate and inanimate. Alex Wilson, "N'tacimowin Innan Nah': Our Coming In Stories," *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, eds. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009), 82.
- ³⁷⁷ Eckehart Schubert and Justin Cardinal-Schubert, interview by Alisdair MacRae, 24 February 2012, interview 4, transcript.
- ³⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁷⁹ Pamela McCallum, "Linked Histories: Recent Art By Three First Nations Women," *Alberta Views* (Fall 1999) : 21.
- ³⁸⁰ Bonita Lawrence notes how individual Native identity is negotiated with collective identity as well as external colonial forces, which have damaged traditional ways to self-identify with a collective and the land. Bonita Lawrence, "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview." *Hypatia*, Volume 18 Number 2 (Spring 2003) : 4.
- ³⁸¹ Deborah Godin, "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History," in *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, eds. Tom Preston, et al. (Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985), 4.
- ³⁸² Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Personal communication with Allan J. Ryan, March 28 2005," *About Face: Self-Portraits By Native American, First Nations, and Inuit Artists*, ed. Zena Pearlstone and Allan J. Ryan (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian), 136.
- ³⁸³ Pamela McCallum "Linked Histories: Recent Art By Three First Nations Women," *Alberta Views* (Fall 1999) : 18.
- ³⁸⁴ Ibid., 20.
- ³⁸⁵ Ibid., 21.
- ³⁸⁶ David Alexander and John O'Brian, *Gasoline, Oil and Paper: The 1930s Oil-On-Paper Paintings of Emily Carr* (Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery, 1995), 34.
- ³⁸⁷ Ibid., 34.
- ³⁸⁸ Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "Flying With Louis," presented at *Making A Noise: An Aboriginal-Focused Curatorial Symposium*, Banff: 2003.
- ³⁸⁹ Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 144.
- ³⁹⁰ *Hands of History*, directed by Loretta Todd (Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994), VHS.
- ³⁹¹ Michael J. Chandler and Christopher Lalonde, "Cultural Continuity as a Hedge Against Suicide in

Canada's First Nations," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 35 (1998) : 191-219.

³⁹² Native Women's Association of Canada, "Aboriginal Women and the Constitutional Debates," *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, eds. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009), 247-252.

³⁹³ Native Women's Association of Canada, "Inter-American Commission on Human Rights Holds Hearing on Disappearances and Murders of Aboriginal Women and Girls in British Columbia," (press release, Ottawa, 2012), 1-3, <http://www.nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/NWAC%20and%20FAIIA%20-%20%20March%2027,%202012.pdf>.

³⁹⁴ Kerry Benjoe, "Funding cuts hit NWAC," *Leader-Post*, last modified 27 April 2012, <http://www.leaderpost.com/news/Funding+cuts+NWAC/6526832/story.html>.

Bibliography

- “A Condensed Timeline of Events.” In *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools*, edited by Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald, Mike DeGagné, 64-65. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008.
- “About Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert LL.B. (Hon), R.C.A.,” in *An Evening with Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert R.C.A.* Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., 2008.
- Alexander, David, and John O’Brian. *Gasoline, Oil and Paper: The 1930s Oil-On-Paper Paintings of Emily Carr*. Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery, 1995.
- Alfred, Taiaiake and Jeff Corntassel. “Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism.” *Government and Opposition*, 40 (2005): 597–614. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00166.x
- Andreotti, Vanessa. “An Ethical Engagement with the Other: Spivak’s Ideas on Education.” *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices Volume 1:1*, (July 2007) : 69-79. Accessed 29 April 2012.
<http://www.criticalliteracyjournal.org/cljournalissue1volume1.pdf#page=69>.
- Andrews Millers, Heather. “Impressive showcase of old, new generations of art.” *Windspeaker – AMMSA: Aboriginal news, issues and culture*. Accessed 28 April 2012. <http://www.ammsa.com/publications/alberta-sweetgrass/impressive-showcase-old-new-generations-art>.
- “Artist Portfolio. Joane Cardinal-Schubert (1942-2009), Blackfoot artist.” *Spirit Wrestler Gallery*. Accessed 28 April 2012.
http://www.spiritwrestler.com/catalog/index.php?artists_id=57.
- “ArtPad: A Collection. A Connection. – Gallery – Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt.” *Glenbow Museum*. Accessed 28 April 2012.
<http://www.glenbow.org/artpad/en/look/gallery/details.html?controller=ArtGalleryController&action=loadArtwork&artworkid=61>.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Ayla, Joe, Erika Lakes, and Julienne Ignace. *Overstepped Boundaries: Powerful Statements by Aboriginal Artists in the Permanent Collection*. Kamloops: Kamloops Art Gallery, 2007.
- Benjoe, Kerry. “Funding cuts hit NWAC.” *Leader-Post*. Last modified 27 April 2012.
<http://www.leaderpost.com/news/Funding+cuts+NWAC/6526832/story.html>.

- Berlo, Janet Catherine, and Ruth B. Phillips. *Native North American Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge: London, 2004.
- Breen, David H. "John Ware." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, Department of Canadian Heritage*. Accessed 19 March 2012. <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=41252>.
- Broder, Patricia Janis. *Earth Songs, Moon Dreams: Paintings By American Indian Women*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Buehler, Clint. "Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert to receive National Aboriginal Achievement Award for Arts." *First Nations Drum*. Last modified February 2007. <http://firstnationsdrum.com/2007/02/dr-joane-cardinal-schubert-to-receive-national-aboriginal-achievement-award-for-arts/>.
- Buehler, Clint. "Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert Cancer Claims Prominent Native Artist." *First Nations Drum: Canada's National Native Newspaper*. September 2009. <http://firstnationsdrum.com/2009/09/dr-joane-cardinal-schubert-cancer-claims-prominent-native-artist/>.
- Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Artist Statement." Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., n.d.
- Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "About the Warshirt Series." *Background info for painting presented to the National Gallery of Canada on behalf of Albertans to the People of Canada*. Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., n.d.
- Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "This Is My History." In *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, edited by Tom Preston, Angela Davis-Hall, Carol Podedworny, Mike Schubert, Elsa Zahar, Brian Cardinal, Douglas Cardinal, Deborah Godin, 1. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985.
- Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Chronology." In *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, edited by Tom Preston, Angela Davis-Hall, Carol Podedworny, Mike Schubert, Elsa Zahar, Brian Cardinal, Douglas Cardinal, Deborah Godin, 41-43. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985.
- Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Surviving as a Native Woman Artist." *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme*, "Feminism and Visual Art," 11 (1) (Spring 1990) : 50-51.
- Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Curator's Message." In *Seven Lifetimes: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: An Exhibition of the Art of Aboriginal Artists of Alberta*. Calgary:

Triangle Gallery, 1993.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. *Memories Springing, Waters Singing*. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1993.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Curatorial Forward." In *Mark Makers First Nations Graphics+*. Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1997.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane, Kathryn Burns, and Gerald McMaster. *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades*. Calgary: Muttart Public Art Gallery, 1997.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "In the Red." In *Borrowed Power*, edited by Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, 122-133. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Flying With Louis." Manuscript, presented at *Making A Noise: Making A Noise: Aboriginal Perspectives on Contemporary Art, Art History, Critical Writing and Community*, Banff: 2003.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Near the Ledge, Writing on Stone." In *Native Literatures in Canada: A collection of Writings by Indian, Inuit, and Métis Authors*, edited by Hartmut Lutz and Sabine Meyer, 72. Osnabrück : Fachbereich Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Universität Osnabrück, 1988.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "oh Canada." In *Native Literatures in Canada: A collection of Writings by Indian, Inuit, and Métis Authors*, edited by Hartmut Lutz and Sabine Meyer, 72. Osnabrück : Fachbereich Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Universität Osnabrück, 1988.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Personal communication with Allan J. Ryan, March 28 2005." In *About Face: Self-Portraits By Native American, First Nations, and Inuit Artists*, edited by Zena Pearlstone and Allan J. Ryan, 136. Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "Urban Warshirt – Metro – Techno." *Artist Statement*. Masters Gallery Ltd., 2007.

"Cardinal-Schubert | News & Events | University of Calgary." *UToday, University of Calgary*. Last modified 22 September 2009.
<http://www.ucalgary.ca/news/utoday/september22-09/Cardinal-Schubert>.

"CBC Digital Archives – Expedition – Expedition: Expo 67's Indians of Canada." *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*. Accessed 30 April 2012.
<http://www.cbc.ca/archives/discover/programs/e/expedition/expedition-july-7-1967.html>.

- Chandler, Michael J. and Christopher Lalonde. "Cultural Continuity as a Hedge Against Suicide in Canada's First Nations." *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 35 (1998) : 191-219.
- Chicago, Judy and Miriam Schapiro, "Female Imagery." In *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Ameila Jones, 40-43. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Crosby, Marcia. "Construction of the Imaginary Indian." In *Vancouver Anthology*, edited by Stan Douglas, 267-291. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991.
- Demas, Doreen. "Triple Jeopardy: Aboriginal Women With Disabilities." In *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, edited by Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire, 94-99. Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009.
- Downey, Anthony. "BOMB Magazine: Yinka Shonibare by Anthony Downey." *Bomb Magazine*. Accessed 28 April 2012. <http://bombsite.com/issues/93/articles/2777>.
- Dudley, Wendy. "Curator Hopes To Change Racism." *Calgary Herald* (Calgary, AB), May 5, 1989: C1.
- Duffek, Karen. "Beyond History." In *Beyond History*, 27-38. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989.
- Emberley, Julia. "Aboriginal Women's Writing and the Cultural Politics of Representation." In *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength*, edited by Christine Miller, Patricia Chuchryk, Marie Smallface Marule, Brenda Manyfingers, and Cheryl Deering, 97-112. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996.
- Enright, Robert. "The Sky is the Limit." *Border Crossings*, Issue No. 44 (Dec. 1992) : 46-57.
- Errington, Jane. "Pioneers and Suffragists." In *Changing Patterns: Women in Canada*, edited by Sandra Burt, Lorraine Code, and Lindsay Dorney, 59-91. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993.
- Expo 67: The memorial album of the first category universal and international exhibition held in Montreal from the twenty seventh of April to the twenty-ninth of October nineteen hundred and sixty-seven*. Toronto: Nelson and Sons, 1968.
- Fineman, Mia. "A return visit to Judy Chicago's The Dinner Party. – Slate Magazine." *Slate Magazine*. Last modified 25 April 2007. http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/art/2007/04/table_for_39.html.
- From the Spirit, Season I*. Directed by Raymond Yakalea and Bill Stewart. 2005.

- Edmonton, AB: Earth Magic Productions, 2005. DVD.
- Gartner, Martha. "The Post Colonial Landscape." *Talking Stick: First Nations Arts Magazine*, Vol. 1 No. 2 (Winter 1994) : 14-17.
- Goddard, John. *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1991.
- Godin, Deborah. "Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History." In *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, edited by Tom Preston, Angela Davis-Hall, Carol Podedworny, Mike Schubert, Elsa Zahar, Brian Cardinal, Douglas Cardinal, Deborah Godin, 3-14. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985.
- Godwin, Sharon. Foreword to *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras*, edited by Garry Mainprize. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1986.
- Hands of History*. Directed by Loretta Todd. 1994. Montréal, QC: National Film Board of Canada, 1994. VHS.
- Hill, Rick, Nancy Marie Mitchell, and Lloyd New. *Creativity Is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Indian Art*. Santa Fe: Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development, 1992.
- Hill, Tom. "Beyond History." In *Beyond History*, 5-15. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989.
- Hillman Chartrand, Harry. *The Crafts in the Post-modern Economy: The Pattern Which Sells the Things*. Ottawa: Canada Council, 1988.
- hooks, bell. *Where We Stand: Class Matters*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Ingstad, Helge. *The Viking Discovery of America: The Excavation of a Norse Settlement in L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland*. St. John's: Breakwater Books Ltd., 1991.
- Jameson, Frederic. "Postmodernism and Consumer Society." In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays On Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster, 111-125. Seattle: Bay Press, 1983.
- Jennings, Neil L. *In Plain Sight: Exploring the Natural Wonders of Southern Alberta*. Surrey: Rocky Mountain Books, 2010.
- Jensen, Doreen. "Commissioned Art – Is this the new standard of Artistic Prominence?" In *Networking: Proceedings From National Native Indian Artists' Symposium IV*,

- edited by Alfred Young Man, 99-100. Lethbridge: Graphcom Printers Limited, 1988.
- Landry, Donna, and Gerald MacLean. Introduction to *The Spivak Reader*, edited by Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- LaRocque, Emma. "The Colonization of a Native Woman Scholar." In *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength*, edited by Christine Miller, Patricia Chuchryk, Marie Smallface Marule, Brenda Manyfingers, and Cheryl Deering, 11-18. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996.
- Lawrence, Bonita. "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview." *Hypatia*, Volume 18 Number 2 (Spring 2003) : 3-31.
- MacDonald, Flora. "Message from Flora MacDonald, Minister of Communications." In *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras*, edited by Garry Mainprize, 4. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1986.
- MacLeod, Jennifer. "Joane Cardinal-Schubert – At the Centre of Her Circle." *Galleries West*. Last modified 31 December 2002. <http://www.gallerieswest.ca/reviews/joane-cardinal-schubert,-at-the-centre-of-her-circle/page-4.html>.
- MacRae, Alisdair. "Mimicry and Hybridity: Postcolonial Strategies In the Historical Portraits of Joane Cardinal-Schubert." Presentation Paper, Carleton University, 2011.
- Mainprize, Garry. Introduction to *Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras*. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1986.
- Manuel, George and Michael Posluns. *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada, 1974.
- Martin, Lee-Ann. "Contemporary First Nations Art Since 1970: Individual Practices and Collective Activism." In *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss, and Sandra Paikowsky, 371-391. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. *The German Ideology*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968.
- McCallum, Pamela. "Linked Histories: Recent Art By Three First Nations Women." *Alberta Views* (Fall 1999) : 18-23.
- M'Closkey, Kathy. "Art or Craft." In *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom and Strength*, edited by Christine Miller, Patricia Chuchryk, Marie Smallface Marule,

- Brenda Manyfingers, and Cheryl Deering, 113-126. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1996.
- McMaster, Gerald and Lee-Ann Martin. Introduction to *INDIGENA: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, edited by Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992.
- McMaster, Gerald and Lee-Ann Martin. *INDIGENA: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, edited by Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992.
- Melnyk, George. *The Literary History of Alberta: From Writing-on-Stone to World War Two*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998.
- Miller, J.R. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Minh-ha, Trinh T. *Women, Native, Other*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Feminist Review*, No. 30 (Autumn, 1988) : 61-88.
- Morton, Carly. "Joane Cardinal-Schubert." *My Heroes Have Always Been Indians*, edited by Cora J. Voyageur, 83-84. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 2010.
- Nahanee, Teresa. "Aboriginal Women and the Constitutional Debates." In *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, edited by Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire, 247-251. Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009.
- Native American Novelists: Gerald Vizenor*. 1994. Eureka, CA: Films Media Group, 1994, VHS.
- Native Women's Association of Canada. "Aboriginal Women and the Constitutional Debates." *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, eds. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire. Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009, 247-252.
- Native Women's Association of Canada. "Inter-American Commission on Human Rights Holds Hearing on Disappearances and Murders of Aboriginal Women and Girls in British Columbia." Press release, Ottawa, 2012.
<http://www.nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/NWAC%20and%20FAIIA%20-%20%20March%2027,%202012.pdf>.
- Networking: Proceedings From National Native Indian Artists' Symposium IV*, edited by Alfred Young Man. Lethbridge: Graphcom Printers Limited, 1988.

- Nochlin, Linda. "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" In *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Ameila Jones, 229-233. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Ouellette, Grace J.M.W. *The Fourth World: An Indigenous Perspective on Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Activism*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2002.
- Pakasaar, Helga, Deborah Doxtater, Jean Fisher and Rick Hill. *Revisions*. Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1992.
- Pearson, Matthew. "Abolish Indian Act, Elijah Harper says." *Ottawa Citizen*. Last modified January 27 2012.
<http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Abolish+Indian+Elijah+Harper+says/6063423/story.html>.
- Phillips, Ruth. "First Nations Art, c. 1880-1970." In *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss, and Sandra Paikowsky, 349-369. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Podedworny, Carol. Foreword to *Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This is my History*, edited by Tom Preston, Angela Davis-Hall, Carol Podedworny, Mike Schubert, Elsa Zahar, Brian Cardinal, Douglas Cardinal, Deborah Godin. Thunder Bay: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985.
- Poitras Pratt, Yvonne. "Our Voices Must Be Seen To Be Heard: Contemporary Native Art in Canadian Society." Master's thesis, University of Calgary, 2002.
- Prentice, Alison Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, and Naomi Black. "A Bomb Already Primed and Ticking." In *Canadian Women: A History*, edited by Tilly Crawley, 343-366. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988.
- "Preservation of the Species: The Lesson," from *DIG: An Installation by Dr. Joane Cardinal-Schubert RC*. Calgary: Masters Gallery Ltd., 2009.
- "Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools system." *Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper*. 11 June 2008, accessed 16 March 2012. <http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=2149>.
- Quick-to-See Smith, Jaune, Charlotte DeClue, Joy Harjo, Lucy R. Lippard, Duane Niatum, and Elizabeth Woody. *The Submuloc Show/Columbus Wohs: A Visual Commentary on the Columbus Quincentennial from the Perspective of America's First People*. Phoenix: Atlatl, 1992.
- Reed, Joyce Whitebear. *The Post-Colonial Landscape: A Billboard Exhibition*. Saskatoon:

- Mendel Art Gallery, 1993.
- Rosler, Martha. "Martha Rosler: An Artist Who Works With Images and Texts In Brooklyn, New York." *Martha Rosler*. Accessed 30 April 2012.
<http://www.martharosler.net/>
- Rosler, Martha. "The Private and the Public: Feminist Art in California." *Artforum* (Sept., 1977) : 66-74.
- "Royal Alberta Museum: Exhibits & Events: Feature Exhibits: Narrative Quest." *Royal Alberta Museum*. Accessed 28 April 2012.
<http://www.royalalbertamuseum.ca/events/exhibits/feature.cfm?id=8>.
- Ryan, Allan J. *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony In Contemporary Native Art*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.
- Said, Edward. Introduction to *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- Second Annual New Sun Symposium*. Organized by Allan J. Ryan. 2003. Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, 2003. VHS.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. Introduction to *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd., 2006.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd., 2006.
- "Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, Board Meeting, 18 November 1994." Minutes, Ramada Renaissance Hotel, Regina, 1994.
- "Society for Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry, Committee Developing Programs and Planning Structure for IAC, Conference Call, 7 May 1996." Transcript, University of Lethbridge, 1996.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271-313. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Criticism, Feminism and the Institution." In *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, edited by Sarah Harasym, 1-16. Routledge: New York, 1990.

- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Questions of Multi-culturalism." In *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, edited by Sarah Harasym, 59-66. Routledge: New York, 1990.
- Stein, Judith E. "Sins of Omission." *Art in America*. October 1993.
- Sybesma, Jetske. "Passage to Origins I: Joane Cardinal-Schubert." Poster, University of Alberta, 1993.
- Tenth Anniversary New Sun Conference On Aboriginal Arts: Shining Through*. Organized by Allan J. Ryan. 2011. Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, 2011. DVD.
- "The Glenbow Museum > Archives Main Catalogue Search Results." Glenbow Museum. Accessed 9 May 2012. <http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesMainResults.aspx>.
- "The Governor General of Canada > Find A Recipient." *The Governor General of Canada*. Accessed 28 April 2012. <http://www.gg.ca/honour.aspx?id=2292&t=12&ln=Smallboy>.
- Tippett, Maria. *By A Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art By Canadian Women*. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992.
- Tousley, Nancy. "Artist Cardinal-Schubert leaves lasting legacy: Painter fought for native work." *Calgary Herald*. 19 September 2009. <http://www2.canada.com/calgaryherald/news/entertainment/story.html?id=c48cc26a-88db-4e2c-b8ec-ec194018e55f&p=1>.
- Troniak, Shauna. Introduction to *Addressing the Legacy of Residential Schools*. Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2011.
- Two-Axe Early, Mary. "Presentation by Mary Two-Axe Early." *AWCS Newsletter*, Prince Albert: Aboriginal Women's Council of Saskatchewan, 1992.
- Vida, Sandra. "ArtPad: A Collection. A Connection. – Gallery – Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt." *Glenbow Museum*. Accessed 28 April 2012. <http://www.glenbow.org/artpad/en/look/gallery/details.html?controller=ArtGalleryController&action=loadArtwork&artworkid=61>.
- Wilson, Alex. "N'tacimowin Innan Nah': Our Coming In Stories." In *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, edited by Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire, 82-93. Toronto: Inanna Publications and Educations Inc., 2009.
- Young, Robert J.C. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. London: Blackwell, 2001.

Young Man, Alfred. "Alfred Young Man on the political history of native art." Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art – The Canadian Art Database. Accessed 6 May 2012.
<http://www.ccca.ca/c/writing/y/young%20man/you001t.html>

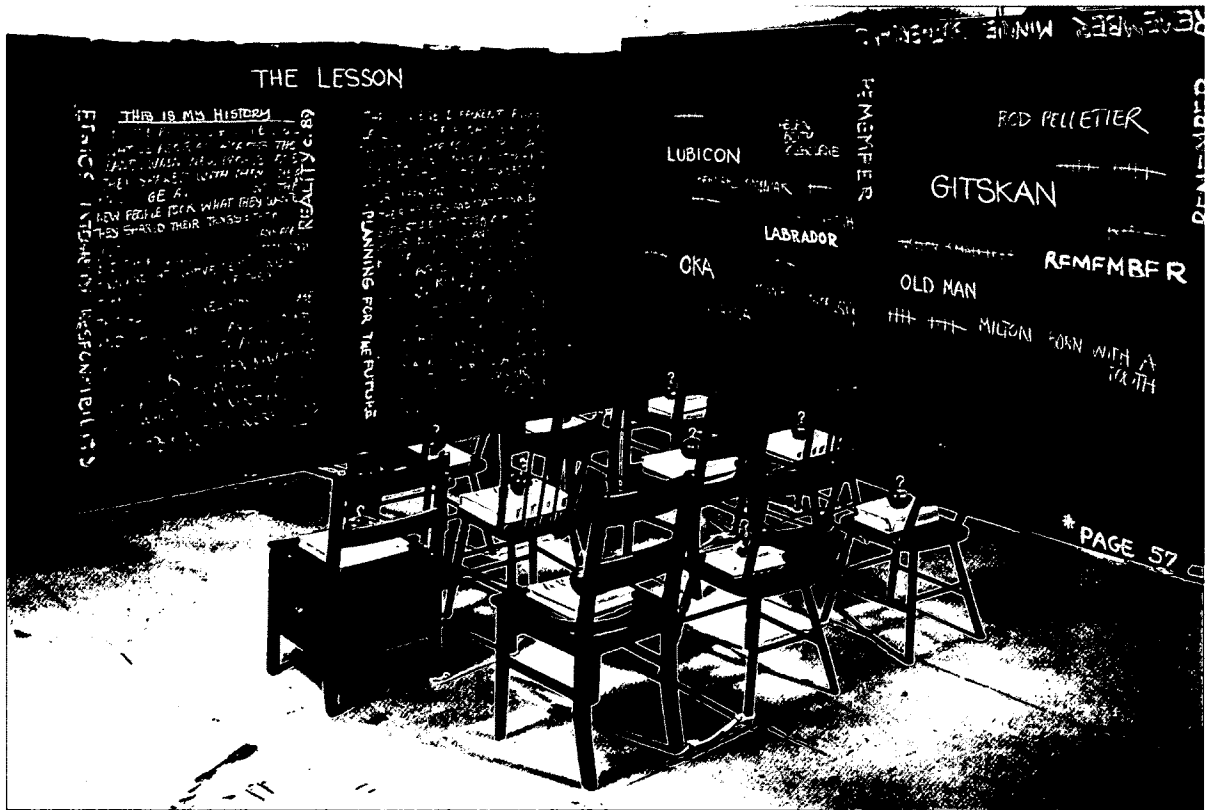


Figure 1 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 The Lesson (1993)
 365.76 x 365.76 cm
 Mixed media installation
 Collection: Estate of the Artist
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery



Figure 2 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Letters to Emily: Borrowed Power (1992)
91.44 x 243.84 cm
Collage on rag paper
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery



Figure 3 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Great Canadian Dream - Pray for me, Louis Riel (1978)
91.44 x 170.18 cm; 170.18 x 152.4 cm; 107.95 x 182.88 cm
Oil on canvas, triptych
Collection: Carleton University Art Gallery
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery



Figure 4 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Great Canadian Dream – Treaty No. 7 (1978)
180 x 520 cm
Oil on canvas
Collection: Alberta Historical Resources Foundation, Calgary
Source: [Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery

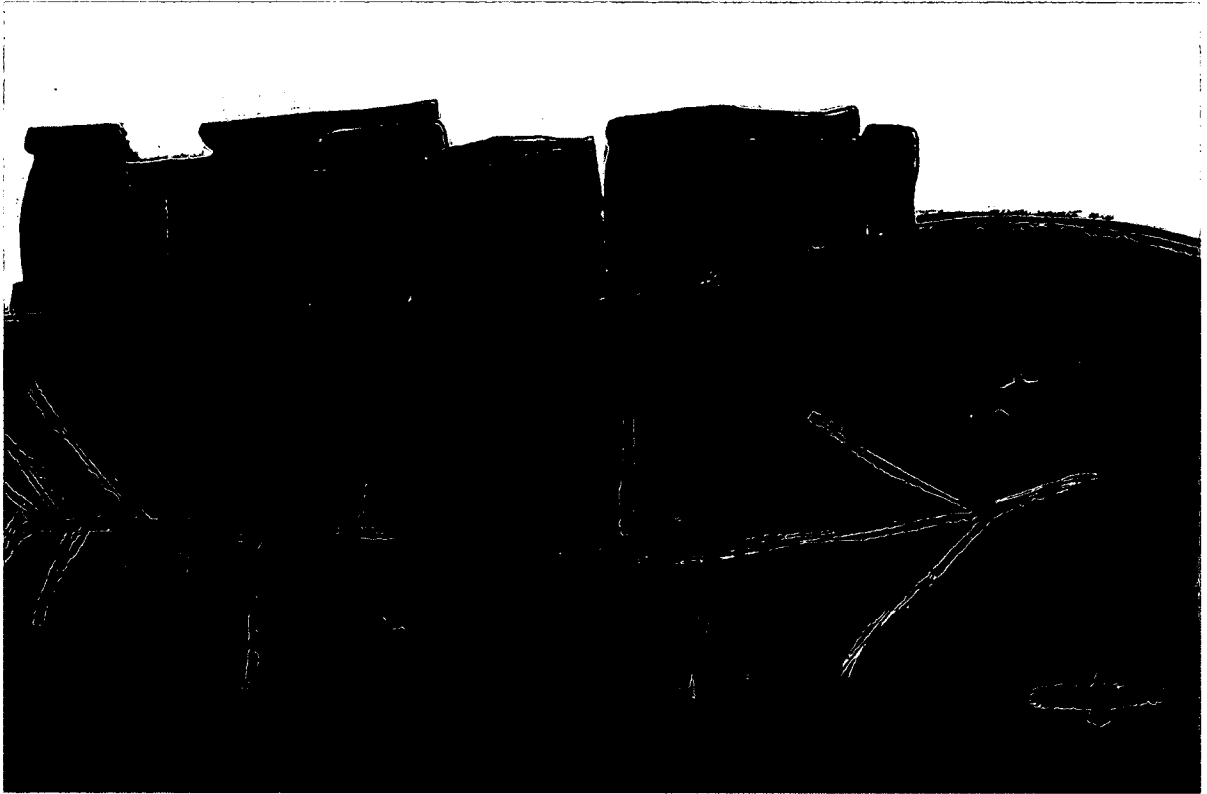


Figure 5 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Ancient Voices Beneath the Ground – Stonehenge (1983)
121.92 x 81.28 cm
Oil/graphite on rag paper
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery



Figure 6 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
John Ware (1977)
101.6 x 68.58 cm
Graphite/pencil on rag paper
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. D. Thiesen, Ottawa
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery



Figure 7

Joane Cardinal-Schubert

Homage to Smallboy (1984)

121.92 x 121.92 cm

Oil and acrylic on canvas

Collection: I. Bohez, Calgary

Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History

Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery

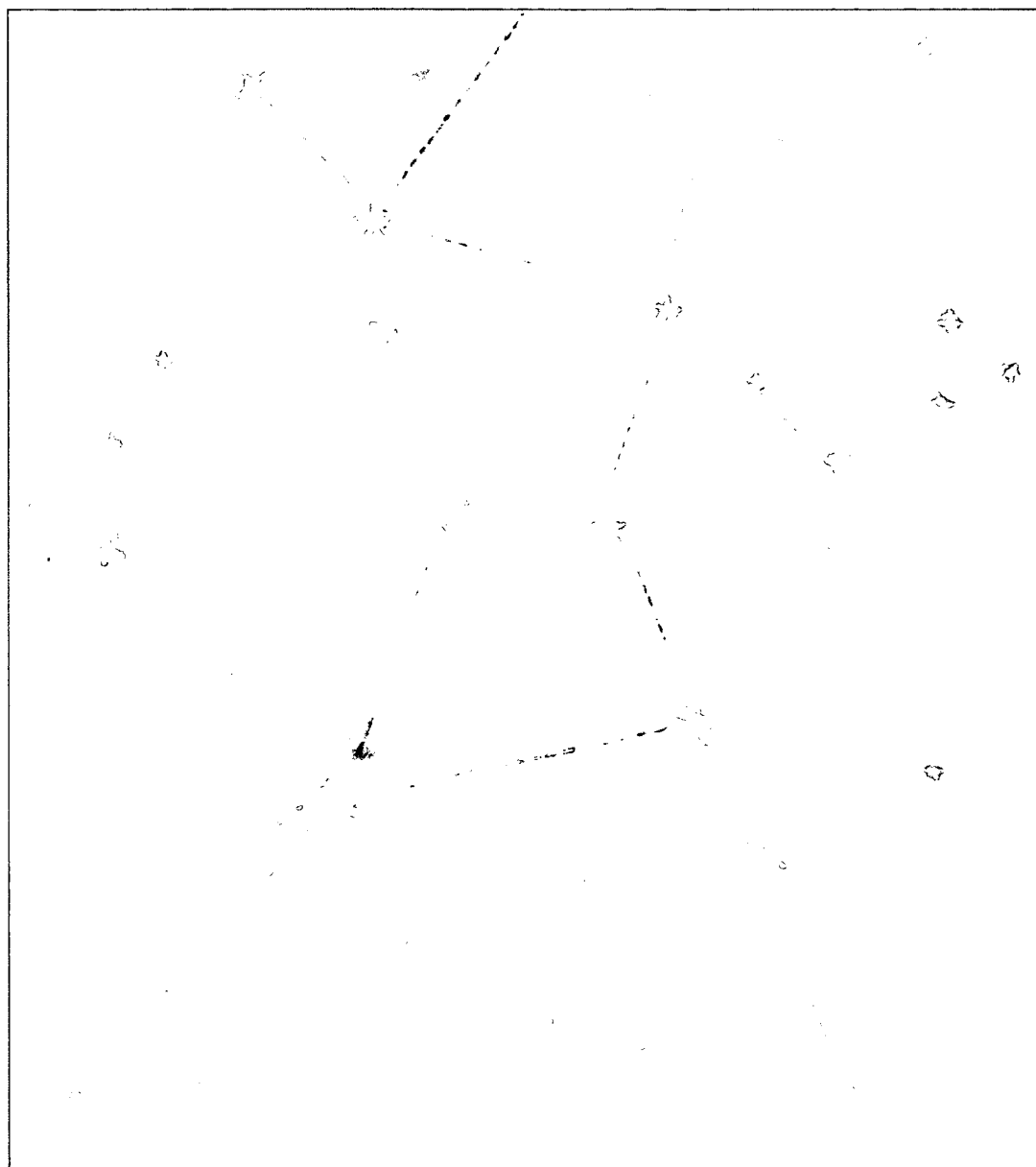


Figure 8 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Where were you in July Hercules? (1984)
182.88 x 243.84 cm
Oil and acrylic on canvas
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. I. Aitken, Calgary
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery

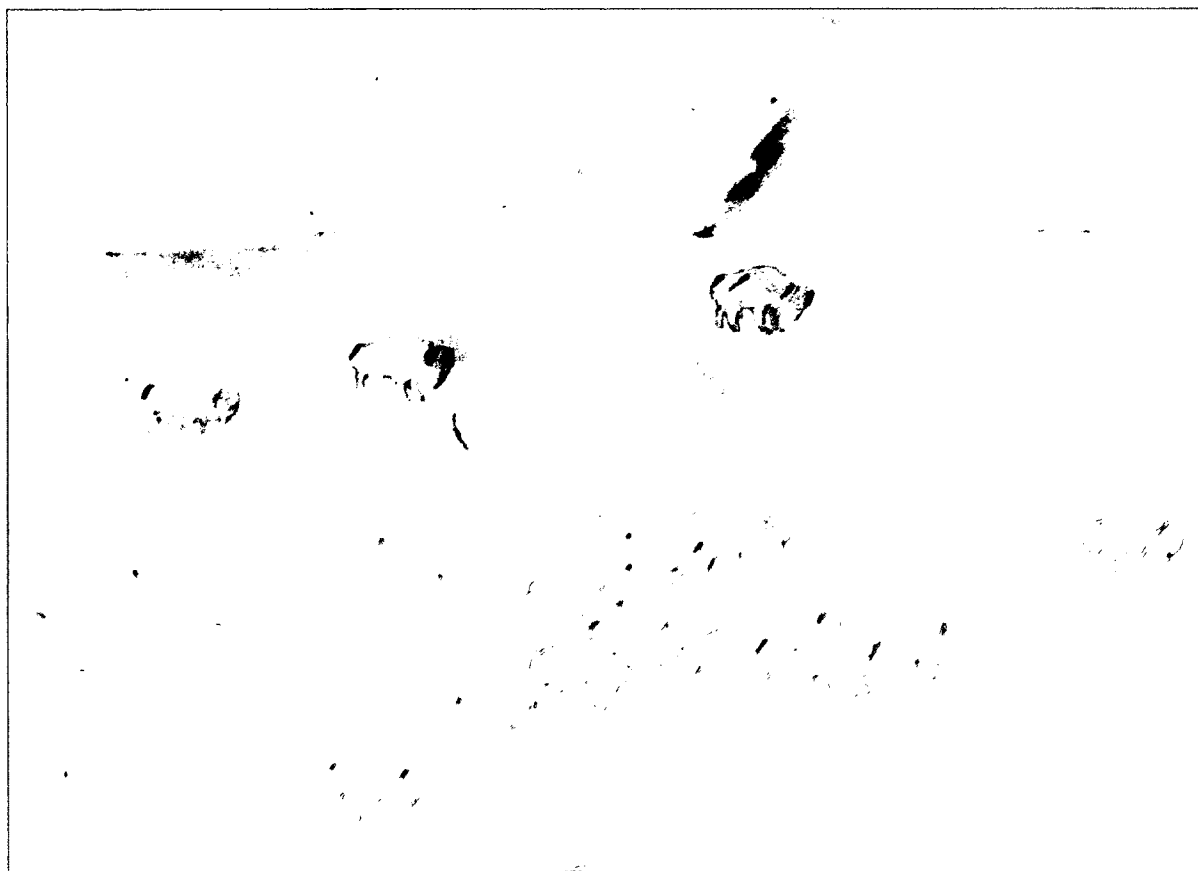


Figure 9 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Ancient Constellation: Buffalo Nebula (1983)
91.44 x 121.92 cm
Oil and on canvas
Collection: Mr. and Mrs. G. Turnquist, Midnapore
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery



Figure 10

Joane Cardinal-Schubert

Warshirt: A Declaration (1986)

81.28 x 116.84 cm

Oil, oil pastel, conte and graphite on rag paper

Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras

Photo: John Dean



Figure 11 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Song of My Ancestors – Medicine Rib Stones (1986)
46 x 43 x 12.7 cm, 102 x 69 x 11.5 cm
Plaster on wire mesh, oil, graphite, urethane
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: Justin Wonnacott

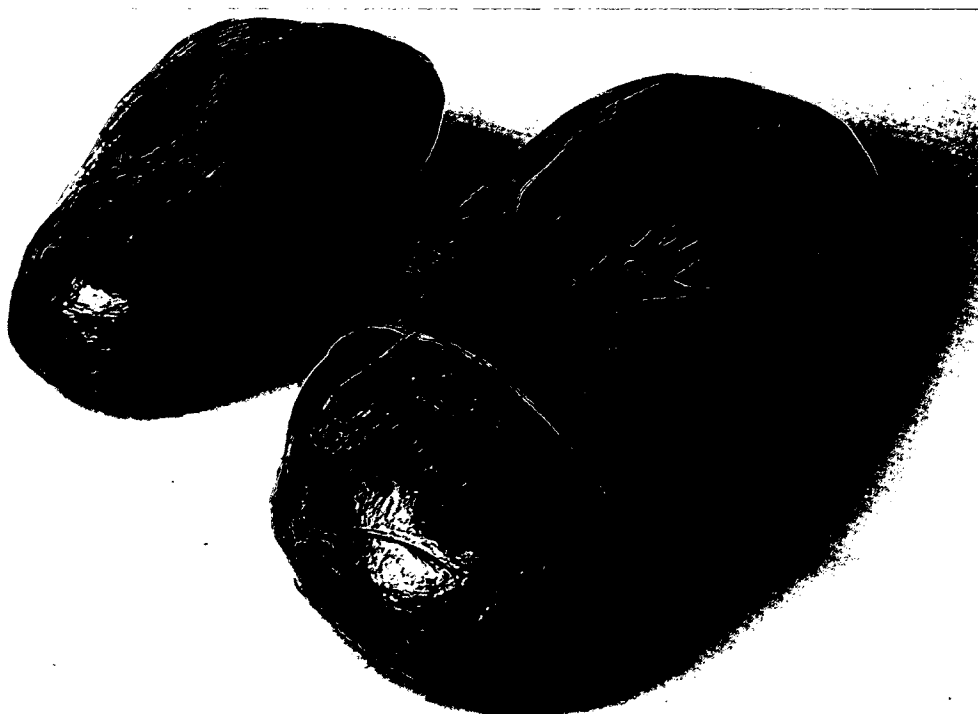


Figure 12 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Contemporary Artifact – Medicine Bundles: The Spirits are Forever Within
(1986)
68.6 x 38 x 24 cm, 104 x 45.7 x 17.8 cm
Plaster on wire mesh, oil, graphite, urethane
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane
Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: Justin Wonnacott

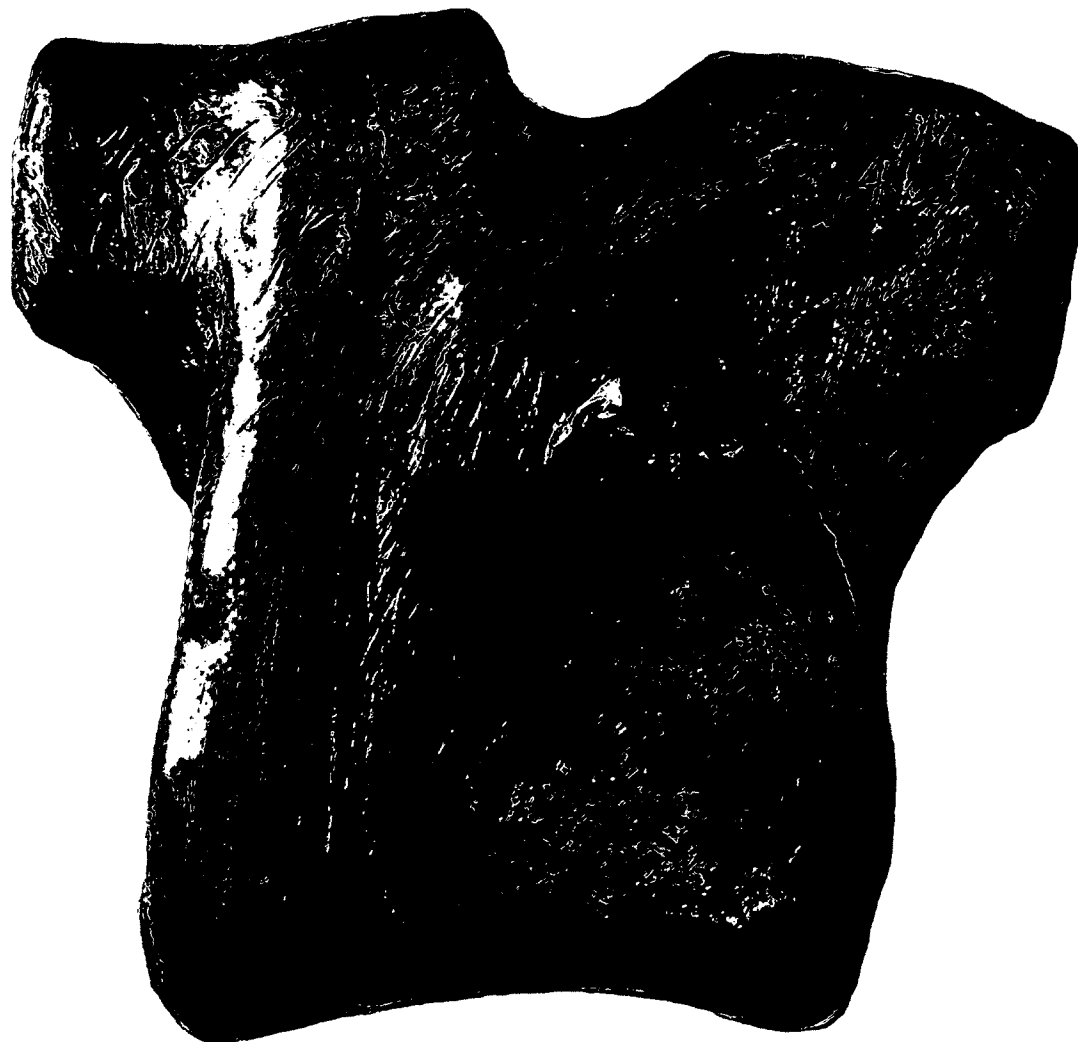


Figure 13 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Self-Portrait: Warshirt Shield (1986)
71 x 67.3 x 15.2 cm
Plaster on wire mesh, oil, urethane
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: Justin Wonnacott



Figure 14 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Rider (1986)
152 x 213 cm
Oil and graphite on canvas
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: John Dean



Figure 15 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Four Directions – Warshirts: This is the Spirit of the West, This is the Spirit
of the East, This is the Spirit of the North, This is the Spirit of the South
(1986)
114.3 x 152.4 cm
Oil, oil pastel, chalk and graphite on rag paper
Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane
Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras
Photo: Justin Wonnacott

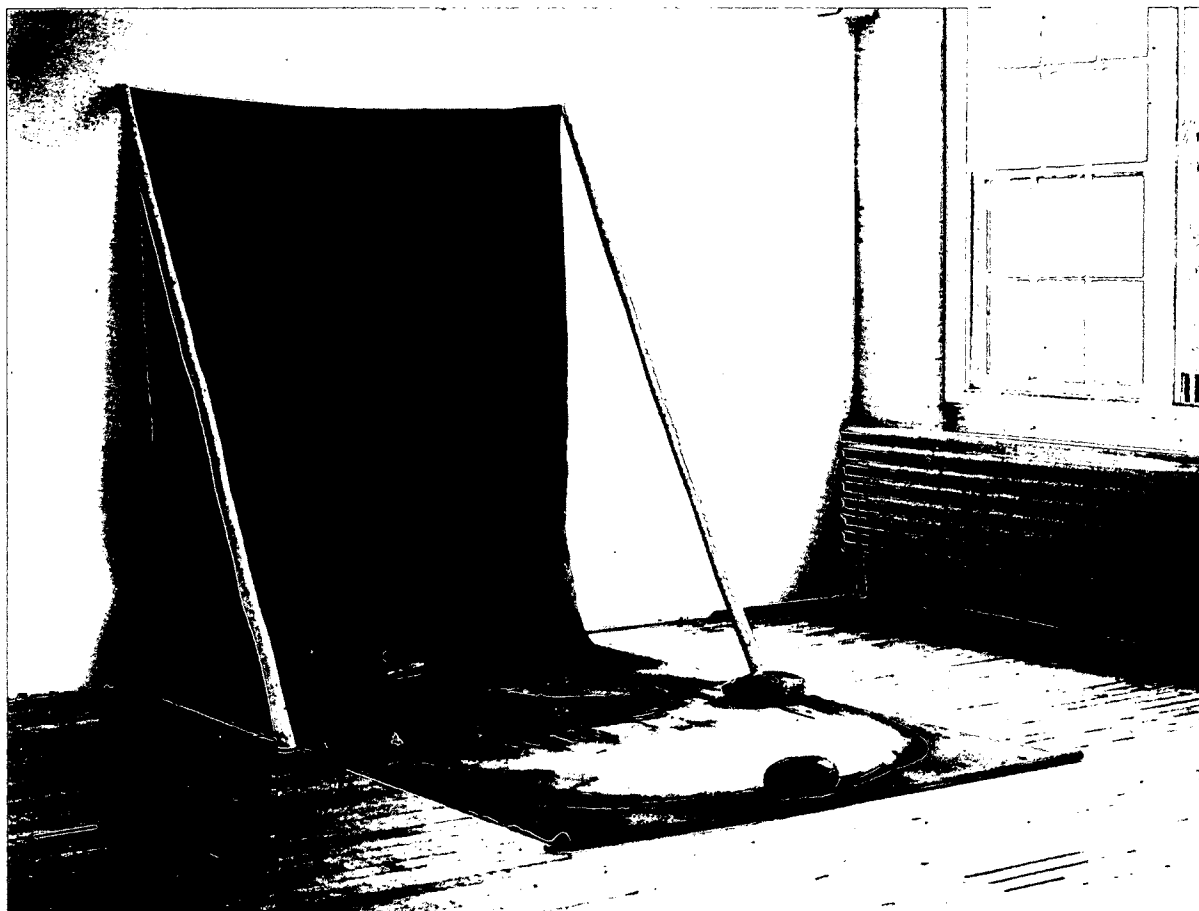


Figure 16

Joane Cardinal-Schubert

The Earth Belongs to Everyone II (1986)

472.44 x 182.88 cm; poles approx. 214 cm

Oil on canvas, pine, plaster, stones

Source: Stardusters: New Works by Jane Ash Poitras, Pierre Sioui, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Edward Poitras

Photo: Justin Wonnacott

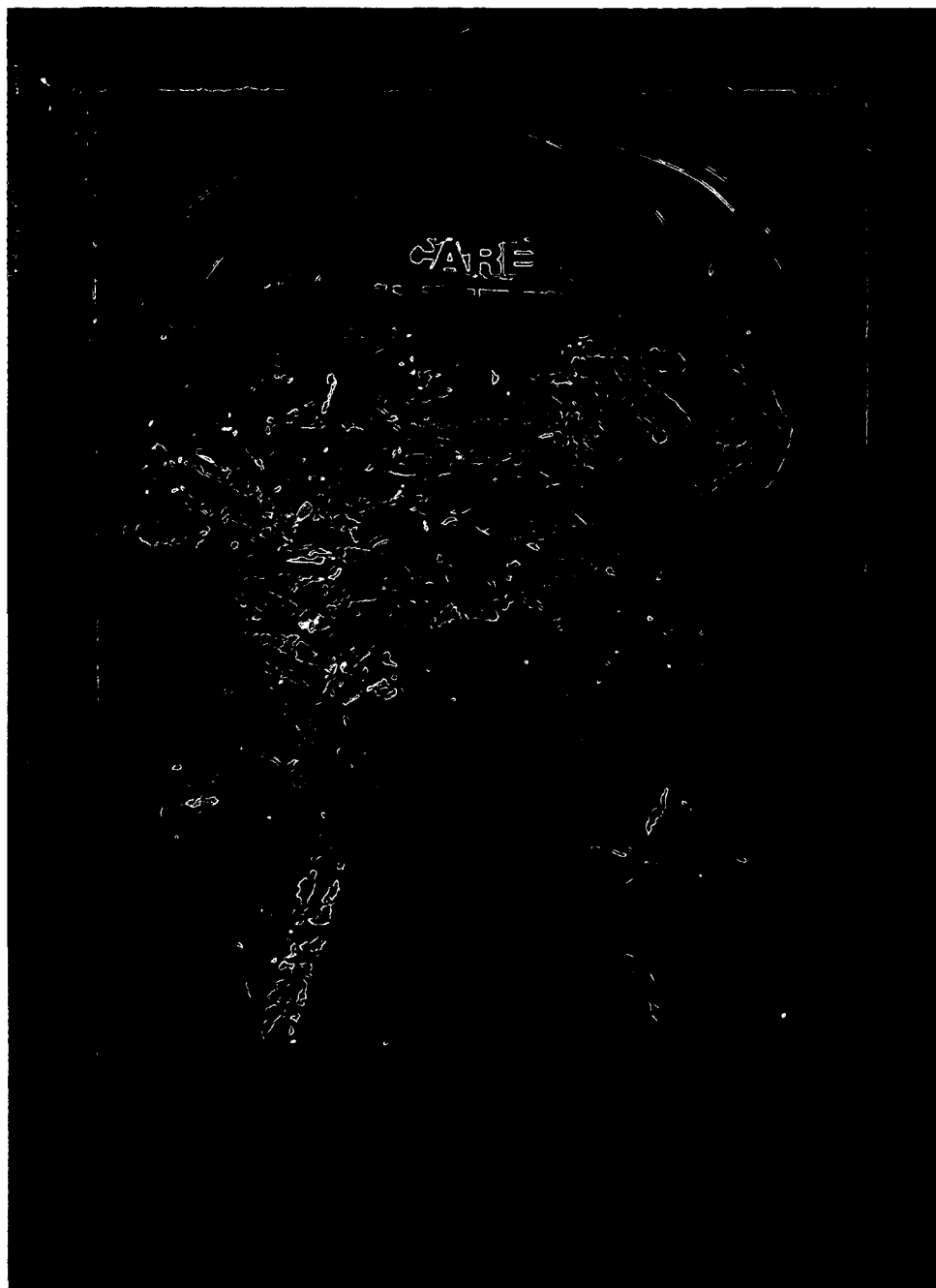


Figure 17 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Keepers of the Vision (1987)
4 panels, 142 x 102.5 cm each
Paper, oil, conte and graphite on rag board
Source: [Revisions](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre

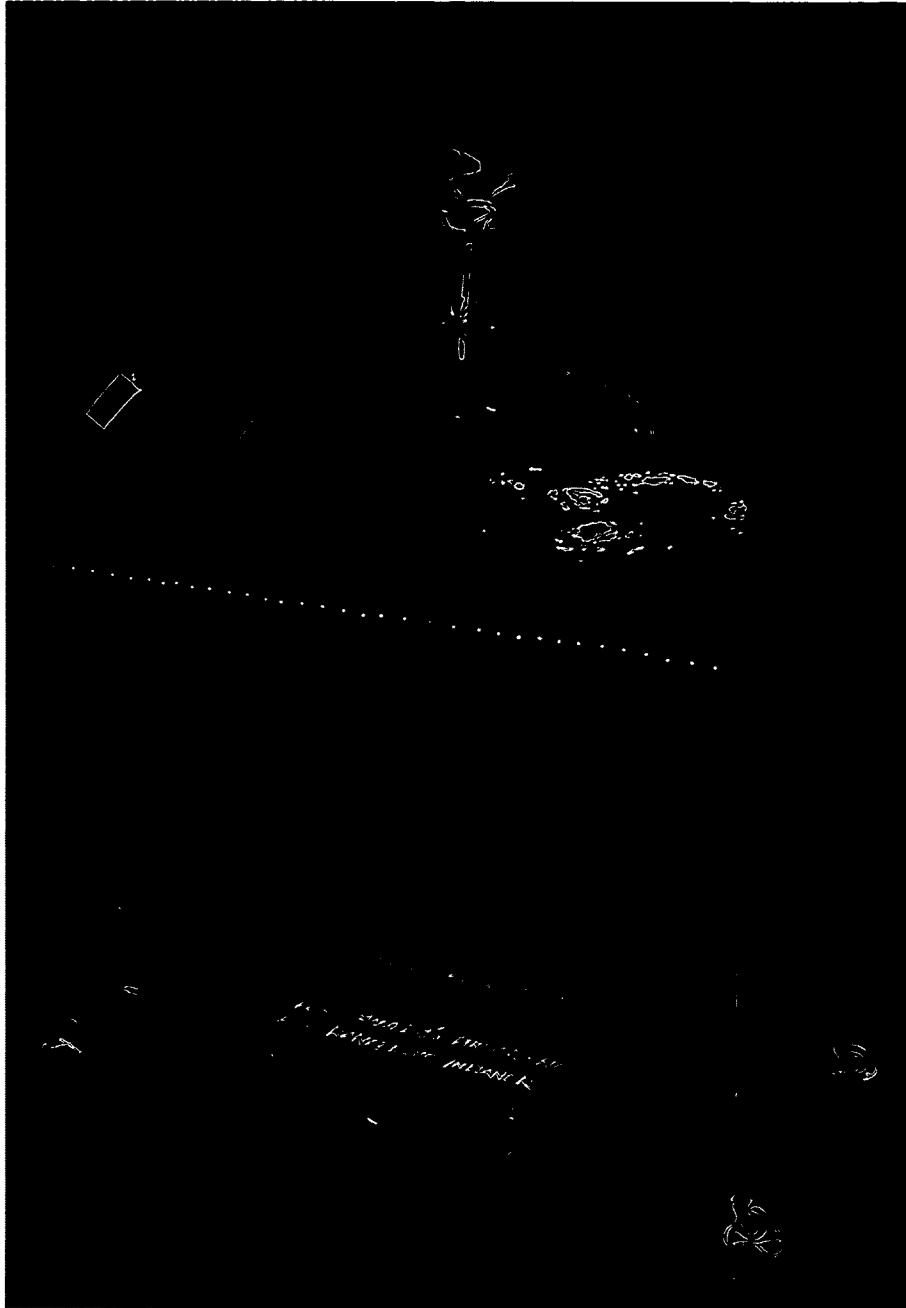


Figure 18 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Burial Platform: Contemporary Artifact VI (Keine Erste Hilfe) (1987)
 122 x 137 x 61 cm
 Mixed media
 Source: [Revisions](#)
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Walter Phillips Gallery, The Banff Centre

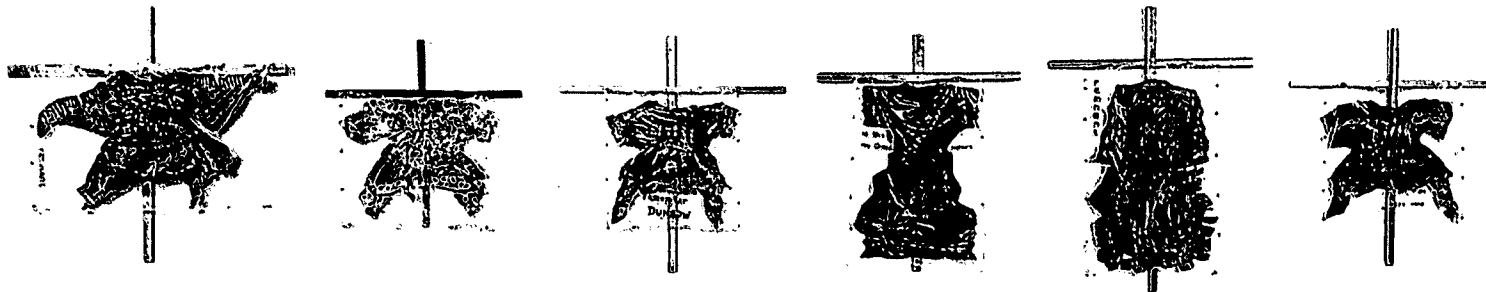


Figure 19 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Remnant, Birthright – Museum II, Remember Dunbow, Is This My
Grandmothers', Remnant, Then There Were None (1988)
102 x 91 cm each
Oil, conte, charcoal on rag paper, found objects, clear vinyl, wood
Source: [Beyond History](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Vancouver Art Gallery

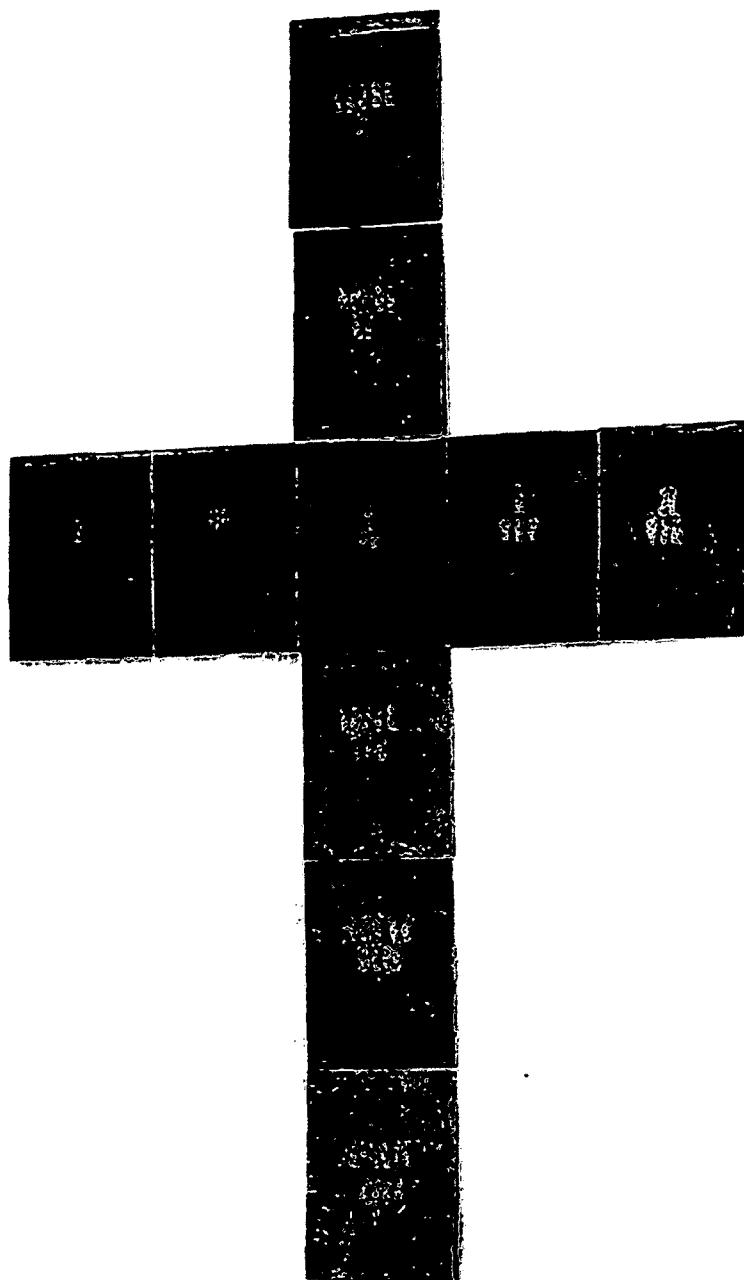


Figure 20 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of A Species: Shroud - Spill (1988)
279 x 381 cm
Etching ink, varethane on rag paper, linen
Collection: National Gallery of Canada
Source: [Beyond History](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Vancouver Art Gallery



Figure 21 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of a Species: Deep Freeze (1989)
548.64 x 914.4 cm
Mixed media installation
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Photo: Allan J. Ryan



Figure 22 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that
 Joe Built) (1990)
 Painting: 182.88 x 243.84 cm, Booth: 182.88 x 476.72 cm, Floor Piece:
 60.96 x 243.84 cm
 Installation, mixed media
 Photo: Allan J. Ryan

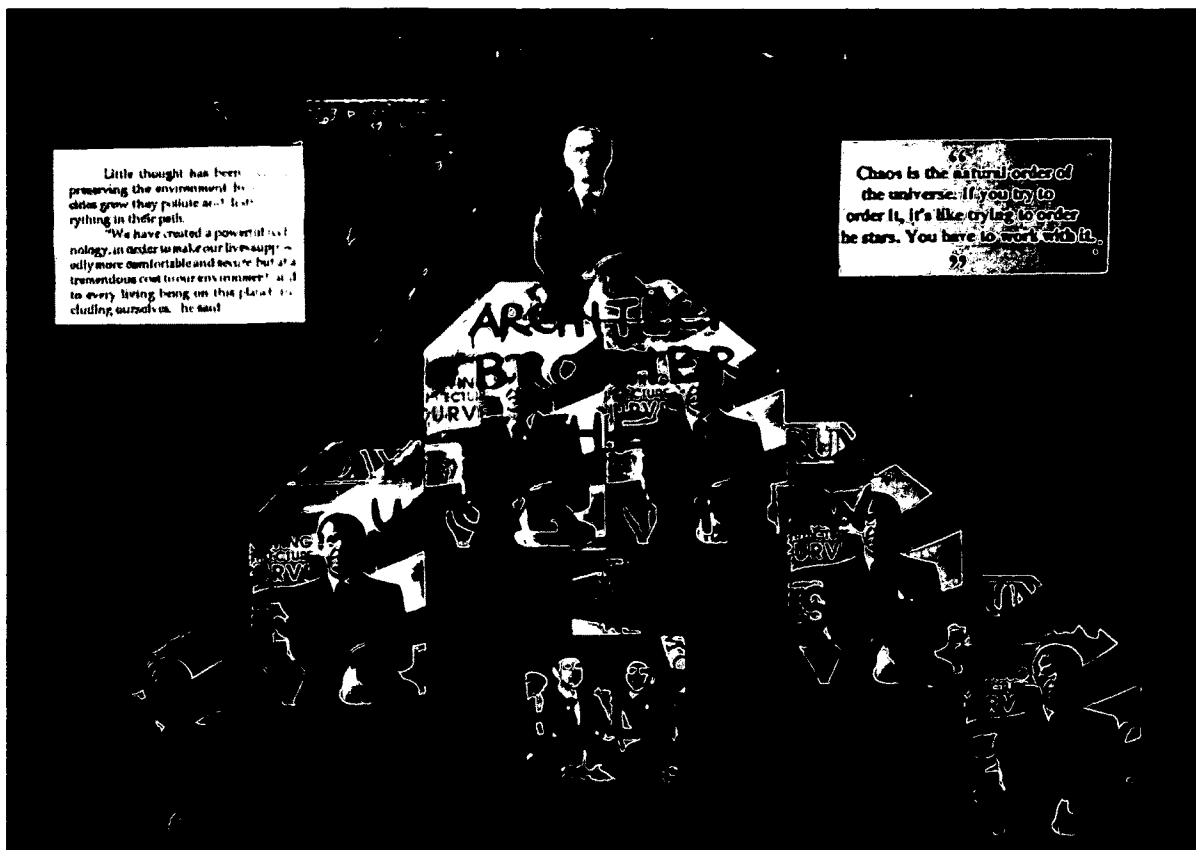


Figure 23 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Preservation of a Species: DECONSTRUCTIVISTS (This is the house that Joe Built) (1990)
 Painting: 182.88 x 243.84 cm, Booth: 182.88 x 476.72 cm, Floor Piece: 60.96 x 243.84 cm
 Installation, mixed media
 Photo: Allan J. Ryan



Figure 24 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
The Power Bird – Grassi Lakes (1983)
121.92 x 81.28 cm
Oil on rag paper
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery



Figure 25 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Drum Dancer: the Messenger AKA Prairie Pony (2005)
Approximately 360 x 240 x 240 cm
Steel mesh, plywood, plaster body, acrylic, rebar, brass, linen
Collection: Calgary International Airport
Photo: Alisdair MacRae

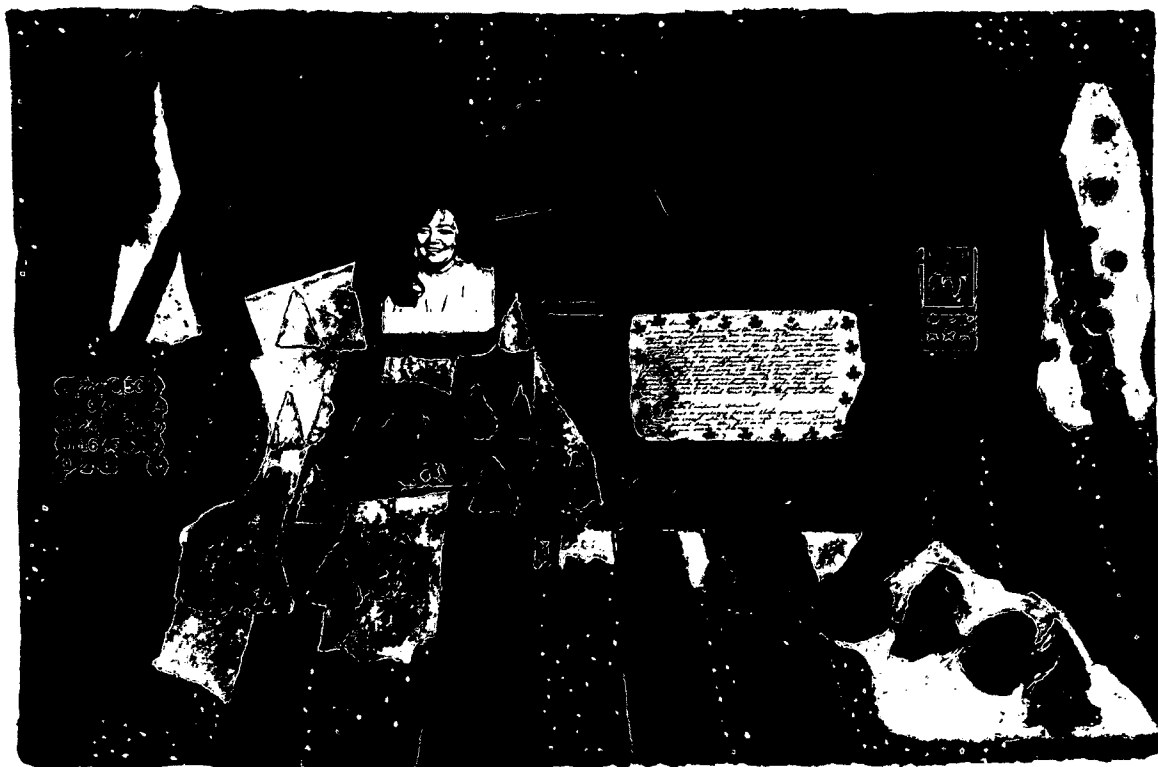


Figure 26 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Self-Portrait as an Indian Warshirt (1991)
61.5 x 91 cm
Mixed media on chiro bark paper
Collection: Glenbow Museum, 2000.002.004
Source: [Glenbow Museum](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Glenbow Museum

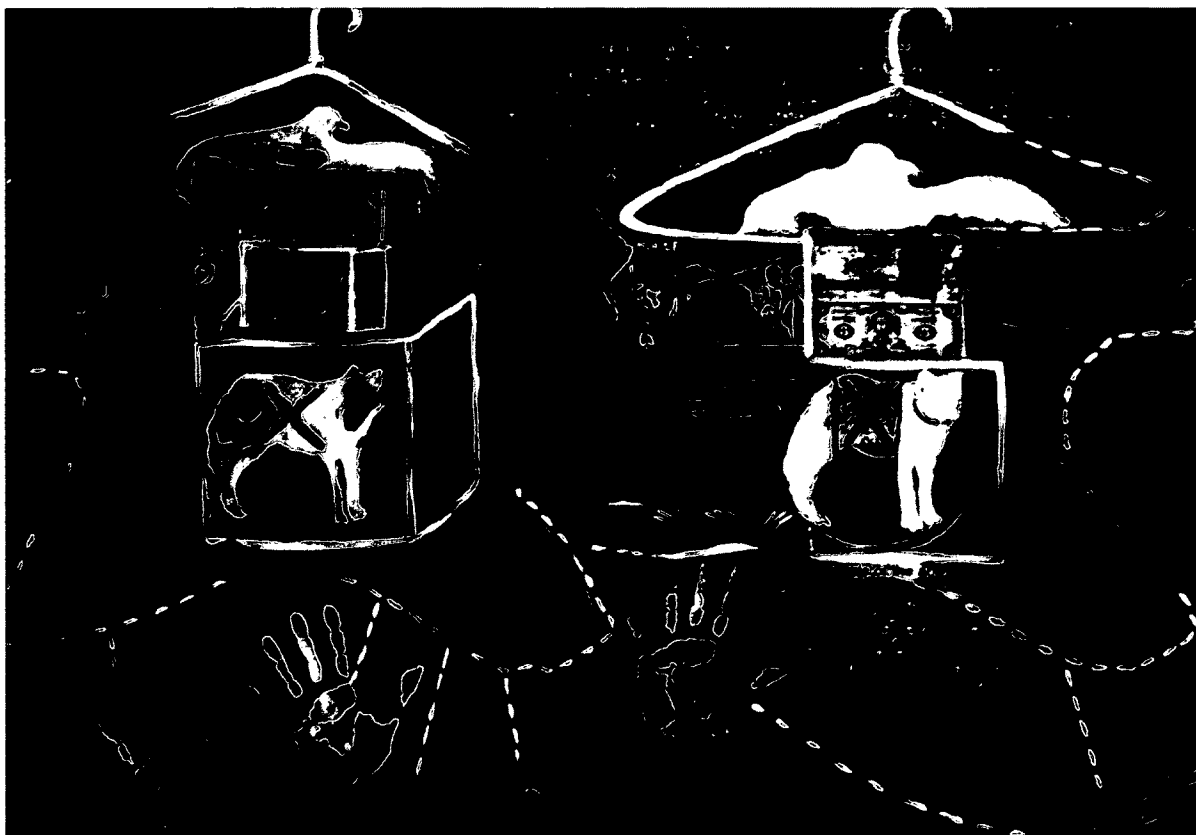


Figure 27 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr: House of All Sorts (1991)
101.6 x 127 cm
Acrylic and collage on paper
Collection: Kamloops Art Gallery, 1995-148
Source: Overstepped Boundaries: Powerful Statements by Aboriginal Artists in the Permanent Collection
Photo: Image courtesy of the Kamloops Art Gallery

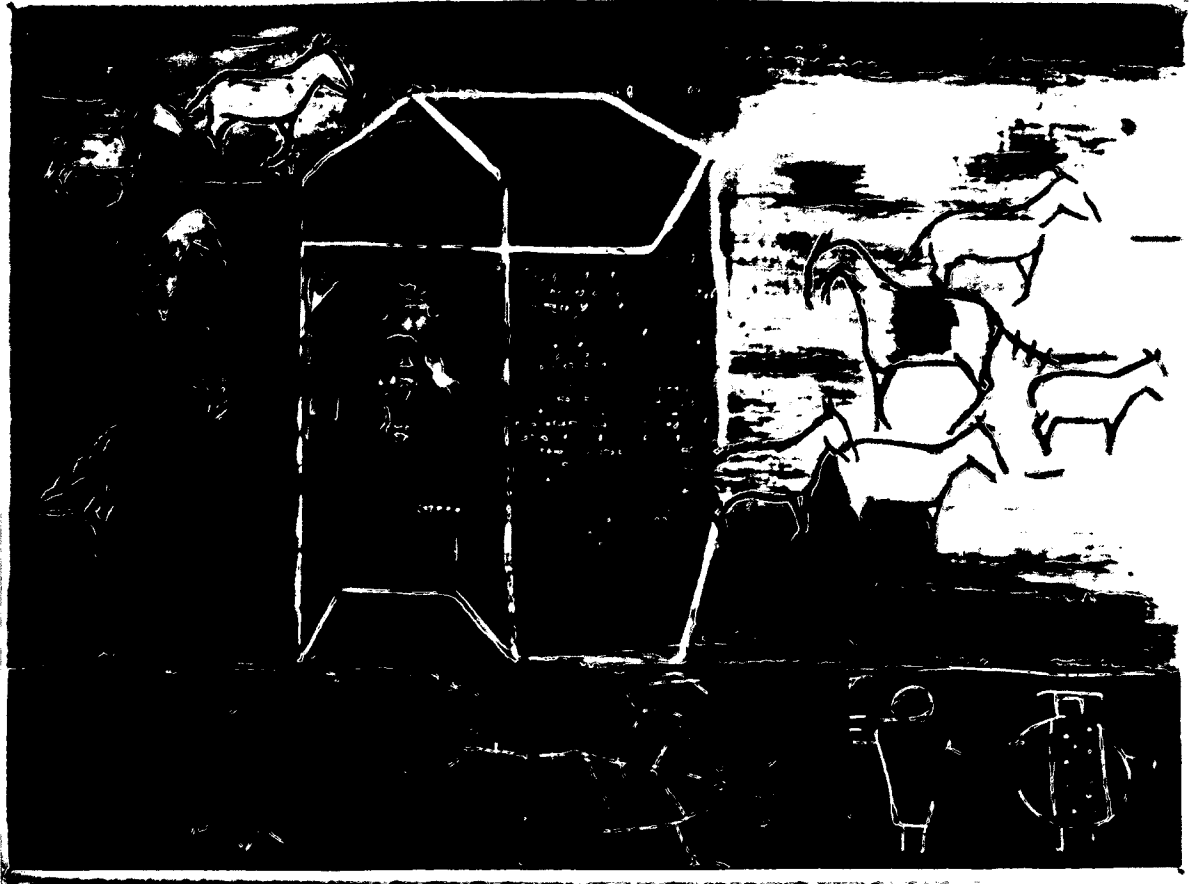


Figure 28 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Beginning of Life (1991)
102 x 127 cm
Acrylic and conte collagraph on rag paper
Photo: Allan J. Ryan



Figure 29

Kay WalkingStick

Finding the Centre (1993)

609.6 x 304.8 cm

Billboard

Collection: Mendel Art Gallery

Source: The Post-Colonial Landscape: A Billboard Exhibition

Photo: Image courtesy of the Mendel Art Gallery

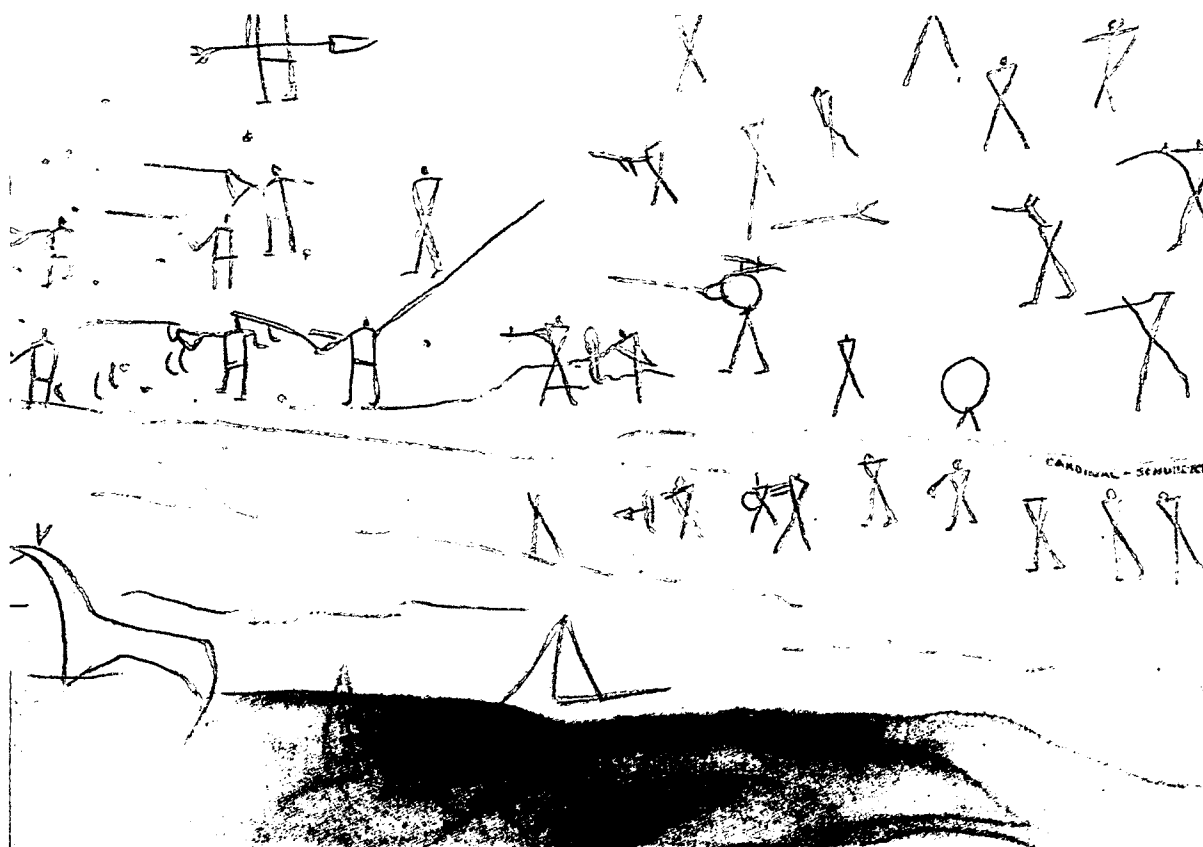


Figure 30 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
 Ancient Battle (1980)
 72.39 x 49.53 cm
 Oil on rag paper
 Collection: Mr. and Mrs. G. Aldridge, Calgary
 Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: This Is My History
 Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery

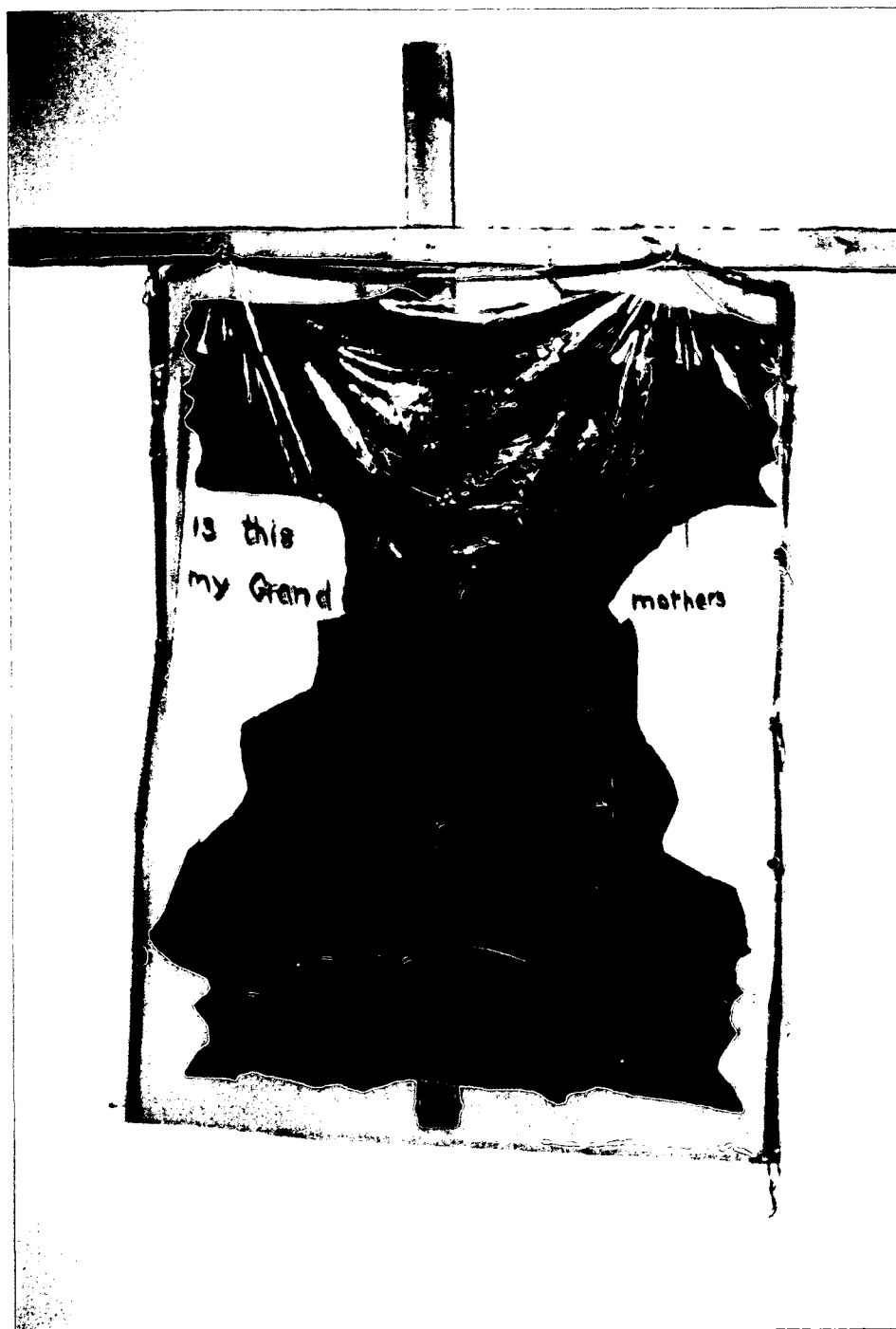


Figure 31 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Is This My Grandmothers' (1988)
102 x 91 cm each
Oil, conte, charcoal on rag paper, found objects, clear vinyl, wood
Photo: Allan J. Ryan



Figure 32 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Self-Portrait, Warshirt: The Americas Canopy (1992)
126.37 cm (Height of framed image)
Acrylic on paper with rosary; tambourine with parchment and acrylic;
leather lacrosse mask with acrylic
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: About Face: Self-Portraits by Native American, First Nations, and
Inuit Artists
Photo: Allan J. Ryan

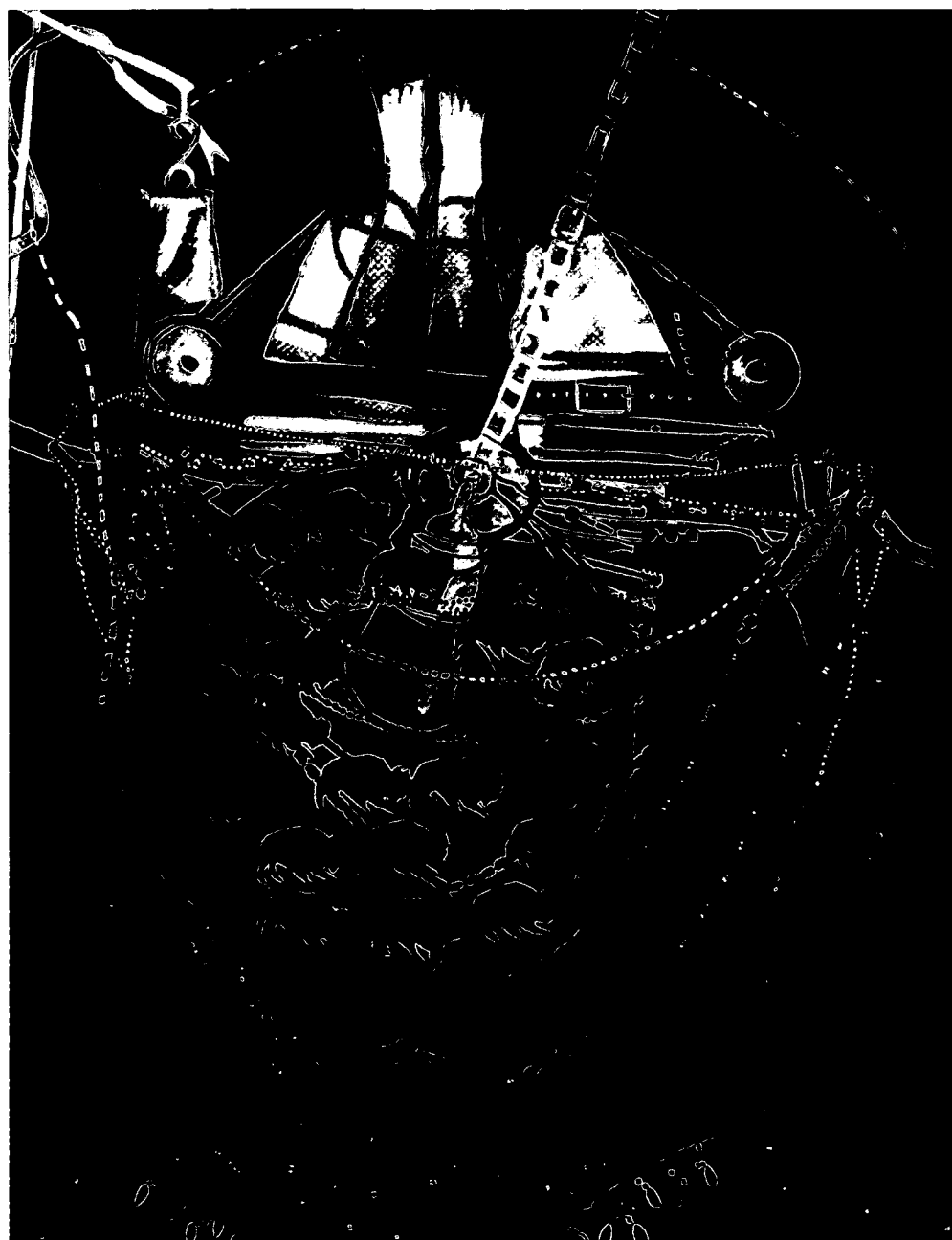


Figure 33 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Remembering My Dreambed (1985)
149.86 x 114.3 cm
Acrylic on canvas
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: Joane Cardinal-Schubert: Two Decades
Photo: Image courtesy of the Thunder Bay Art Gallery



Figure 34 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Urban Warshirt – Metro Techno (2007)
83.82 x 78.74 cm
Mixed media on paper
Source: [Masters Gallery](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of Masters Gallery

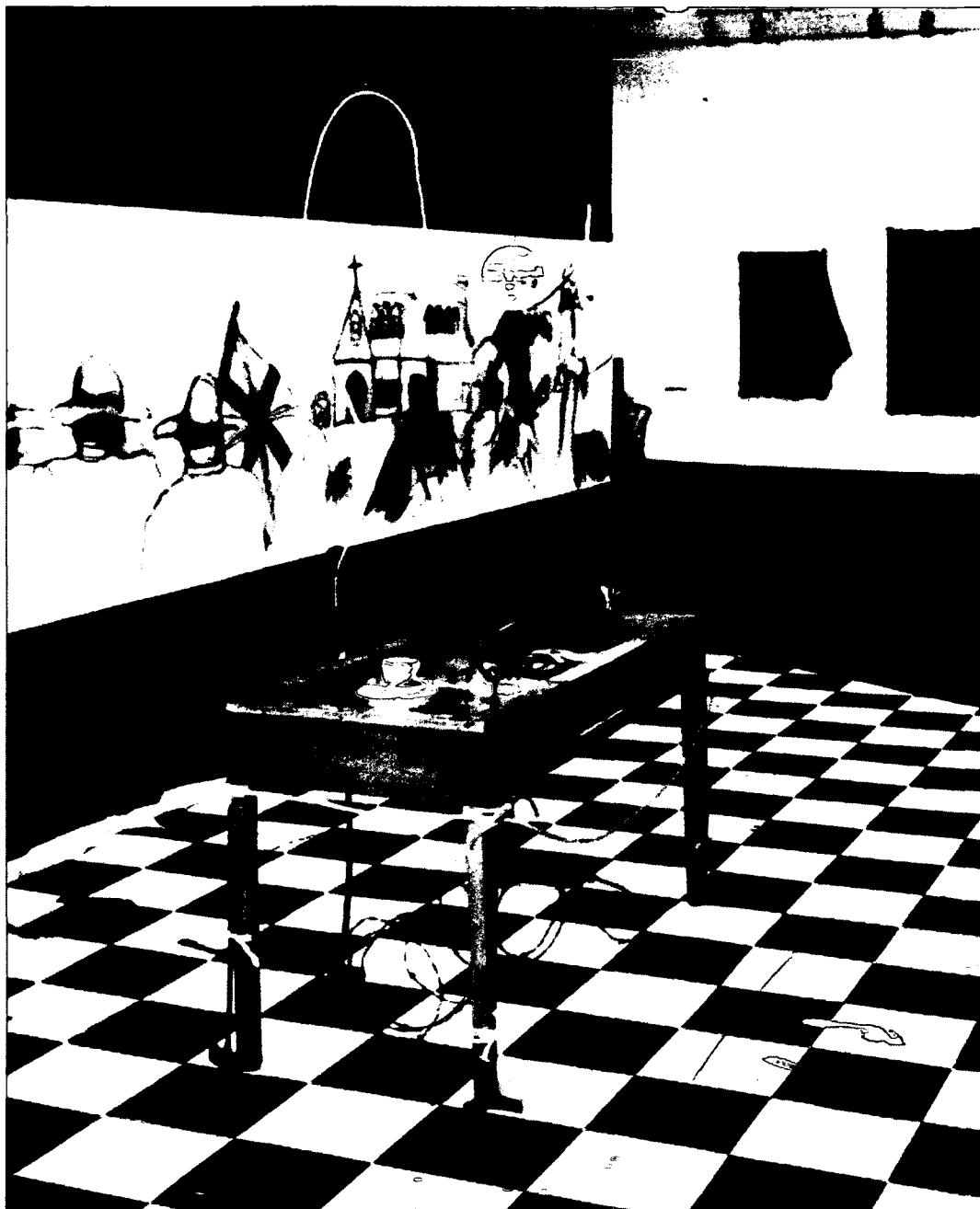


Figure 35 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Kitchen Works: sstorsiinao'si (1998)
Dimensions not available
Mixed media installation
Collection: Estate of the Artist
Source: [Glenbow Museum](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Glenbow Museum

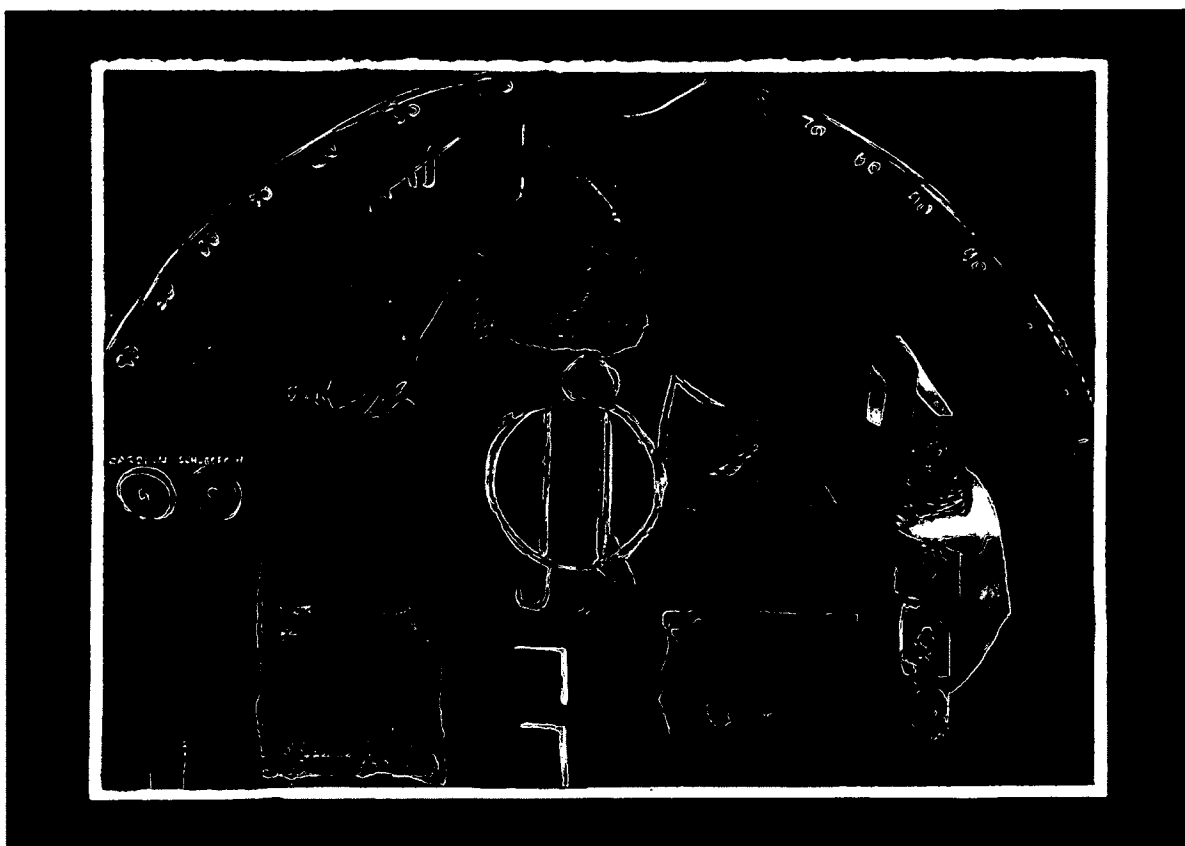


Figure 36 Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Birch Bark Letters To Emily Carr: Astrolabe Discovery (1991)
59.7 x 80.2 cm
Mixed media on Arches paper
Collection: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1992.026.001
Source: [Art Gallery of Greater Victoria](#)
Photo: Image courtesy of the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria