CHANGING PERSPECTIVES

Photography and First Nations Identity

by

J. KERI CRONIN

A thesis submitted to the Department of Art

in conformity with the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

Queen's University

Kingston, Ontario, Canada

December 2000

copyright © J. Keri Cronin, 2000

National Library of Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Acquisitions et services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

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

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

0-612-55914-9

Canadä

ABSTRACT

The relationship between photography and First Nations peoples in Canada has been the focus of three recent exhibitions which I discuss in this thesis. The exhibitions I consider are: "Emergence from the Shadow: First Peoples' Photographic Perspectives," which is currently installed at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec (23 October 1999 - 2 January 2001); "Lost Identities: A Journey of Rediscovery," which was held at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, a UNESCO World Heritage Site near Fort Macleod, Alberta (2 June - 31 October 1999) before traveling to various communities in western Canada; and "Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada," which was shown at the National Archives in Ottawa (15 May - 29 September 1996).

The majority of the photographs that appeared in these exhibitions were made during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in Canada by Euro-Canadian photographers, and were drawn from archival and museum collections across the country. This thesis considers each exhibition separately, discussing the curatorial aims of and installation techniques used in each show, and examines how each exhibition is used by contemporary First Nations peoples as a means of reconnecting with their cultural and ancestral past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank Eric Waterton of the Alberta Historic Sites Services, Marlena Wyman of the Provincial Archives of Alberta, Joan Schwartz of the National Archives of Canada, and Jeff Thomas, independent curator, for providing me with information about the exhibitions discussed in this thesis and for answering my many questions. I would also like to thank Brock Silversides not only for sparking my interest in this topic, but also for his kindness and friendship in the years we worked together at the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Many thanks are also due to my advisor, Lynda Jessup, for her continual support and assistance as I was working to complete both this thesis and my M.A. degree. Her persistence has resulted in me staying on track in my studies, and her kindness has made me feel welcome in both Kingston and the Department of Art. I would also like to acknowledge the kindness and support I received from my undergraduate advisor at the University of Alberta, Colleen Skidmore. Without her encouragement, I would never have continued on to do graduate work.

I would also like to thank my aunt, Irene Morck, who instilled in me a love of photography at a very early age, and my parents for always believing in me and encouraging me to follow my dreams - even when it meant moving 2399.5 miles away from home! I would not have been able to complete this thesis without the friendship of my fellow graduate students in the Department of Art, especially: Nikki Cormier, Kirsty Robertson, Kim Wahl, Sarah Dupré, Elaine Cheasley and Susan Fry who shared in the fun and crazy times and stuck by me during the difficult ones. Finally, I would like to

thank my husband, Scott Cronin, for all his love and support, and for all the countless things he has done to help me realize this goal.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.. i

Acknowledgements.. ii

List of Figures v

Introduction... 1

Literature Review... 10

"Emergence from the Shadow"... 17

"Lost Identities".. 26

"Aboriginal Portraits"... 34

"Aboriginal Portraits" in Cyber-space.................................. 41

Conclusion... 43

Figures.. 51

Bibiiography.. 71

Vita.. 83

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Charles Horetzky, *An Encampment of Cree Indians near present-day Vermilion, Alberta*, 1871 (National Archives of Canada, C5181)

2. George E. Fleming, *One of the Past (A Cree Indian)*, c.1900 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B 9206)

3. *Thomas Moore before being admitted to the Regina Industrial School*, 1896 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 8223-1)

4. *Thomas Moore, posing in the regulation suit worn by young boys at the Regina Industrial School*, 1896 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 8223-2)

5. *Installation of Emergence from the Shadow, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec*, 2000. (Photograph by author)

6. *Installation of Emergence from the Shadow, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec*, 2000. (Photograph by author)

7. *Installation of Emergence from the Shadow showing backlit enlargement, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec*, 2000. (Photograph by author)

8. Harlan Smith, *Fieldwork portrait of Mrs. Eliza Moody (Bella Coola)*, 1922 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, No. 56871)

9. Greg Hill, *Indian/Alien #2*, 1999. ("Emergence from the Shadow" website www.civilization.ca/membrs/fph/jaillir/jailline.html)

10. Harlan Smith, *Portrait of Chief Walking Buffalo (Assiniboine) and Family*, 1925 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, No. 34570)

11. Rosalie Favell, *Untitled #2, Plain(s) Warrior Artist Series*, 1999. ("Emergence from the Shadow" website www.civilization.ca/membrs/fph/jaillir/jailline.html)

12. Example of "write-on" sheet – "Lost Identities" exhibition, Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, Fort Macleod, Alberta.

13. Harry Pollard, *Aakamahstookii (Many Mules)*, c.1900 (Provincial Archives of Alberta, H. Pollard Collection, P 182)

14. Father Jean Lessard, *Crowfoot School, Blackfoot Mission, Cluny*, 1939, and accompanying "write-on" sheet from "Lost Identities" exhibition. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblates of Marie Immaculate Collection, Ob 10417)

15. Edward S. Curtis, *A Nakoatak Chief's Daughter, British Columbia*, c.1914 (National Archives of Canada, PA-039457)

16. William Notman (for the Topley studio), *Indians assembled at Shaqannapi Point for a pow-wow held in honour of the visit of H.R.H. The Duke of Cornwall and York*, 1901 (National Archives of Canada, PA-012122)

17. Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *An Ojibwa Woman and Child, Red River Settlement, Manitoba*, 1895 (National Archives of Canada, C-000728)

18. Truman and Caple Studio, *Dog Child, a North West Mounted Police scout, and his wife, The Only Handsome Woman, members of the Blackfoot Nation, Gleichen, Alberta* c.1890 (National Archives of Canada, PA-195224)

19. Hannah Maynard, *George and Catherine Stelly*, c.1869 (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Catalogue no. 18346)

20. Hannah Maynard, *Native Pedlars*, c.1869 (Provincial Archive of British Columbia, uncatalogued collection)

21. Hannah Maynard, *Haida Washerwoman, Mary*, c.1865 (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, PN 5310)

22. Hannah Maynard, *Haida Mary (composite photograph)*, c.1884 (British Columbia Provincial Museum, PN 5311)

23. Edmund Morris, *White Buffalo Calf (Child-Unistaipoka) viewing his portrait*, c.1909 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, uncatalogued collection)

Images have consequences in the real world: ideas have results.

Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*[1]

A photograph is a meeting place where the interests of the photographer, the photographed, the viewer and those who are using the photograph are often contradictory.

John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling*[2]

Introduction

The relationship between photography and First Nations peoples in Canada is complex. Almost since the invention of photography First Nations peoples have been the subject of photographs made by Euro-Canadians. As I demonstrate in the following discussion, much of the resulting imagery is stereotypical and, at times, overtly racist. As photo-historian Liz Wells notes, "photography grew up in the days of Empire and became an important adjunct of imperialism, for it returned...images of native peoples which frequently confirmed prevailing views of them as primitive, bizarre, barbaric or simply picturesque."[3] Recently, however, many contemporary artists of Aboriginal descent have taken up the medium of photography in order to explore issues of identity and belonging. In many ways, this can be seen as a response to the way photography has served historically to "colonize" Aboriginal peoples.[4] This thesis is a site of intersection between these two points. I examine three exhibitions that have looked to historical

[1] Daniel Francis *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 194.
[2] John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling* (Cambridge: Granta Books, 1989), 7.
[3] Liz Wells, ed., *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1997), 58.
[4] In her article, "A Curator's Perspective: Native Photographers Creating a Visual Native American History," Theresa Harlan points out, "in 1990 while the world celebrated the 150th anniversary of photography, Native Americans quietly celebrated the second generation of Native photographers" (*Exposure* [Fall 1993]: 12).

depictions of First Nations peoples by Euro-Canadians as a means of reasserting Native identity and connecting present-day Aboriginal audiences with the past.

I have attempted to discern through the course of my research whether or not the process of revisiting these photographs actually offers new ways of understanding this body of imagery, or if in fact these exhibitions simply re-present cultural stereotypes in a new guise, despite curatorial aims to the contrary. As Leslie Deveraux wonders in her introduction to *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology and Photography*, is it even possible for an image to "avoid the place of stereotype already prepared for it by the power relations of the past?"[5] It is this inquiry that has formed the basis of the following discussion.

In this thesis I explore three recent Canadian exhibitions: "Emergence from the Shadow: First Peoples' Photographic Perspectives," which is currently installed at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec (23 October 1999 – 2 January 2001); "Lost Identities: A Journey of Rediscovery," which was organized by Head-Smashed-In-Buffalo Jump, a UNESCO World Heritage Site near Fort Macleod, Alberta (2 June – 31 October 1999) and is currently on tour; and "Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada," which was shown at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, Ontario (15 May – 29 September 1996). All three exhibitions centre on photographs of First Nations peoples taken by non-Native photographers in Canada. I examine how historical and anthropological photographs of Native peoples are being used in exhibitions to explore issues of identity for contemporary First Nations audiences

---

[5] Leslie Devereaux and Roger Hillman, eds., *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology and Photography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 10.

through a study of both the various curatorial techniques employed in the shows and the ways in which the curatorial practices employed differ from traditional presentations of Native imagery.

In recent years the ways in which museum exhibitions impart information has become an object of study. Exhibitions are now considered agents of discourse in and of themselves, forming a type of public history. The way objects and images are presented in museums is never free of bias; as Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine argue in the introduction to their anthology, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, "the very nature of exhibiting makes it a contested terrain."[6] In the case of exhibitions that delve into issues of race and identity, it becomes especially important to understand how these exhibitions have been put together, as they have the ability to promote or lessen existing cultural stereotypes. In these types of exhibitions, curators take on the role of "cultural broker," becoming central players in the "broader stage of global politics."[7]

Traditionally, the lives and cultures of First Nations peoples have been displayed almost exclusively in anthropological and natural history museums where they have been represented not only apart from dominant Western-European and settler societies, but also as existing in an "ethnographic present" – an indeterminate past outside historical time. Often exhibitions have not differentiated the many diverse cultural groups that comprise Canada's First Nations. Instead groups have been merged into what art

---

[6] Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, "Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Steven D. Lavine and Ivan Karp (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 1.
[7] Mari Carmen Ramírez, "Brokering Identities: Art Curators and the Politics of Cultural Representation," in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996), 21-22.

historian Mari Carmen Ramírez has termed a homogenous, "melted identity."[8] A conventional exhibition of First Nations cultures inevitably included anthropological data, cultural artifacts, and descriptions of ancient customs.[9] It may have offered interesting information to scholars and casual visitors alike; however, this was generally all that was included in such exhibits. There was often no indication that First Nations peoples, lives and cultures continued to exist and thrive in the contemporary world. The message implied in this type of display was that First Nations peoples existed entirely in the past.[10] Historically, messages such as these were naturalized by the presumed authority of the museum and as such were continually reproduced.[11] It is true, as Daniel Sherman and Irit Rogoff argue in their 1994 publication, *Museum Culture*, that "museums both sustain and construct cultural master narratives."[12] This is why it is crucial to unravel the way museums present the world, for an understanding of "museum culture" is "a prerequisite to changing it."[13] While many exhibitions continue to perpetuate the stereotypical notions Euro-Canadian society holds of First Nations

---

[8] Ibid., 24.
[9] For discussion of the way First Nations cultures have been represented in Canadian museums and galleries historically, see Ruth B. Phillips, "Fielding Culture: Dialogues Between Art History and Anthropology," *Museum Anthropology* 18 (1994): 39-46, Diana Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of Exhibitions of First Nations Art," in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996), 411-436, and James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 98-121.
[10] Johannes Fabian has discussed at length the ways in which anthropologists have utilized the construction of time to relegate the Other to the realm of the past. See *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
[11] Ruth B. Phillips, "How Museums Marginalize: Naming Domains of Inclusion and Exclusion," *Cambridge Review* (February 1993): 6-10.
[12] Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, eds., *Museum Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), xi.
[13] Sherman and Rogoff, *Museum Culture*, xix.

peoples, museums are aggressively moving away from this type of exhibition practice and, instead, are developing more inclusive curatorial strategies.[14]

In their recent publication, *Challenging Racism in the Arts*, Carol Tator, Frances Henry and Winston Mattis discuss the "emerging crisis in representation" that is occurring in many Canadian cultural institutions. Institutions such as museums and galleries, which have long been revered as cultural or scientific authorities, are now being "scrutinized, challenged and redefined as to their role, function and meaning."[15] In general, these institutions are constructs of Euro-Canadian society, and have traditionally excluded all but the most privileged voices of their own culture.[16] However, as Gerald McMaster, former curator of contemporary Indian art at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, notes, "Despite their long and complicated histories, many institutional spaces…are beginning to reexamine themselves in light of rapidly changing cultural landscapes."[17]

While this "cultural revolution" is being fought on a number of fronts in Canada, one of the most significant concerns Aboriginal representation in art galleries and

---

[14] Several authors have written about the myths and stereotypes European cultures have held about First Nations Peoples. Ideas such as "the noble savage," "the Indian princess," and "the stoic Indian" continue to be perpetuated through various media. See Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver : Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992); Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Devon A. Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities* (Atlanta: Clarity Press, 1996); Marilyn Burgess and Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, *Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier* (Montreal: Oboro, 1995); Deborah Doxtator, *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness*, rev. ed. (Brantford, Ont.: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1992). For specific discussions of First Nations representation in Canadian museums, see also the special issue of *Muse* 6,2 (Fall 1988) which is dedicated to this subject.

[15] Carol Tator, Frances Henry and Winston Mattis, *Challenging Racism in the Arts: Case Studies of Controversy and Conflict* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 3.

[16] See Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).

[17] Gerald McMaster, "Museums and Galleries as Sites for Artistic Intervention," in *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 259. McMaster is currently Deputy Director, Cultural Resources, Smithsonian Institution.

anthropological museums. Historically, large urban institutions – what James Clifford has termed "majority museums" – have provided little opportunity for Aboriginal voices to be heard.[18] Traditionally, exhibitions dealing with First Nations peoples in Canadian majority museums have filtered the depiction of very diverse and dynamic cultures through narratives and cultural practices that, in the end, only serve to reinforce the situation of these people as an ahistorical, exotic Other to Euro-Canadian culture. It is only in recent years that consideration has been given to curatorial techniques that allow First Nations peoples opportunities to become active participants in the way their lives and cultures are represented.

While it can be argued that the concept of the museum and the displays within its walls are determined by Western culture, the fact remains that majority museums in Canada, such as the Art Gallery of Ontario, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and the National Gallery of Canada, are seen as showcases of Canadian culture for both the domestic audience and the vast number of international visitors who flock to museums each year.[19] Canada has an official cultural policy of multiculturalism, which aims to "encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's

---

[18] In his article, "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections," James Clifford makes the distinction between "majority" and "minority" or "tribal" museums: "Speaking schematically, majority museums articulate cosmopolitan culture, science, art and humanism – often with a national slant. Tribal museums express local culture, oppositional politics, kinship, ethnicity, and tradition." He also discusses general characteristics and agendas of both types of institution. See James Clifford, "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 255.

[19] Many contemporary artists are turning to alternative venues such as cultural centres specifically for this reason. In Canada, there are approximately fifteen to twenty of these Aboriginal-operated museums, and there is a sense that these centres are more in touch with the reality of Aboriginal peoples in Canada than most "non-native" museums. To differentiate between these and "non-native" museums, Deborah Doxtator has pointed out that in Aboriginal cultural centres, "Elders, not books or university graduates, are perceived to be a core part of the museum." See Deborah Doxtator, "The Implications of Canadian Nationalism for

multicultural character."[20] In response, such institutions as museums and art galleries have begun to rethink their mandates, practices and curatorial strategies so as to put an end to exclusionary practices and representations that have not until very recently been called into question.[21]

While the need for increased Aboriginal representation – for diversity of voices in general – has been recently recognized, the logical extension of this recognition, the actual implementation of diverse and revised curatorial strategies that facilitate this inclusion has rarely occurred in majority art museums.[22] The recent symposium, "A Working Discussion on Aboriginal Representation in the Art Gallery," was organized to bring together artists, academics, and museum professionals to search for practical and immediate ways not only to increase the inclusion of First Nations cultures in Canadian galleries, but also to give more control to Aboriginal peoples over the way these exhibitions and installations are organized and implemented.[23] The opportunity for First Nations peoples to assert control over the ways in which their histories and cultures are

---

Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy," *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-Colonial Societies, Proceedings* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994), 65.

[20] The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* can be found the World Wide Web at www.solon.org/Statutes/Canada/English/C/CMA/html (URL last consulted 3 November 2000). The *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was passed into law in 1988, and solidified what has come to been seen as a key component in Canada's distinct national character. See also the *Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1998-1999* (Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage, 2000). Such scholars as Jon Stratton and Ien Ang have outlined some of the inherent problems with multiculturalism as official cultural policy, in particular the way it can be understood "not as a policy to *foster* cultural differences but, on the contrary, to direct them into safe channels," and argue that it is impossible to include Aboriginal cultures within a multicultural policy "without erasing the memory of colonial dispossession, genocide and cultural loss and its continued impact on Aboriginal life." Jon Stratton and Ien Ang, "Multicultural Imagined Communities," *Continuum* 8 (1994): 153-155.

[21] See for example, Canadian Museums Association and Assembly of First Nations, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples* (Ottawa: Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, 1992).

[22] Gerald McMaster, "Towards an Aboriginal Art History," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (London: Routledge, 1999), 81-96.

[23] This symposium was organized by Shannon Bagg, Brian Donnelly, and Lynda Jessup (Department of Art at Queen's University), and was hosted by the Art Gallery of Ontario and the Vancouver Art Gallery on 3-5

represented will assist in facilitating the move away from the current imbalance of power that is embedded in the representational practices and policies of Canadian museums and galleries. The means to achieve this goal are necessarily as varied and diverse as the communities involved. The three exhibitions I discuss in this thesis have responded to this challenge by considering issues of identity arising out of historical photographs of First Nations peoples taken by non-Native photographers.

In the case of these exhibitions, the use of the photograph is important. After its invention in 1839, photography was by far the most commonly used medium for depicting non-Western cultures. From the early days of photography, European travelers to Africa, Asia and the Americas began to take pictures of the land and its inhabitants. The photograph was immensely popular because of its relative affordability and perceived veracity; true-to-life pictures of far-off lands could now be collected by most everyone in Western society. The camera lent views of distant people and places a "new authenticity" that, in comparison, previous visual traditions could not offer.[24] There was a sense of immediacy and truthfulness that informed the way these images were read by nineteenth-century audiences. The photograph's attachment to a real world referent fueled beliefs in the camera's ability to present accurate and factual representations of the world in front of its lens. An excerpt from an 1860 article on photography attests to this:

> The photograph...cannot deceive; in nothing can it extenuate; there is no power in this marvelous machine either to add or take from: we know that what we see *must* be TRUE....Lake and mountain, glen and river, picturesque waterfalls and gigantic cataracts, spacious harbours, populous cities - all the glories of Nature and of Art - are here brought so vividly before the eye that we seem to have journeyed with the traveler and worked

---

March and 24-26 March 2000, respectively. See Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg, ed., *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery* (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001.)
[24] Wells, *Photography*, 60.

with the artist.[25] (original emphasis)

Of course, this veracity was an illusion that was fed by belief in the inherent accuracy of the mechanical workings of the photographic process. In actuality, the scenes the camera recorded were every bit as constructed as a drawing or an engraving. As Joan Schwartz has argued, photographs taken of distant locales and their inhabitants "were sites – defined by Western needs, beliefs and expectations – where distant facts were transformed into Western fictions."[26]

Historical photographs made under these conditions are central to all three of the exhibitions I am focusing on in this discussion. The curators of these exhibitions believe, however, that these photographs can also serve as a means for contemporary First Nations audiences to re-connect with their ancestral and cultural past. The exhibition venue itself is significant in this process, for, as Elizabeth Edwards has argued, a photograph's "material forms," which play a crucial role in photography's relationship to memory, are "enhanced by its presentational forms."[27] In other words, the way an exhibition is put together, from the selection of images and the framing techniques employed, to the actual space in which the exhibition is installed, helps to determine the way any given image will be read and understood within the context of that exhibition: "The forms in which images are displayed and used follows their function, a cultural expectancy bringing together physical form and cultural *function*."[28]

---

[25] "America in the Stereoscope," *Art Journal* 6 (1860): 254; quoted in Colleen Skidmore, " 'All that is interesting in the Canadas': William Notman's Maple Box Portfolio of Stereographic Views, 1860," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32 (Winter 1998): 82-83.
[26] Joan Schwartz, "*The Geography Lesson*: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (January 1996): 30.
[27] Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," in *Material Memories*, ed. M. Kwuit, C. Breward and J. Aynsley (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999), 222.
[28] Ibid., 223.

As I show in the following discussion, each of the three exhibitions has taken a different approach to the exploration of cultural identity that arises from revisiting these historical photographs. "Emergence from the Shadow" integrates early twentieth-century anthropological photographs of Native Canadians with photo-based work by First Nations contemporary artists in order to demonstrate how "the past influences the present in both cultural and artistic terms."[29] "Lost Identities" replaced the conventional exhibition label identifying artist, date and medium with "write-on sheets" that encouraged members of Alberta's Aboriginal communities to identify people in the photographs and to share stories and family histories. "Aboriginal Portraits" also reconsidered the labels often assigned to historical photographs of Native Canadians, but located the process of "re-naming" in the curatorial rather than community realm by providing carefully researched, contextual information for each image to counter the more stereotypical (and in many cases non-existent) titles that had originally been assigned to the photographs. What remains constant in the three shows is the use of the photograph, which suggests its relevance as a medium to the exploration undertaken in each exhibition. Thus, an important part of my study involves an examination of photography's relationship to issues of memory and identity, and to the ways in which it has been employed in each of the exhibitions.

Literature Review

Photography of First Nations peoples has a long and complicated history in North America, and in recent years has been the subject of a number of scholarly publications.

---

[29] Jeff Thomas, "Emergence from the Shadow: First Peoples' Photographic Perspectives" http://www.civilization.ca/membrs/fph/jaillir/jailline.html (URL last consulted 5 December 2000).

Paula Fleming and Judith Luskey's *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* and Alfred Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell's *The Photograph and the American Indian* are two examples that consider the "capacity of the photographs themselves to teach us to see past the captions with which they were labeled."[30] However, most of these studies deal with photographs of First Nations peoples in the United States; relatively few explore this type of imagery in a Canadian context.

One of the few studies to focus on historical photographs of Canadian First Nations peoples is Brock Silversides's 1994 book, *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians, 1871-1939*, which deals primarily with photographs taken in Western Canada and how these photographs served to "excite the imagination of white Canadian society."[31] Silversides's study is divided into four chapters, each dealing with a specific attitude Euro-Canadians held about First Nations peoples, and how each attitude was aided and perpetuated through photography.

The introductory chapter, entitled "First Contact," discusses photographs that were made primarily in a documentary tradition. Silversides argues that "photographers, and white society in general, were genuinely curious about the Native lifestyle and appearance. They wanted to explore and record [Native] dress, hairstyles, homes, methods of travel, and their modes of worship."[32] This sense of curiosity is manifested through the countless photographs and stereographs made on the Canadian prairies in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, Silversides has included a

---

[30] Alfred Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, *The Photograph and the American Indian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), xiv; Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey, *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1988).
[31] Brock Silversides, *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians, 1871-1938* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1994), 11.
[32] Ibid., 15.

reproduction of Charles Horetzky's "An encampment of Cree Indians" which is believed to be "the first photograph of Native people taken in the old North-West Territories (fig. 1)."[33]

Silversides's second chapter, "A Dying Race," shifts emphasis from these exploratory photographs to those that have more of an anthropological intent. Due to a widespread belief that Native North Americans were a dying race, many photographers "developed an urge to capture a record of the 'famous' Indian leaders for posterity, and 'representative' Indians for anthropological purposes."[34] The photographs in this chapter are primarily studio portraits in which Native sitters are dressed in distinctly non-Western clothing, and posed against a stark backdrop. Many of the sitters are unidentified, and often the photographer would add captions to the image to emphasize the photograph's anthropological intent. A photograph taken by George E. Fleming of an unidentified Cree man is a good example of this practice (fig. 2). Fleming has posed his sitter in profile to ensure that both the intricate detailing of the man's clothing and his physical features would be emphasized by the studio lighting. While Fleming did not feel it was necessary to record the man's name, he did inscribe the phrase "One of the Past" at the bottom of the image, indicating his belief that First Nations peoples were a dying race.[35]

Silversides's next chapter, "Transition," focuses on photographs that show First Nations peoples being assimilated into Euro-Canadian ways of life. As Silversides writes,

> Following the North-West Rebellion of 1885...white society was confirmed in its view that the Indian was like a child who could be led by either good or evil influences. A concerted effort was thus begun

---

[33] Ibid., 16.
[34] Ibid., 57.
[35] Ibid., 81.

> to assimilate the Native people into the mainstream by engaging in cultural remodeling.[36]

This section has many photographs of First Nations peoples in Western dress, driving cars, farming, and attending church services. There are also several photographs of First Nations children at both residential and industrial schools, institutions where students would have been taught skills and attitudes deemed acceptable by the settler society. Silversides argues that "colonial society has always been concerned about documenting the progress of its trappings and ideas, especially when they are used to 'civilize' another culture."[37] The photographs included in this chapter demonstrate that this was the case in Western Canada. A particularly poignant example of this is the "before" and "after" photographs of a young boy named Thomas Moore that were included in an 1897 report to the Department of Indian Affairs to demonstrate the success of the Regina Industrial School in "civilizing" their students (figs. 3, 4).

In his last chapter, "Inventing the Legend," Silversides points out that, while the "noble savage" had all but disappeared due to such coercive assimilation practices, "white society still had a certain fondness for this make-believe character."[38] The photographs in this section demonstrate Euro-Canadian society's paradoxical attitude towards First Nations peoples. On the one hand, it wanted the Native population to take on the ways and customs of dominant society, yet at the same time it had a nostalgic yearning for what it believed in contrast to be the "authentic Indian." Staged photographs of Aboriginal people in elaborate "Indian costumes," in front of teepees and in wilderness

---

[36] Ibid., 99.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 145.

settings were extremely popular despite being "a fictional treatment based on a slim margin of historical veracity and a great deal of wishful thinking."[39]

In both *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* and *Copying People: Photographing British Columbia First Nations 1860-1940*, Canadian historian Daniel Francis discusses the distinction between the Imaginary Indian fabricated by White society and real First Nations peoples, stating that "Indians, as we think we know them, do not exist."[40] Marcia Crosby has also written about this construction and argues that the Imaginary Indian "functioned as a peripheral but necessary component of Europe's history in North America – the negative space of the 'positive' force of colonialist hegemony."[41] Crosby and Francis have demonstrated how much of the imagery of Native peoples that permeates the collective consciousness of Euro-Canadians is that of the Imaginary Indian – derived from a long legacy of stereotypical depictions of First Nations peoples by Euro-Canadian artists and photographers.

The work of such scholars as Silversides, Francis and Crosby has provided a good introduction to this body of imagery in a Canadian context, and forms a basis for a study such as mine. These authors expose many of the cultural myths surrounding the creation and collection of photographs of First Nations peoples. What they have not adequately investigated, however, is the use-value of this type of imagery for a contemporary Aboriginal audience, which is what I discuss in this thesis.[42]

---

[39] Ibid., 146.
[40] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 4-5.
[41] Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," in *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Or Gallery, 1991), 269.
[42] Use-value is a Marxist concept, and is distinguished from exchange-value in that "the former is a judgment about the usefulness of an object, the latter is what that same object will fetch in exchange on the market." See Gordon Marshall, ed., *A Dictionary of Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 93.

Partial Recall, a collection of essays edited by Lucy Lippard, is a key publication in this respect because it addresses photographs of First Nations peoples by non-Native photographers and explores ways in which these photographs are constantly being reinvented and afforded new levels of meaning.[43] The idea of reinvention is significant to my study because the exhibitions I am discussing have all located historical photographs of First Nations peoples in contexts other than those for which they were originally intended, thus contributing to a redefinition of meaning. With the exception of Lippard's introduction, the essays in *Partial Recall* were written by First Nations contemporary artists who were asked to select and write about a photograph of their choice. Such artists as Jolene Rickard, Jaune Quick-To-See Smith, and Gerald McMaster have contributed essays in which they engage with and respond to historical photographs of First Nations peoples, a process which had the result of "merging distant and recent memories in response to one single frame."[44]

There have also been a number of publications in recent years that have concentrated on the relationship between First Nations peoples and such cultural institutions as museums and art galleries. *Muse*, the journal of the Canadian Museums Association, published a special issue in 1988 entitled "Museums and First Nations."[45] Essays by such scholars as Deborah Doxtator, Rick Hill and Ruth Phillips deal with a

---

[43] Lucy Lippard, "Introduction" in *Partial Recall*, ed. Lucy Lippard (New York: New Press, 1992), 14.
[44] Ibid., 13. For example, Gerald McMaster's essay "Colonial Alchemy" takes as its subject a team photograph from the Indian Industrial School in Battleford, Saskatchewan, McMaster's home town. It was taken in 1897 and shows eleven boys posed in front of a large trophy, each one wearing a medal pinned to his football uniform. The photographer carefully recorded the names of each boy on the team, and McMaster recognized many of the surnames from growing up in Battleford. He notes that students at the Indian Industrial school were forced to leave their families and traditional ways of life, and writes of the inherent contradictions he sees in this photograph. "The boys were proud in their bearing as winners of a game; yet in a larger sense they were losers. The trophies, medals, and clothing suggest a colonial alchemy in process. Against this stands an aura of defiance, a personal and tribal identity maintained in the face of forced assimilation and acculturation." (83).

wide range of topics – from the repatriation of cultural artifacts to the strong colonial legacy of the museum system – that continue to characterize the relationship between First Nations cultures and museums in Canada.[46] Tom Hill, guest editor of the issue, argues that "museums have been manifestations of a colonial society for too long." According to Hill, "it is in the best interest of all museums in Canada with First Nations collections to open their boardroom doors and provide opportunities for creatively exploring and expanding new relationships."[47] This collection of essays is significant because in many ways this can be seen as the starting point for many of the negotiations between First Nations peoples and the museum system in Canada that continue today.

Native Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories, edited by W. Jackson Rushing III, and Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner's co-edited volume, *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, are the two most recent studies to take a critical look at the representation of First Nations peoples in Canadian cultural institutions. *Native Art in the Twentieth Century* is a collection of essays that seeks to celebrate the "vitality of contemporary Native art " as well as the place Native artists have claimed "in prestigious galleries and museums" in recent years.[48] *Unpacking Culture* is concerned with breaking down the rigid classification systems that have traditionally dictated that cultural objects from non-Western societies would be valued either for aesthetic reasons (as "art"), or for cultural

---

[45] *Muse* 6 (Fall 1988).
[46] See for instance, Deborah Doxtator, "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum" (26-31); Rick Hill, "Sacred Trust: Cultural Obligations of Museums to Native People" (32-37); and Ruth Phillips, "Indian Art: Where do you put it?" *Muse* 6 (Fall 1988): 64-71.
[47] Tom Hill, "First Nations and Museums," *Muse* 6 (Fall 1988): 2.
[48] W. Jackson Rushing III, *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1999), i.

reasons (as "artifacts").[49] While studies such as these have helped open much needed dialogue between First Nations artists and museum professionals, their focus has been almost entirely on the situation of art and objects made by First Nations cultures in museums and galleries. There has been little critical attention given to the exhibition of photographs of First Nations peoples by non-Native photographers. It is the issues of representation arising out of the exhibition of this type of imagery that I explore in the following discussion.

"Emergence from the Shadow"

"Emergence from the Shadow: First Peoples' Photographic Perspectives" combines photographs of Aboriginal peoples taken in the early twentieth century by anthropologists from the Geological Survey of Canada with photo-based work by First Nations contemporary artists. Two major objectives have been undertaken in this exhibition: the linking of past and present, and the use of images of Native peoples by Euro-Canadians as a site of empowerment and exploration for contemporary First Nations audiences. "Emergence from the Shadow" explores "themes of community and continuity" and demonstrates "how the past influences the present in both cultural and artistic terms."[50] After it closes at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, there are plans to install "Emergence from the Shadow" at the Native-run Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford, Ontario.[51] Curator Jeff Thomas feels it is important to take this exhibition and

---

[49] Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, "Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 3.
[50] Thomas, "Emergence from the Shadow" website.
[51] Jeff Thomas, personal correspondence with author, 5 December 2000. There are also tentative plans to install "Emergence from the Shadow" at the McCord Museum in Montreal and at the Museum of the American Indian in New York City, although there are no dates confirmed for these venues yet.

these photographs to the communities who are represented in them and plans to facilitate community involvement through a series of workshops and lectures while the show is in Brantford.

"Emergence from the Shadow" is currently installed in the First Peoples Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Upon entering the first part of the exhibition, viewers encounter a large selection of historical black-and-white photographs taken by four members of the Geological Survey of Canada in the early-twentieth century: Charles Marius Barbeau (1883-1969), Sir Francis Knowles (1886-1953), Harlan Smith (1872-1940) and Frederick Waugh (1872-1924). The photographs are grouped according to the photographer who took them, and are accompanied by a brief statement about each photographer and his relationship to the people he photographed. The second section of the exhibition space is devoted to photo-based work by six First Nations contemporary artists – Barry Ace, Mary Anne Barkhouse, Rosalie Favell, Greg Hill, Shelley Niro and Greg Staats – all of whom use the medium of photography to explore issues of personal and cultural identity facing First Nations peoples today.

The boundaries that are so often set up between past and present in museum exhibitions are blurred in "Emergence from the Shadow," as images of First Nations peoples made during the early decades of the twentieth century are integrated with images made by First Nations peoples in the 1990s (figs. 5, 6). The two sections of the exhibition are joined by a circular path through the exhibition space that serves to suggest continuity between past and present and stands in marked contrast to more conventional curatorial approaches, which use linear progression to narrate the exhibition. The

physical layout of the exhibition also encourages viewers to make this connection between past and present by integrating historical and contemporary photographs.

In the installation of "Emergence from the Shadow," anthropological photographs also exist outside of the frames conventionally employed to present them. This is an important aspect of Thomas's curatorial approach, and it is reinforced through the use of a unique and effective visual metaphor. In installing "Emergence from the Shadow," Thomas selected five historical photographs from the collection of the Geological Survey of Canada that he considered to be key to understanding this exhibition – one image drawn from each grouping of anthropological photographs, plus an additional photograph by Frederick Waugh – and set them at intervals throughout the show. Each photograph was accompanied by a text panel explaining the imagery and was set apart by a projected circular enlargement of the same image, resulting in a "spotlight" effect (fig. 7). The images are located in the middle of the exhibition space and, when projected, are visible from both the historical and the contemporary sections of the exhibition, thus bridging the past and present. For Thomas, this presentation of the imagery stands as a symbolic challenge to "traditional framing techniques and institutional authority by giving the photographs a feeling of openness, and to create new 'objects' for viewing, by suggesting the possibilities of new stories arising from them."[52] The highlight suggests an existence of meaning beyond the confines of the conventional context in which these photographs were made and intended to function. The photographs exist literally and metaphorically outside the usual frames that have come to be associated with a presentation of this type of imagery. In his seminal text on photography, Graham Clarke has explored the

relationship between the way a photograph is framed, and the ways in which framing techniques can be understood as a "cultural (and ideological) way of shaping the world."[53] As Clarke has pointed out, a frame can be equated with control; to remove the frames, as Thomas has done, is to symbolically remove (or at least reduce) the controlling aspects of this type of photography, opening it up for new interpretations. Thomas's technique offers a different way of "shaping the world," as he demonstrates that images can function and exist outside the frames so often imposed on them through their institutional context.

The historical component of "Emergence from the Shadow," which Thomas has titled "Through the Anthropologist's Camera," features photographs taken by members of the Geological Survey of Canada who employed the medium of photography as part of their fieldwork. Due to its perceived ability to capture a true-to-life glimpse of people and places in front of its lens, the camera has continually been used as a means to document, and thus exert control over, non-Western peoples. John Pultz describes this process in his book, *The Body and the Lens: Photography 1839 to the Present*: "As a tool for literalizing stereotypes and for exercising symbolic control over the bodies of others in the form of their photographic surrogates, photography played a central role in the formation of colonialism."[54] Photographic expeditions to document Canada's Native peoples were often justified for scientific reasons, and anthropologists frequently accompanied survey expeditions on trips to western Canada to ensure that Canada's

---

[52] Anna Hudson and Jeff Thomas, "Edmund Morris: Speaking of First Nations," in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001).
[53] Graham Clarke, *The Photograph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 22.
[54] John Pultz, *The Body and the Lens: Photography from 1839 to the Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 20. See also John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: MacMillan Education, 1988).

original inhabitants were studied, documented and classified in much the same way – and for many of the same reasons - as the surrounding geographical formations.[55]

On the text panels for "Emergence from the Shadow," however, Thomas argues that photographs taken of First Nations peoples in these contexts can offer "more than a simple anthropological record." He insists that "the photographs provide a window to the past, enabling us to become better acquainted with the living and breathing people they portray."[56] The context in which these images were made seems to negate any potential for this, as these photographs are visual renditions of the power relationships that existed between Euro-Canadian society and Native North Americans, yet an examination of some of the "fieldwork portraits" included in this exhibition does well to support Thomas's claim.

For example, Harlan Smith's photograph of Mrs. Eliza Moody (1922) is very much a portrait of an individual, despite being labeled a "fieldwork portrait" (fig 8). Moody has a soft, shy smile and looks as though she is quite comfortable being photographed by Smith. Thomas points out that Smith meticulously recorded extensive personal and community information with each portrait he took, and routinely gave copies of his photographs to the people who agreed to pose for him, indicating that he saw the First Nations peoples he photographed as more than just anthropological objects of study.[57] Indeed, the photographic evidence in this exhibition indicates that these four men – Barbeau, Knowles, Smith and Waugh – shared a good rapport with the

---

[55] Many of the photographs taken by the Geological Survey of Canada are reproduced in John A. Stevens's recent publication, *Encounters: Early Images of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples from the Library Collections of the Geographical Survey of Canada* (Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, 1996).
[56] Jeff Thomas, Text panels from "Emergence from the Shadow: First Peoples' Photographic Perspectives" (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 23 October 1999 - 2 January 2001).
[57] Ibid.

communities they photographed. Even though these photographs were made in an anthropological context (these men were, after all, employed by the Geological Survey of Canada) they have much more than documentary evidence to offer.

In his curatorial approach, Thomas emphasizes both the role of the sitter and the photographer in each image, thus reinforcing the idea that a relationship existed between the two. In addition to giving information about the photographers and the circumstances under which the images were made, Thomas wants to make it clear that "through this photographic record, the sitters have, in effect, ensured that evidence of their world would be guarded for future discovery by their descendants."[58] This attention to the sitter, or the subject of the photographs, is what sets Thomas's curatorial approach apart from that guiding more conventional museum displays. By drawing our attention to the subject as well as to the photographer, Thomas is, in effect, calling attention to the various different readings that can be made of the same photograph.

In this exhibition, Thomas has paired several of the historical images with contemporary ones, a selection of photographs in which he sees thematic commonalities. For example, Harlan Smith's *Portrait of Chief Walking Buffalo (Assiniboine) and Family* (1925) and Greg Hill's *Indian/Alien #2* (1999) are juxtaposed to suggest the way in which ideas of the "authentic Indian" are addressed in each piece (figs. 9, 10). Smith's portrait of a seemingly "authentic" Native family – visually identified as such by the teepees in the background and by their distinctly non-European clothing – presents a view of First Nations people as the exotic Other of Euro-Canadian society. This type of stereotypical portrayal is precisely what Hill attempts to undermine in his work as he questions both the existence of the "authentic Indian" – a stereotypical construct fabricated to sell

Hollywood films and plastic action figures – and the society that continues to perpetuate this notion. Hill's piece comprises three large panels, each a brightly-colored, digitally-altered photo-transparency of a small, plastic Indian. Each plastic Indian is the kind of toy that many children grow up playing with, and perhaps the ultimate iconic Indian figure, except for the appearance of antennae that identify the Indian as the "alien" in the title. Hill describes the significance this piece holds for him:

> For me, these plastic Indians represent childhood memories and fears. They were objects that most children were familiar with, although few knew anything about the people these figures represented. One could inspect them closely, searching for clues of their identity. The 'Made in China' label and the grotesque facial features, however, led me to believe that these were actually extra-terrestrial Indians: alien invaders that others somehow confused with me.[59]

Thomas's pairing of these two images is effective in that it asks viewers to acknowledge that Smith's black-and-white "documentary" photograph is as constructed as Hill's digitally-altered one, and that Chief Walking Buffalo and his family were also being pictured as "alien" Others.

The artists represented in the second section of the exhibition, "Perspectives from the Urban Frontier," have adopted the medium of photography to explore a number of subjects pertinent to First Nations peoples today. For example, Mary Anne Barkhouse's series "Wolves in the City" uses a recurring image of a wolf as a "metaphor for how society has treated aboriginal people."[60] Barkhouse sees the figure of the wolf as "a surrogate for the displaced" and argues that it "represents the renewed presence and empowerment of 'other' within the global arena."[61] Métis artist Rosalie Favell has drawn

---

[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

upon cultural and historical images of "heroes" to challenge stereotypical representations of First Nations women. In her self-portrait, *Untitled #1 – Plain(s) Warrior Artist*, she has aligned herself with the media icon, Xena, Warrior Princess, in order to convey the idea of the Indian hero (fig. 11). While Favell's work often contains humorous elements, her message – that of empowerment and self-determination for First Nations peoples – is clearly articulated through her photographic images. The six contemporary artists involved in this exhibition have all drawn upon historical and cultural influences in their work to "effectively explore and critique the world beyond the borders of modern reserves."[62]

Thomas likens the installation of "Emergence from the Shadow " to an "old family photo album" and notes that the blending of the historical and the contemporary "creates a sense of inter-generational family reunion."[63] He writes,

> unlike the more widely-known images of "Indian Chiefs" and "warriors," the everyday appearance of the individuals portrayed in these photographs opens the window to new perspectives of First Peoples. By juxtaposing these photographs with works by contemporary artists, new meanings emerge within the context of today's First Peoples self-determination movement.[64]

The images in this exhibition span generations; several decades have passed between the making and the viewing of some of these photographs, and as a result, it is important to consider the role postmemory plays in the construction of meaning. In her study of family photographs, Marianne Hirsch defines postmemory as being "distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection."[65] Photographs have the ability to confer visual evidence of past generations, and through

---

[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

this various levels of personal connection are possible for each viewer. For some viewers, personal connections can be made through the photographs in these exhibitions because they may contain recognized ancestors. For other viewers, this connection is made on a more general level and is related to broader signifiers of identity such as place or cultural background. Postmemory enables these connections to be made across generations. Hirsch discusses what she calls the "photographic aesthetics of postmemory," which is "the photograph's capacity to signal absence and loss and, at the same time to make present, rebuild, reconnect, bring back to life."[66] It is the notion of postmemory that allows Jeff Thomas to successfully achieve his curatorial goal of demonstrating the "deep bond that exists between modern First Peoples and their ancestors" through the installation of "Emergence from the Shadow."[67]

Postmodern photographic theory has broadened the understanding of the way meaning is created in imagery. Two fundamental ideas regarding the production of meaning in photography can be found in most all postmodern texts. First of all, on its own, a visual text, such as a painting or a photograph, has no meaning. It is shaped by the societies and institutions that use and value it. Photography is "indistinguishable from those institutions or discourses that choose to make use of it."[68] Secondly, the meaning of an image is not at all static or stable: it can and does shift depending on who is doing the viewing and in what context it is seen. As photo-theorist Abigail Solomon-Godeau

---

[65] Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 22.
[66] Ibid., 243.
[67] Thomas, text panels from "Emergence from the Shadow."
[68] Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997), 5.

writes, "photographic uses, and the meanings ascribed to them, are constantly in flux."[69] Even the most seemingly static representations are actually the site of a multiplicity of meanings which are not at all fixed or constant. The context in which an image is seen, what Solomon-Godeau has termed the "surrounding editorial environment," will undoubtedly "influence the way in which these images will be read and interpreted."[70] Photographs such as the ones taken by the Geological Survey of Canada of Native peoples have a different set of meanings when they are hung in a museum display among photographs by contemporary First Nations artists than they would as illustrations in an anthropologist's field book.

"Lost Identities"

"Lost Identities: A Journey of Rediscovery" was exhibited at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump from 2 June to 31 October 1999, and then travelled to various Aboriginal communities in southern Alberta and northern Manitoba.[71] Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, the institution that organized the exhibition in conjunction with Alberta Community Development, is a historic site celebrating the history and culture of the Plains people who, for thousands of years, used the cliffs surrounding the site as a

---

[69] Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Who is Speaking Thus?: Some Questions about Documentary Photography," in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 169-170.
[70] Ibid., 179-180.
[71] After the installation at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, "Lost Identities" traveled to four reservations in southern Alberta: the Blood (Kainai) from 11 November 1999 to 28 January 2000, the Peigan from 7 February to 20 March 2000, the Siksika from 8 May to 19 June 2000, and the Stoney from 1 October to 15 November 2000. It was also exhibited in Browning, Montana from 1 April to 30 April 2000, and at the Calgary Stampede from 7 July to 12 July 2000. Further exhibition venues are also being planned.

Buffalo Jump, literally running bison off the cliff to their deaths as an efficient means of hunting.[72]

"Lost Identities" was comprised of fifty-six photographs, each accompanied by a "write-on sheet" upon which visitors to the exhibition are encouraged to record names, locations and details, essentially allowing the stories of the people in the photographs to be told and their voices to be heard (fig. 12). Twenty-six of the photographs were framed enlargements that were mounted on the wall. There were also three smaller portfolios set up on tables in the centre of the exhibition space, each one containing ten photographs. In some of the communities in which this exhibition was installed, there was also an interactive computer terminal where community members could input stories and information relating to these images.[73] The aim of the exhibition was to "strip away the layers of meaning the photographers left on their pictures…[to]…gather more information about what is in the photographs…[and to] help the pictures and the people in them speak for themselves."[74] This was facilitated not only through the installation, but also through community activities organized in connection with the show, such as oral history projects in which Elders were encouraged to participate in videotaped interviews as they went through the exhibition.[75]

"Lost Identities" was inspired by a traveling exhibition of Nicholas de Grandmaison's portraits of First Nations peoples from southern Alberta, which was

---

[72] Archeological evidence found in the area suggests that this site began to be used in this way 6000 years ago. For more information, see the Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump website, www.head-smashed-in.com.
[73] "Lost Identities: A Journey of Rediscovery – Information Kit," Alberta Community Development, Edmonton, 1999.
[74] Text panels from the exhibition "Lost Identities: A Journey of Rediscovery," Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, Fort Macleod, Alberta, 2 June to 31 October 1999.
[75] "Lost Identities– Information Kit."

organized by the University of Lethbridge in 1997.[76] De Grandmaison sketched and painted many First Nations peoples from the Blackfoot, Stoney and Sarcee Reservations. However, as historian Hugh Dempsey points out, he "was not really interested in his Indian subjects as individuals...[and] often he made no effort to find out whom he was painting."[77] Despite this, when the exhibition was installed at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, many visitors from the surrounding First Nations communities were surprised and delighted to be able to identify family members and ancestors in de Grandmaison's canvases. In spite of his cavalier attitude towards his subject matter, de Grandmaison's images still held personal meaning for members of the communities in which he had worked. As a result, "Lost Identities" project leader Eric Waterton writes, "People took yellow stickies and wrote on them or wrote people's names on the exhibit labels...It happened by accident, so we said why not do it on purpose?"[78] And so, the idea for "Lost Identities" was born.

The photographs exhibited in "Lost Identities" were taken in southern Alberta by a number of different photographers. The First Nations peoples who inhabited, and continue to inhabit this area are collectively referred to as the Blackfoot Nation, which is comprised of three distinct bands: the "Blackfoot proper" (Siksika), the "Bloods" (Kainai) and the "Peigan" (Pekuni).[79] The photographs in "Lost Identities," taken between 1900 and 1930, depict members of the Blackfoot Nation, and are all from the photographic collection of the Provincial Archives of Alberta. As part of the "imagined

---

[76] The exhibition, "Living Images from the Past," was organized by the University of Lethbridge and exhibited at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump from 3 May to 31 August 1997.
[77] Hugh A. Dempsey, *History in their Blood: The Indian Portraits of Nicholas de Grandmaison* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1982), 24-26.
[78] "Exhibit Aims to Rediscover Aboriginal Identities," *Alberta Connections* 5 (Summer 1999): 6.

geography" of Western Canada, images of First Nations peoples from this geographic region were avidly collected and widely circulated in a variety of media.[80]

The image of the Imaginary Indian was used to promote tourism in Western Canada, and photography played an integral part in this process. The Canadian Pacific Railway, which was completed in 1885, actively participated in this process; the company "gradually realized that the Indians were a surefire tourist attraction."[81] The CPR sold souvenir photographic portfolios of Native peoples taken along the rail line by such well-known photographers as William Notman and Alexander Henderson, and quite often these photographs "were the first encounter many eastern Canadians would have with the Indians of the frontier."[82] The CPR also was involved in the instigation of "Indian Days" in Banff, Alberta, a festival started in 1894 that has since been credited with securing the commercial success and popularity of Banff as a major tourist destination.[83] Douglas Sladen, a British tourist who traveled Canada in 1895, described the popularity of photography amongst his fellow travelers, and the fascination with First Nations peoples for European tourists. "The average passenger," he writes,

> would as soon think of going without antibilious medicines as without a camera. Whenever you stop at a station, all the steps getting down are packed with people taking pot shots with Kodaks. American children learn kodaking long before they learn how to behave themselves....Crossing the prairie, every operator imagines he is going to kodak an Indian; but the wily Indian sits in the shade, where instantaneous photography availeth not, and if he observes himself being "time exposed," covers himself with a blanket.[84]

---

[79] www.head-smashed-in.com. For more information see also, Hugh Dempsey, *Indian Tribes of Alberta* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1986).
[80] Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson," 16.
[81] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 179.
[82] Ibid.
[83] E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983), 160.
[84] Douglas Sladen, *On the Cars and Off* (London: Ward, Lock and Bowden, 1895); quoted Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 42-43.

Tourists were often disappointed to find that the Imaginary Indian they sought on their travels was not to be found.[85] Another British traveler, Edward Roper, wrote in 1890 of Blackfoot people he encountered on his travels through Canada: "Many of them were partly civilized in dress, though ragged and dirty, there was very little of the picturesque about them. Some few had good faces, but the ideal Red Man was not there."[86]

In addition to geographic location, the photographs in the exhibition are thematically linked by two significant factors: they were all taken by non-Native photographers, and no information (or very little) has been recorded about the subjects of the photographs. As Shirley Bruised Head, a member of the curatorial team for "Lost Identities" has pointed out, the specific identity of the people in the photographs was not a concern for photographers who "were probably more interested in providing generic photos to a ready market."[87] The lack of information accompanying the photographs is a problem, not only because as archival resources these images are incomplete, but more importantly because the people looking out at us from the photographs have been silenced. Through the installation of the exhibition, the curators of "Lost Identities" aimed to communicate the idea that "presenting Aboriginal people as nameless representatives of broad cultural groups helps to perpetuate real individuals as unreal

---

[85] A century later, the tourist industry in Canada continues to draw upon romantic mythology associated with First Nations peoples, a fact to which a recent article in the *National Post* attests. The article encourages tourists to visit Eagle's Nest Indian Village in Southern Alberta, which gives visitors an opportunity to "live like the natives once did – bunking in tipis, paddling canoes and sharing sacred traditions." The camp's owner, Jack Schneider, states that visitors, in particular European tourists, "are looking for the romantic image of the noble savage....It's romantic to see some of it and partake in it." It would seem as though little has changed since Sladen and Roper went in search of the Imaginary Indian on the Canadian prairies over one hundred years ago. See Monica Andreeff, "A Romantic Ideal," *National Post Online*, 12 August 2000, www.nationalpost.com.

[86] Edward Roper, By Track and Trail: A Journey Through Canada (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1891), 118; quoted in Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 181.

[87] "Exhibit aims to Rediscover Aboriginal Identities," 6.

stereotypes."[88] With no individual identity afforded them, the subjects of the photographs were locked into the roles photographers imposed upon them. These images are less about the way these people actually were than about the way the photographers – and, by extension, their Euro-Canadian clientele – wished to see them.

Professional photographers on the Canadian prairies stood to make a significant amount of money by selling photographs of First Nations peoples. Ernest Brown and Harry Pollard are two of the best known examples of photographers who operated commercially successful studios in Alberta during the early decades of the twentieth century.[89] A striking portrait taken by Pollard in southern Alberta provides an example of a sitter who has been identified through the exhibition process (fig. 13). At the opening of "Lost Identities" at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, the man in this photograph was identified as Aakamahstookii or Many Mules, a member of the Blood (Kainai) nation. From the information recorded on the photograph's accompanying "write-on" sheet, we now know that "this man owned many mules on the Blood Reserve in the early 1900's. He was a warrior prior to the signing of Treaty 7. He became a well known farmer once the Bloods were settled in the Belly Butte area."[90]

Father Jean Lessard's 1939 photograph of nine school girls at the Crowfoot School in Cluny, Alberta, is another example of people who have been identified (fig.

---

[88] "Lost Identities - Information Kit."
[89] Ernest Brown arrived in Edmonton in 1904, and immediately began working for Charles Mathers, who was operating a very successful business out of that city. When Mathers retired, Brown bought his photography studio as well as his collection of photographs, which included several "Indian views" that Mathers used to sell in souvenir albums. For more information about Ernest Brown and Charles Mathers, see Brock Silversides, *The Face Pullers*, and Eric J. Holmgren, "Ernest Brown, Photographer," *Alberta History* 28 (Autumn 1980): 16-19. Harry Pollard worked out of Calgary and, in addition to operating a portrait studio, he often photographed members of the Blackfoot, Stoney and Sarcee nations in Southern Alberta. For more information on Pollard, please see Wendy S. Medland, "Harry Pollard, Photographer," *Alberta History* 29 (Spring 1981): 20-28. The Ernest Brown collection and the Harry Pollard collection are two of the major photographic collections at the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton.

14).[91] Lessard was an Oblate priest who spent thirteen years working at various residential schools across Alberta. The Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist churches operated several residential schools for First Nations children in Alberta, the first of which was established in 1882.[92] Photography was routinely used to demonstrate that Native peoples were being assimilated into White culture, attesting to the success of institutions such as church-run residential schools, which operated on the assumption that in order for Native people to survive, they would have to adapt to the ways of the settler society. The resulting photographs had the effect of making First Nations peoples appear "less Native" in the eyes of Europeans and Euro-Canadians and thus served as fuel for the myth that Aboriginal peoples in Canada were a "vanishing race."[93] The intent of the residential schools was to "impart an academic, agricultural, and domestic education to Indian youth. To do so, administrators felt they had to remove the children from their families and previous lifestyles."[94] While this photograph was taken at one of the church-run schools, it is refreshingly candid and does not overtly propagate negative ideas about First Nations peoples. Rather than a stiff, stereotypical portrayal, we see instead nine young children enjoying a sunny afternoon playing in the snow. However, it is significant that the names of these children were not recorded until the installation of

---

[90] www.head-smashed-in.com. Treaty 7 was signed in 1877 by the Blackfoot, Sarcee and Stoney nations in southern Alberta. For more information, see Hugh Dempsey, *Indian Tribes of Alberta*.

[91] Many of Father Jean Lessard's photographs are in the Oblates of Marie Immaculate Collection at the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton.

[92] There were nineteen major residential schools and three industrial schools in Alberta. For a complete listing of the schools by location and by religious affiliation, see Brock Silversides, *The Face Pullers*, 99-100.

[93] For discussion of this aspect of photographs of First Nations peoples, see Alfred L. Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, *The Photograph and the American Indian*; Theresa Harlan, "A Curator's Perspective," and Peter Gold, "Returning Photographs to the Indians," *Studies in Visual Communication* 9 (Summer 1983): 2-14. Gail Valaskakis's article, "Parallel Voices: Indians and Others, Narratives of Cultural Struggle," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 18 (Summer 1993): 283-296, points out that this is a continuing problem, one that resurfaces in land claims, treaty negotiations and fishing disputes in present-day Canada.

[94] Silversides, *The Face Pullers*, 99.

"Lost Identities" at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, sixty years after the photograph was taken. While the identities of the young girls were excluded from the archival record, this exhibition has proven that they were not altogether "lost" – eight of the nine have been identified by visitors to the show.

The response to "Lost Identities" has been very positive. After the exhibit opened at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, it was estimated that sixty percent of the photographs have been identified.[95] However, as the exhibit organizers have acknowledged, it is difficult to verify the information provided on the "write-on sheets" that accompanied the photographs. Photo-archivist Marlena Wyman, who is also a member of the curatorial team for "Lost Identities," writes,

> The information given really cannot be verified, since there is no verification mechanism. These photos are very old and were unidentified when we received them. I will be handling this in the same way as I do other additional information or corrections that researchers give us on photos from time to time. The information will be added with an annotation of the source, without giving the person's name for privacy reasons.[96]

In many ways the active participation of these communities in the relocation of identity - in the symbolic repatriation of this body of imagery - is as significant as the information itself. The people in these photographs have been identified through community involvement in and interaction with the exhibition. This is an important part of the reclamation by First Nations peoples in southern Alberta of previously "lost" aspects of their history, and one which the curatorial team for "Lost Identities" hopes will serve as a model for other institutions in Canada.[97]

---

[95] Eric Waterton, personal correspondence with author, 23 August 2000.
[96] Marlena Wyman, personal correspondence with author, 21 August 2000.
[97] "Exhibit aims to Rediscover Aboriginal Identities," 6.

Lucy Lippard has argued that the construction of identity is a double process, one that combines both "naming" and "telling." Lippard understands naming to be "the active tense of identity,"[98] and telling the process of "understanding and drawing strength from one's past, one's cultural history, beliefs and values."[99] In situations where these processes are encouraged, "communal identity is forged and history is recomprehended."[100] The installation of "Lost Identities" allowed both these processes to take place, and as a result played an active role in the reclamation of identity for many members of the Blackfoot Nation in southern Alberta.

"Aboriginal Portraits"

The curators of "Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada" drew upon what they saw as the "wealth of photographic documentation on Canada's Aboriginal peoples" in the collections of the National Archives of Canada.[101] The one hundred and forty photographs selected for the exhibition ranged from early daguerreotypes to photographs taken by First Nations contemporary photographers such as Shelley Niro and David Neel. Like the other two exhibitions I have discussed, a large number of the photographs exhibited in "Aboriginal Portraits" were taken by non-Native photographers. Curators Edward Tompkins and Jeff Thomas wanted to emphasize through the installation of this exhibition that "although the popular Indian photographs were taken by non-native photographers for a non-native audience, this does not mean

---

[98] Lucy Lippard, *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 19.
[99] Ibid., 57.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Edward Tompkins, "Aboriginal Portraits," *Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada*, promotional pamphlet. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1996.

they are without importance for the Aboriginal community today."[102] The images in the exhibition were divided into three thematic sections - portraits of First Nations peoples taken by Edward S. Curtis, photographs of "significant events in Canadian history involving Native peoples," and "documentary images from everyday life" - and each of these sections was displayed in a separate exhibition space.[103]

In the nineteenth century, it was common for photographers to document Aboriginal peoples for posterity, providing a visual rendition of the "salvage paradigm" as they sought to a way to record the existence for future generations of what was perceived to be a dying race.[104] The most famous example of photography being used in this way can be found in the work of Edward S. Curtis, who traveled throughout North America photographing Native peoples between the years 1896 and 1930.[105] Curtis's photographs remain extremely popular despite the fact that they are increasingly recognized as inaccurate, staged, and stereotypical.[106] He would travel with props, costumes and wigs, items he felt would help to capture the essence of the "authentic Indian," if only for the moment the photograph was being made. Curtis would deliberately construct his photographs so as to eliminate any signs of contemporaneity or Western influence, for in his view the "authentic Indian" existed in an indeterminate past,

---

[102] Jeff Thomas, "Luminance: Aboriginal Photographic Portraits," *The Archivist* 112 (1996): 7.
[103] Susan Close, "Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada," *Archivaria* 42 (Fall 1996): 149-50.
[104] The idea of the salvage paradigm is clearly articulated in James Clifford's writings, as he discusses the practice of anthropologists collecting objects and artifacts from cultures they bellieved were dying. See "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press), 98-122; and *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 215-251.
[105] For details of Curtis's photographic project, see Mick Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[106] Christopher Lyman's book, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), gives a detailed account of Curtis's life and work including many of the controversial and questionable practices in which he (and many other photographers of the time) engaged.

sometime prior to European contact. His photographs had very little to do with the actualities of life for First Nations peoples in North America. Curtis's photographs objectify the people posed in front of his camera, and give no indication of their day-to-day lives. As First Nations curator and photographer Jeff Thomas puts it, "What was the reality that First Nations people were facing at the time that Curtis was making his photographs?"[107]

The National Archives of Canada has a large collection of photographs taken by Curtis of First Nations peoples, and several of these images were included in "Aboriginal Portraits." Curtis's 1914 photograph, *A Nakoatok Chief's Daughter, British Columbia*, is typical of his photographic approach (fig. 15). This photograph was taken in Seymour Inlet, British Columbia, on the occasion of a potlatch. The female subject, who is "enthroned symbolically supported on the heads of her slaves," would have appeared overtly exotic to Euro-Canadian viewers.[108] The photogravure process has aestheticized the overall scene by adding subtle layers of texture to the surface of the image. The aesthetic qualities achieved through this process have the effect of further distancing the viewer from the subject of this image by lending it more of an "artistic" tone.[109]

In contrast to the section of the exhibition emphasizing Curtis's work, the remainder of "Aboriginal Portraits" features the work of several photographers from different regions of Canada. While they are not as formulaic as Curtis's images, many of these photographs nonetheless stand as visual testimonies to the way Euro-Canadian

---

[107] Hudson and Thomas, "Edmund Morris: Speaking of First Nations."
[108] National Archives of Canada website, www.archives.ca (URL last consulted 29 November 2000).
[109] The photogravure process is a three-step photographic process in which the negative is transferred onto a copper plate and then printed, often onto textured paper to further enhance the "artistic" effect of the image. This technique was favored by Edward Curtis, and it is still possible to order hand-printed photogravure prints from Curtis's negatives. For more information on this process, see www.curtis-collection.com.

society chose to see First Nations peoples. A case in point is the photograph entitled *Indians assembled at Shaqannapi Point for a pow-wow held in honour of the visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Cornwall and York, Calgary, Alberta, September 28, 1901* (fig. 16). Here, the photographer has taken great pains to record details about the Royal visit, but did not bother to record the names of the Blackfoot people who are in the photograph. Thomas points out that, while photographs like this are not studio portraits (as were many of Curtis's photographs), they are still staged, and do not relate to the everyday lives of the people they depict. He points out,

> During this time, the group of Blackfoot needed special permission from the local Canadian government Indian agent to leave the reserve. After the 1885 Saskatchewan uprising, the Canadian government's Department of Indian Affairs developed tactics to prevent the movement of Aboriginal people between reserves. In this case, permission was probably required to leave the reserve to entertain the visiting dignitaries. Once they were finished they would return to the reserve and assume their daily lives....[110]

While the photographs in this exhibition reveal much about the prevailing attitudes of Euro-Canadian society toward First Nations peoples, one of the main curatorial aims of this exhibition was to allow the photographs to be seen in a new light. As the curators explain, "this exhibition is designed to break down some of the common stereotypes surrounding Aboriginal society. An important aspect of this process is revealing the humanity of the people in the portraits."[111] The original captions and descriptive language accompanying the photographs were often derogatory and reproduced negative stereotypes and assumptions held about First Nations peoples by members of the settler society. In order for these stereotypes to be stripped away, the

---

[110] Thomas, "Luminance," 11-12.
[111] "Pride and Dignity," text from the online exhibition, www.archives.ca (URL last consulted 20 August 2000).

curators argue, it is crucial that the language of description be changed. The labels that were originally assigned to the photographs in the exhibition need to be questioned and changed in order to stop the perpetuation of stereotyping, for, as Lucy Lippard argues, "labeling is the social mire from which individuals and groups must extricate themselves in the process of self-naming." [112] Through careful research, the curators were able to revisit many of the old labels and make changes that reflected more positive attitudes towards Native peoples. In "Aboriginal Portraits," a new caption for each photograph was mounted next to the original inscription in an effort to force viewers to recognize the power inherent in the labeling process. Thus, a 1895 photograph by Humphrey Lloyd Hime originally accompanied by the inscription, "An Ojibway squaw with Papoose," was accompanied as well by the caption, "An Ojibwa woman and child, Red River Settlement, Manitoba, 1895." Although the names of the woman and child were still unknown at the time of the show, the seemingly small change in the caption had far-reaching implications (fig 17). By revisiting the descriptive text associated with the photographs, the curators hoped "to return some of the individuality of each subject....The addition of these secondary captions was significant in providing more context for the portrait."[113]

The identity of women in particular is excluded from much of the documentation and inscriptions that accompany historical photographs of First Nations peoples by Euro-Canadian photographers. This was a particular area of concern for the curators of "Aboriginal Portraits." As Jeff Thomas points out,

> In general, photographers have shown Aboriginal women as subservient to a dominant male figure. The caption usually identifies the man and leaves

[112] Lippard, *Mixed Blessings*, 36.
[113] Close, "Aboriginal Portraits," 148.

> the woman nameless, often referred to as "squaw or wife of." Many times women have been pictured sitting on the ground and looking away from the camera. While neither would be uncommon in the Aboriginal world, when the portraits were taken out of the community and displayed, they were usually captioned as squaws, a dismissive term that robs women of their dignity, power and humanity.[114]

There are, however, instances where the identity of some of the women in these photographs has been recovered through research connected with the exhibition. For example, an 1890 photograph taken by the Vancouver photographic firm, Trueman and Caple, was originally labeled, "N.W.M. Police, Indian Scout, Dog Child and Squaw, Blackfeet Indians, Gleichen, Alb." The caption has since been revised to include the identity of Dog Child's wife and now reads: "Dog Child, a North West Mounted Police Scout, and his wife, The Only Handsome Woman, members of the Blackfoot Nation, Gleichen, Alberta, ca.1890 (fig. 18)." Until the language of description changes, it is virtually impossible to break down the stereotypes which surround and contain photographs of Aboriginal women.[115]

An examination of the "aboriginal portraits" in this exhibition raises an important point, namely that the social conventions surrounding photographs of Native and non-Native subjects have historically been quite different. As was the case in Europe and the United States, photographic portraiture in Canada was immensely popular in the nineteenth century, particularly among members of the middle class. Such photographs held social significance; as John Tagg has argued, in the Victorian era, "to 'have one's portrait done' was one of the symbolic acts by which individuals from the rising social

---

[114] Thomas, "Luminance," 11.

[115] The stereotypes surrounding First Nations women was the focus of "Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier," a traveling exhibition organized in 1995 by the Presentation House Gallery in Vancouver. A catalogue written by curators Gail Valaskakis and Marilyn Burgess was published. See *Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier* (Montreal: Oboro, 1992.)

classes made their ascent visible to themselves and others and classed themselves among those who enjoyed social status."[116] However, this function of photography was almost entirely limited to Euro-Canadian society. Photographs of First Nations peoples in Canada from this time period were generally much more iconic than individual and, as Thomas notes, are most often described as "fieldwork portraiture," implying a different, anthropological function for the imagery.[117] In her article, "Studio Indians," Margaret Blackman offers an analysis of British Columbian photographer Hannah Maynard's *carte-de-visite* albums, and demonstrates how a photographer's approach often shifted depending upon the cultural background of the subject in front of the lens (figs. 19, 20). In the case of Maynard's *cartes-de-visite* of First Nations peoples, most have been photographed "barefoot, a few men are pantless, and many of both sexes are wrapped in blankets; unlike the whites who appear before the photographer's lens the natives are not outfitted in their choicest finery."[118] For the most part, moreover, photographs of Native peoples were not taken in studio settings, but outdoors, presumably to emphasize yet another cultural myth about the Indian, an affinity with nature. Blackman demonstrates how, in order to capitalize on a market hungry for images of the Imaginary Indian, such photographers as Maynard would often rephotograph studio portraits of Native sitters against previously photographed views of Native villages or wilderness scenery (figs. 21, 22).

Brock Silversides has argued that one of the chief reasons photographers would seek out First Nations peoples to photograph was because of the potential financial gains yielded by the resulting imagery. As he points out, "the availability of Indian scenes in a

---

[116] Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 37.
[117] Thomas, text panels from "Emergence from the Shadow."

photographer's advertisements usually guaranteed a steady flow of curiosity, if not business."[119] In the course of his research for the exhibition "Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada," curator Jeff Thomas has also discovered this to be true. Thomas noted that many photographs of First Nations peoples can be found in the Copyright Collection of the National Archives of Canada and points out that "photographers registered these images for copyright protection because of their potential market value."[120] This market value, of course, benefited the photographer. In general, First Nations peoples did not receive compensation for their contribution to this imagery, even though the resulting photographs often proved to be commercially successful.[121]

"Aboriginal Portraits" in Cyber-space

In a review of "Aboriginal Portraits," Susan Close lamented the fact there was not a "lasting record of this provocative show."[122] Perhaps in response to this, or perhaps fueled by a wish to have these images accessible to a wider audience, sixty of the photographs found in "Aboriginal Portraits" were incorporated into an Internet exhibition called "Pride and Dignity."[123] This cyber-exhibition has allowed audiences who may not otherwise have been able or willing to visit the National Archives to view many of the photographs exhibited in "Aboriginal Portraits." "Pride and Dignity" provides the possibility of a lasting alternative to the temporary exhibition. (Almost five years later, it is still possible to "visit" the show.) People living outside the National Capital region as

---

[118] Blackman, "Studio Indians," 69.
[119] Silversides, *The Face Pullers*, 3.
[120] Thomas, "Luminance," 14.
[121] Silversides, *The Face Pullers*, 6-9.
[122] Close, "Aboriginal Portraits," 150.
[123] "Pride and Dignity" can be accessed through the National Archives of Canada website, www.archives.ca

well as people who, for whatever reason, would not be comfortable in a traditional museum space are also given access to this exhibition.[124] In his article on Jeff Thomas's photographic and curatorial practices, Barry Ace notes that Thomas "has always been concerned with the intimidating posture of the traditional gallery space and the lack of Indian presence viewing his works within the exhibition space."[125]

Internet exhibitions are an increasingly common way for curators to move out of the realm of conventional museum space. In fact, many argue that online media and new technologies can be used to democratize the museum experience because exhibitions in cyber-galleries "get away from the reified concepts of authenticity, aura and originality which have been, until recently, the basis for the museum's claim to knowledge."[126] In his famous essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Walter Benjamin argued that photography was instrumental in breaking down the aura of originality that surrounded a work of art.[127] In much the same way, the technology of the Internet has facilitated a means to break down the aura of authority that has traditionally been associated with museums.[128] As with many technological developments in history, however, it is important to note that within the realm of computer technology, there exists an inherent level of class bias based on economic and social factors. While Internet exhibitions do allow a significantly larger number of people to "visit" the

---

[124] For a discussion of the demographics of museum visitors, see Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art*.
[125] Barry Ace," inter/SECTION Jeff Thomas," www3.sympatico.ca/onondaga11
[126] Andrea Witcomb, "The End of the Mausoleum: Museums in the Age of Electronic Communication," paper delivered at "Museums and the Web 1997," Los Angeles, 16-19 March 1997; quoted in Isabelle Rieusset-Lemarié, "Web Museums and Memory in the Age of Digital Multimedia Networks (Extensions of Walter Benjamin's Insights)," paper delivered at "Museums and the Web 2000," Minneapolis, 16-19 April 2000, www.archimuse.com.
[127] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Art in Modern Culture*, ed. Francis Frascina and Jonathan Harris (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1992), 297-307.

material, they exclude members of society who do not have the economic, technical, or educational means to access the Internet.

Conclusion

There were many reasons why non-Native photographers looked to First Nations peoples for their subject matter. These reasons often overlapped, and always shifted according to the needs of dominant society. The resulting photographs have continually been used to exert control over Native peoples and to perpetuate stereotypical constructions of them. As Daniel Francis has argued, "when they drew the Indians or took their photographs, artists like [Paul] Kane, [Edward] Curtis and the rest were taking possession of the Indian image. It was now theirs to manipulate and display in any way they wanted."[129]

In varying degrees, the photographs that appear in the three exhibitions I have discussed are all visual renditions of the cultural hierarchies and power relationships that characterized the interaction between First Nations peoples and Euro-Canadian society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One of the main reasons why the use-value of these images for First Nations peoples has not been adequately explored is because of the cultural context in which they were made. Many First Nations peoples are justifiably hesitant to interact with this body of imagery. As Theresa Harlan, a First Nations photographer puts it,

How much can we learn from photographs taken of Native Americans

---

[128] For discussion of the role of technology in democratizing the viewing of art, see John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972), 7-34.
[129] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 43.

> by Euro-Americans? My answer is very little....The fixation of the Euro-American arts and photographic community on imagery created by Euro-Americans with Native American subject matter disallows and invalidates Native voices and visions....[130]

This is echoed by Tuscarora photographer Jolene Rickard, who likens the process of searching for individual meaning or identity in photographs taken by non-Native photographers to "trying to see your face in a shattered mirror."[131] The question becomes whether or not it is possible to separate these images from the context in which they were made.

To establish the ways in which an image's meanings are determined, it is essential to consider the various points from which meaning originates. In her introductory essay to *Partial Recall*, Lucy Lippard has identified three basic levels of "cultural space" that inform the production of meaning in the photographic image.[132] The three levels – subject, photographer and viewer – contribute to the understanding of any given image at any given time. However constant the existence of these three levels of cultural space, the resultant reading of visual imagery changes depending upon a variety of factors.

Edmund Morris's 1909 photograph of White Buffalo Calf contemplating his own painted portrait demonstrates the fluidity of the relationships that exist between subject, maker and viewer of an image (fig. 23). In this photograph, White Buffalo Calf is at once subject and viewer of the painted image as well as the subject of the photograph. Edmund Morris is the artist, photographer and viewer, and in many ways also an invisible subject of the photograph; this image is reproduced in publications about Morris and is

---

[130] Theresa Harlan, "A Curator's Perspective," 15.
[131] Jolene Rickard, "Guest Essay," *Native Peoples* (April-June 1996), 5; quoted in Lucy Lippard, "Independent Identities," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (London: Routledge, 1999), 143.
[132] Lucy Lippard, "Introduction," 35.

found among the collection of his papers and documents at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. As a contemporary audience, we also contribute to the meaning of this imagery, bringing our own experiences, as well as our social and cultural biases, to bear in our readings of the photograph.

There always exists an interplay between the three levels of cultural space that Lippard discusses, but in the exhibitions discussed here it is the subject – not the photographer, nor even the photograph's status as object – that is emphasized. It is the people in the historical photographs who become the focal point in the exhibitions. This viewpoint is complemented in "Emergence from the Shadow" and "Aboriginal Portraits" by the work of contemporary photographers of Aboriginal descent, but ultimately, all three exhibitions are concerned with recontextualizing historical photographs of First Nations peoples by non-Native photographers to find meaning in them for contemporary Aboriginal audiences. A multiplicity of meanings does exist in the reading of visual texts, and images can function in many contexts.

The historical photographs of First Nations peoples that are included in the exhibitions I have discussed can act as a means for a repatriation of social and cultural identity for contemporary audiences. This process is dependent upon the institutional context in which the photographs are seen. The degree to which this process will occur will undoubtedly vary among viewers, depending on their level of engagement with the imagery, but I would argue that presenting this material in a new light has far-reaching implications. These images can be reinterpreted; old meanings are not replaced, but instead added to. As Rochelle Kolodny puts it, "history cannot be rewritten or

revisualized; but perhaps some of it can be reclaimed."[133] While it might not be possible to change the circumstances in which these photographs were made, it is possible to extract the person from the stereotype.

Harlan and Rickard are understandably angry that photographs made by non-Natives, such as Edward Curtis, continue to be exhibited and collected when the work of contemporary First Nations artists is all but ignored, especially work (such as photographs) that does not fit Western society's perception of what constitutes traditional Native art.[134] However, it is possible to consider this body of historical imagery in a way that affords the subjects of the photographs a chance to be heard. "Emergence from the Shadow," "Lost Identities," and "Aboriginal Portraits/Pride and Dignity" all shared a concern with changing perspectives. The aim of these exhibits is not to celebrate the photographer, to perpetuate the idea of the Imaginary Indian, nor to appreciate the aesthetic beauty of the photographs. Instead, they encourage viewers to look beyond the cultural baggage associated with this imagery. They re-present pictures of real people, and allow their voices to be heard, and their stories to be told. Writers such as Daniel Francis have done an excellent job of describing how the Imaginary Indian has been created through photography in our society. These exhibitions have taken this one step further and symbolically returned these images to the people they represent. As James Clifford has noted, even the most stereotypical representation of someone is still a representation *of someone*.[135]

---

[133] Rochelle Kolodny, review of *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery*, by Melissa Banta and Curtis M. Hinsley, *Muse* 6 (Winter/January 1989): 86.
[134] Janet C. Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 32.
[135] James Clifford, "Four Northwest Coast Museums," 230-232.

In his essay, "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections," Clifford recounts a visit to a small Native-run cultural centre on Quadra Island in British Columbia, where he discovered a postcard featuring a photograph taken by Edward Curtis for sale in the gift shop. Clifford was at first disappointed to find this photograph for sale, especially at this particular location, and wondered why he had bothered to travel "all the way to Quadra Island to encounter these well-known, even stereotypic faces."[136] As he turned the card over, however, he discovered not only the generalized caption Curtis gave this photograph, "Nakoaktok Chief and Copper," but also additional handwritten information offering more details about the identity of the person depicted on the front of the card:

> the Nakoaktok are identified as Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl); and the caption continues, 'Hakalaht ('overall'), the head chief is holding the copper Wamistakila ('takes everything out of the house'). The name of the copper refers to its great expense, which is valued at five thousand blankets.[137]

Upon seeing the additional description, Clifford realized that in the particular context of the cultural centre the meanings generated by this photograph were less about Edward Curtis than about the individuality of the man in the picture. In this context, he notes, the man is seen as

> an individual, a named ancestor. What the image communicates here may be quite different from the exoticism and pathos registered by an audience of strangers....I can no longer forget the questions of kinship and ownership that must always surround objects, images and stories collected from living traditions....[138]

What I have attempted to demonstrate in this thesis is similar to Clifford's revelation. Beyond the layers of cultural baggage accompanying photographs of First Nations

---

[136] Ibid., 230-232.
[137] Ibid., 232.
[138] Ibid.

peoples taken by non-Native photographers exist stories, histories and identities that should, whenever possible, be brought to light. This is what the curatorial strategies employed in "Emergence from the Shadow," "Lost Identities," and "Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada" have attempted to do.

In the introduction to *Museum Culture*, Daniel Sherman and Irit Rogoff argue that "the classification of an object involves the choice of a particular kind of presentation, which then establishes a museological context that provides the object with meaning."[139] I would argue that the curatorial strategies employed in the three shows I have discussed allow this body of imagery to stand in marked contrast to the conventional "museological context" of photographs of First Nations peoples by non-Native photographers. The presentation, context and level of audience involvement is very different. These exhibitions have moved beyond the confining framework of traditional museum displays to afford opportunities for some of the social and cultural biases entrenched in the institutional systems to be broken down. This is an immensely important undertaking because, as Tator, Henry and Mattis argue in *Challenging Racism in the Arts*, "cultural representations echo social realities."[140]

While the exhibitions discussed in this paper all experimented with new curatorial strategies that attempted to include more Native voices in Canadian cultural institutions, the majority of Canadian museums and galleries have not begun this process in any recognizable way. In addition to reinstalling permanent collections and temporary exhibitions so as to shift focus from a Eurocentric to a more inclusive history, galleries and museums need to make a commitment to increase the number of First Nations

---

[139] Sherman and Rogoff, *Museum Culture*, xi-xii.
[140] Tator, Henry, Mattis, *Challenging Racism in the Arts*, 7.

peoples on their staff and advisory boards, so as to ensure that more diverse perspectives are achieved.[141] As Gerald McMaster argues, "Our collective histories are inextricably tangled. Together we make history."[142]

Unfortunately the Imaginary Indian is still a part of that history, as demonstrated by an occurrence recently witnessed by a colleague. While visiting the Museum of Civilization with her brother, my friend encountered a group of school-age children who were visiting the museum as a summer camp activity. Led by their camp counsellors, the children were gathered around one of the totem poles in the Great Hall of the museum "playing Indian." With their hands to their mouths, they were "hooting" and "hollering" – their rendition of the Imaginary Indian's battle cry. This was occurring just a few feet from the entrance to "Emergence from the Shadow," an exhibition that attempts to break down such stereotypes.[143]

Despite incidents of this nature, exhibitions such as the ones discussed in this thesis remain vital tools in the process to eradicate racial stereotypes in this country. The curators have turned to the people and the communities to whom this history belongs, allowing their voices to be heard. They have taken an important first step in affording First Nations peoples in Canada an active role in writing their history and determining the ways in which their cultures and stories are presented. In each exhibition new ways of seeing photographs are enabled, which in turn opens them up to the possibility of new

---

[141] An example of a project that aimed to facilitate this was the "Blackfoot Elders Project" at the Glenbow museum in Calgary in 1985-86. This project hired Elders from the Blackfoot reservation in southern Alberta and, in doing so, "presented a unique opportunity to record for the first time the conceptual framework which the Blackfoot elders themselves employ in their own interpretation of Blackfoot material culture....[T]he project itself was an important means of acknowledging the validity of these interpretations, whereas previously this had been the almost exclusive domain of non-Indians within the museum context." See Elizabeth Churchill, "The Blackfoot Elders Project: Linking People and Objects in Museum Research," *Native Studies Review* 3 (1987): 75.

[142] McMaster, "Museums and Galleries as Sites for Artistic Intervention," 259-60.

interpretations. These exhibitions not only help to construct positive, new identities for contemporary First Nations audiences, but also serve to deconstruct the ways in which these images have been understood and presented in the past.

[143] I would like to thank Kirsty Robertson for bringing this to my attention.

Fig. 1 - Charles Horetzky, *An Encampment of Cree Indians near present-day Vermilion, Alberta*, 1871 (National Archives of Canada, C5181)

Fig. 2 - George E. Fleming, *One of the Past (A Cree Indian)*, c.1900 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B 9206)

Fig. 3 - *Thomas Moore before being admitted to the Regina Industrial School*, 1896 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 8223-1)

Fig. 4 - *Thomas Moore, posing in the regulation suit worn by young boys at the Regina Industrial School*, 1896 (Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 8223-2)

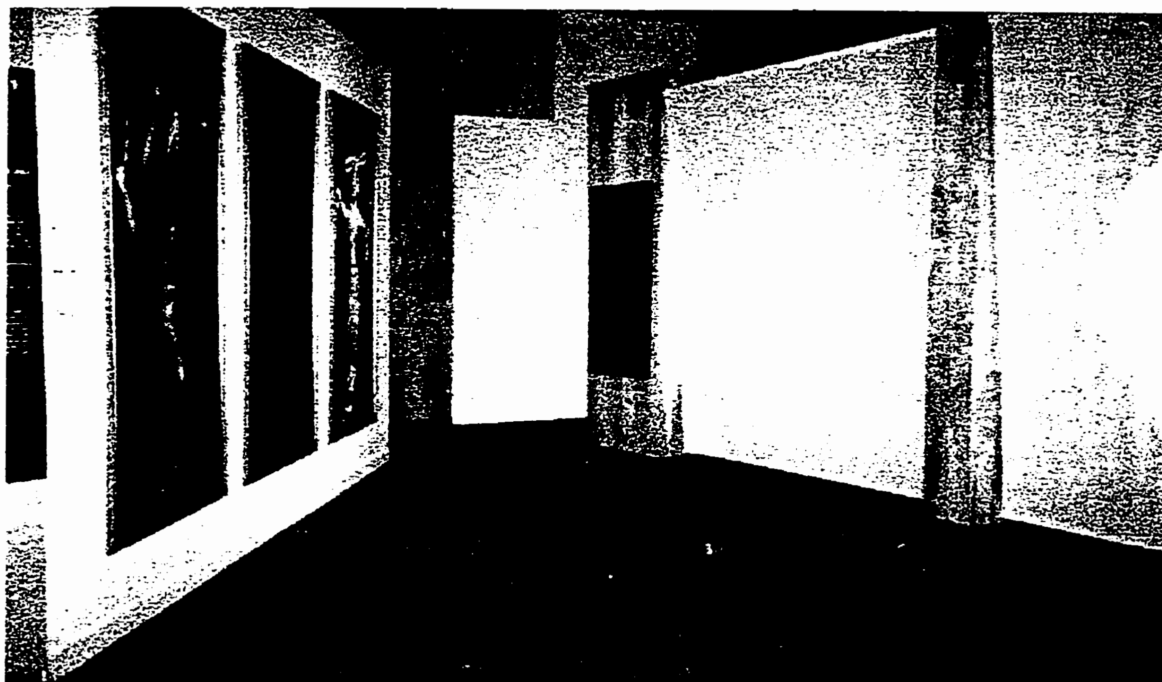

Fig. 5 - *Installation of Emergence from the Shadow, Canadian Museum of Civilization,Hull, Quebec*, 2000. (Photograph by author)

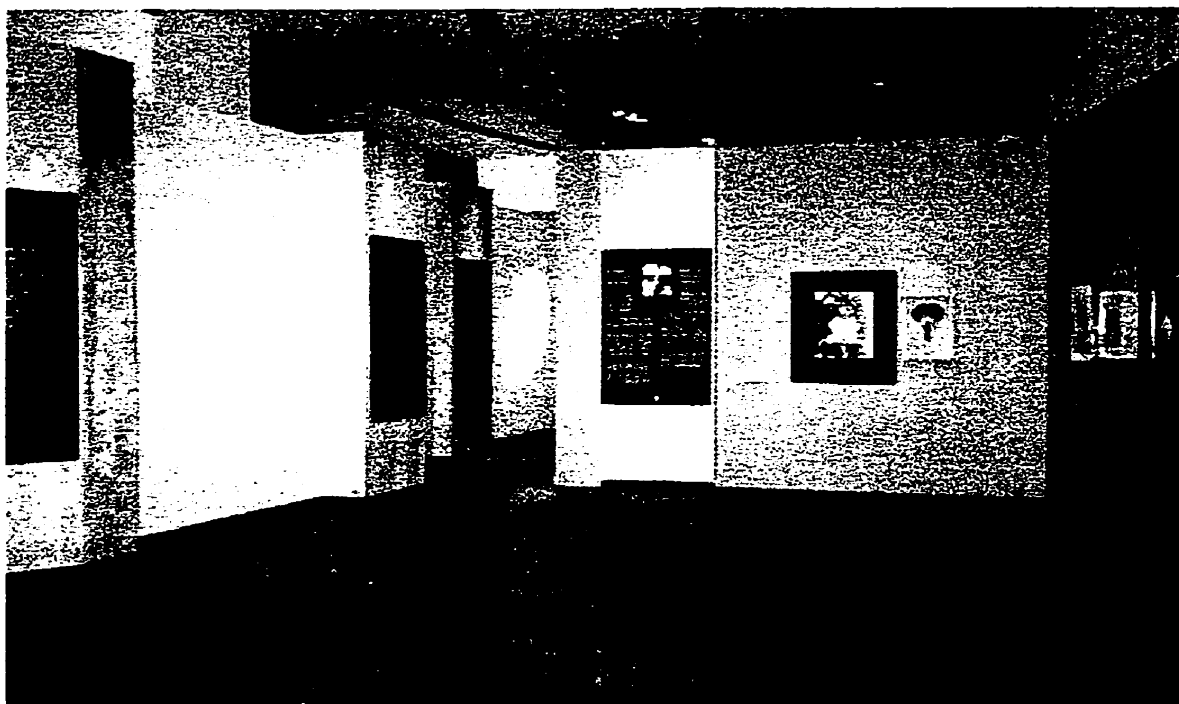

Fig. 6 - *Installation of Emergence from the Shadow, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec*, 2000. (Photograph by author)

Fig. 7 - *Installation of Emergence from the Shadow showing backlit enlargement, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec*, 2000. (Photograph by author)

Fig. 8 - Harlan Smith, *Fieldwork portrait of Mrs. Eliza Moody (Bella Coola)*, 1922
(Canadian Museum of Civilization, No. 56871)

Fig. 9 - Greg Hill, *Indian/Alien #2*, 1999. ("Emergence from the Shadow" website www.civilization.ca/membrs/fph/jaillir/jailline.html)
Fig. 10 - Harlan Smith, *Portrait of Chief Walking Buffalo (Assiniboine) and Family*, 1925 (Canadian Museum of Civilization, No. 34570)

Fig. 11 – Rosalie Favell, *Untitled #1 Plain(s) Warrior Artist - Series*, 1999. ("Emergence from the Shadow" website www.civilization.ca/membrs/fph/jaillir/jailline.html)

Lost Identities - *A Journey of Rediscovery*

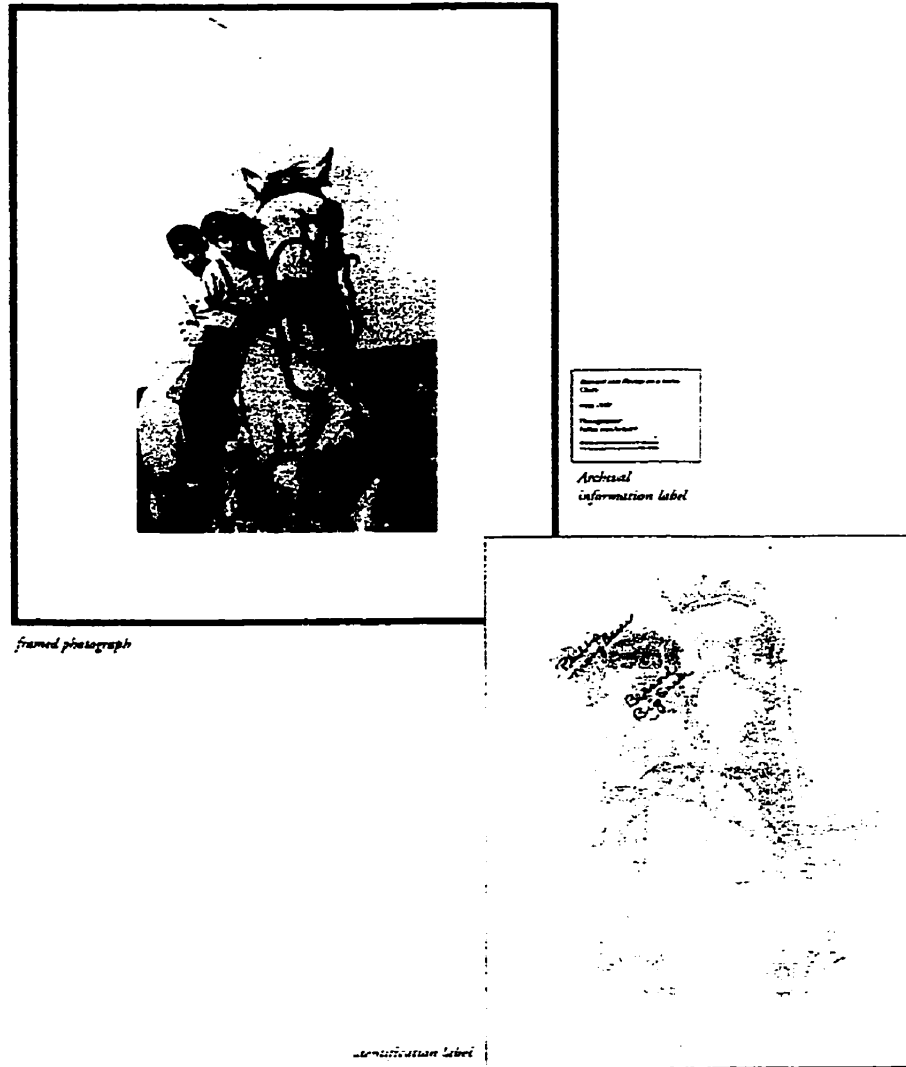

Fig. 12 - Example of "write-on" sheet – "Lost Identities" exhibition, Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, Fort Macleod, Alberta.

Fig.13 - Harry Pollard, *Aakamahstookii (Many Mules)*, c.1900 (Provincial Archives of Alberta, H. Pollard Collection, P 182)

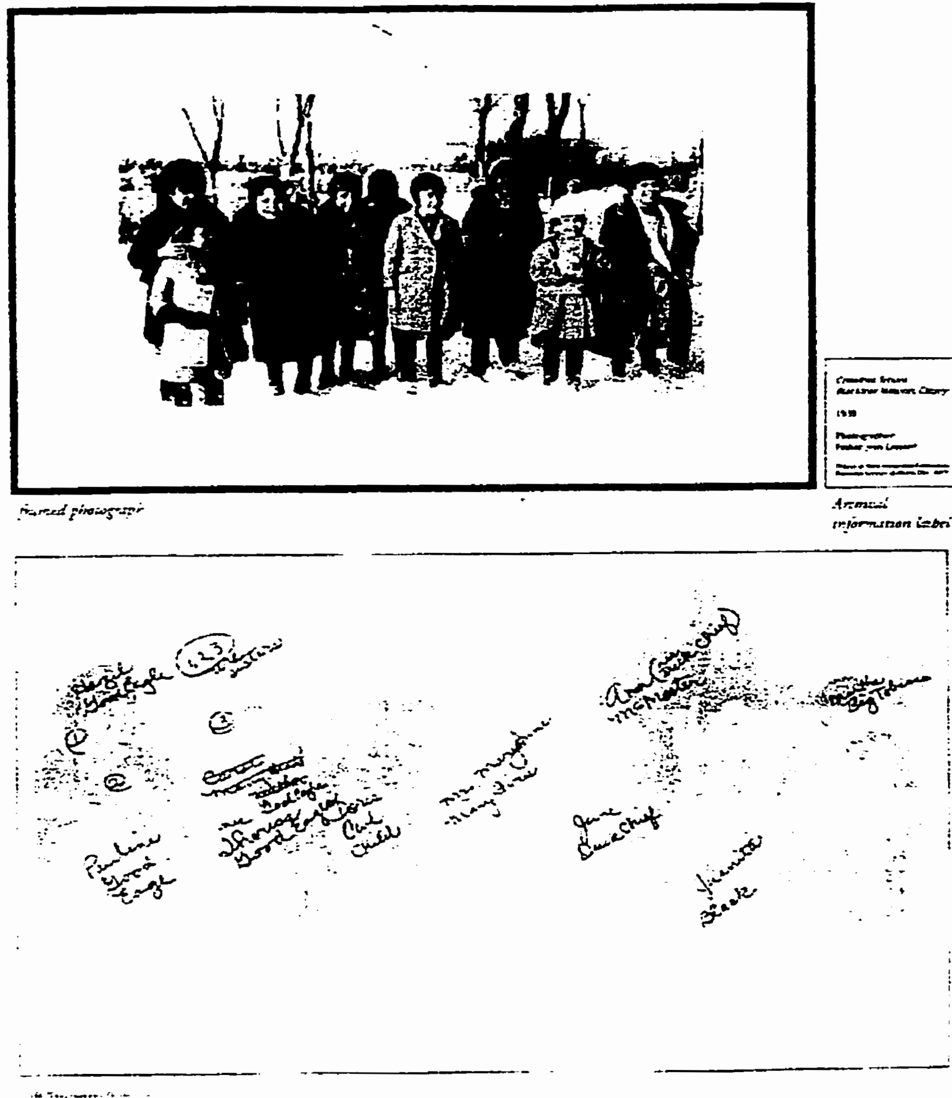

Fig. 14 - Father Jean Lessard, *Crowfoot School, Blackfoot Mission, Cluny*, 1939, and accompanying "write-on" sheet from "Lost Identities" exhibition. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblates of Marie Immaculate Collection, Ob 10417)

Fig. 15 - Edward S. Curtis, *A Nakoatak Chief's Daughter, British Columbia*, c.1914 (National Archives of Canada, PA-039457)

Fig.16 - William Notman (for the Topley studio), *Indians assembled at Shaqannapi Point for a pow-wow held in honour of the visit of H.R.H. The Duke of Cornwall and York*, 1901 (National Archives of Canada, PA-012122)

Fig. 17 - Humphrey Lloyd Hime, *An Ojibwa Woman and Child, Red River Settlement, Manitoba*, 1895 (National Archives of Canada, C-000728)

Fig. 18 - Truman and Caple Studio, *Dog Child, a North West Mounted Police scout, and his wife, The Only Handsome Woman, members of the Blackfoot Nation, Gleichen, Alberta* c.1890 (National Archives of Canada, PA-195224)

Fig. 19 - Hannah Maynard, *George and Catherine Stelly*, c.1869 (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Catalogue no. 18346)

Fig. 20 - Hannah Maynard, *Native Pedlars*, c.1869 (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, uncatalogued collection)

Fig. 21 - Hannah Maynard, *Haida Washerwoman, Mary*, c.1865 (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, PN 5310)

Fig. 22 - Hannah Maynard, *Haida Mary (composite photograph)*, c.1884 (British Columbia Provincial Museum, PN 5311)

Fig. 23 - Edmund Morris, *White Buffalo Calf (Child-Unistaipoka) viewing his portrait*, c.1909 (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, uncatalogued collection)

Bibliography

Ace, Barry. "inter/SECTION Jeffrey Thomas." www3.simpatico.ca/onondaga11 (URL last consulted April 26, 2000).

Ames, Michael M. "Free Indians from their Ethnological Fate: The Emergence of the Indian Point of View in Exhibitions on Indians." *Muse* 5 (1987): 14-19.

________. *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museusms.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992.

Andreeff, Monica "A Romantic Ideal." *National Post Online.* (August 12, 2000): www.nationalpost.com (URL last consulted August 30, 2000).

Banta, Melissa and Curtis M. Hinsley. *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery.* Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 1986.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1981.

Batchen, Geoffrey. *Burning With Desire: The Conception of Photography.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1997.

Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Art in Modern Culture*, ed. Francis Frascina and Jonathan Harris, 297-307. London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1992.

Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing.* London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972.

________. "Uses of Photography." In *About Looking*, 48-63. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

________. "Understanding a Photograph." In *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg, 291-297. New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1980.

________ and Jean Mohr. *Another Way of Telling.* Cambridge: Granta Books, 1989.

Berkhofer, Robert F. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Berlo, Janet C. and Ruth B. Phillips. *Native North American Art.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Beyer, David and Lenore Keeshig-Tobias. "Shadowcatcher: Jeff Thomas." *Sweetgrass* (July/August 1984): 24-30.

Birrell, Andrew J. "Classic Survey Photos of the Early West." *Canadian Geographical Journal* 91 (October 1975): 12-19.

Blackadar, R.G., ed. *On the Frontier: Photographs by the Geological Survey of Canada*. Ottawa: Supply & Services Canada, 1982.

Blackman, Margaret. "Studio Indians: Cartes de Visite of Native People in British Columbia, 1862 – 1872." *Archivaria* 21 (Winter 1985): 68-86.

_______. "Introduction." In *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery*, ed. Melissa Banta and Curtis M. Hinsley, 11-14. Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 1986.

Bloom, Lisa, ed. *With Other Eyes: Looking at Race and Gender in Visual Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Alain Darbel. *The Love of Art : European Art Museums and their Public*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.

Brackett, Donald. "Edward Curtis: Shadow Catcher." *Canadian Art* 17 (Spring 2000): 102.

Burgess, Marilyn and Gail Guthrie Valaskakis. *Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier*. Montreal: Oboro, 1995.

Bush, Alfred L. and Lee Clark Mitchell. *The Photograph and the American Indian*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Canadian Museums Association and Assembly of First Nations. *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Nations Peoples*. Ottawa: Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, 1992.

Champagne, Manon and Rachel Duplisea. "First Peoples Past and Present Featured in Stunning Photographic Exhibition at the Canadian Museum of Civilization." Hull, Quebec: http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/cmceng/pr101eng.html. [URL last consulted April 26, 2000].

Clarke, Graham. *The Photograph*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.

Clifford, James. "On Ethnographic Allegory." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus, 98-121. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

_______. *The Predicament of Culture* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

________. "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 212-54. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Close, Susan. "Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada." *Archivaria* 42 (Fall 1996): 148-150.

Cohan Scherer, Joanna. *Indians: The Great Photographs that Reveal North American Indian Life, 1847-1929 from the Unique Collection of the Smithsonian Institution*. New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1973.

________. "You Can't Believe Your Eyes: Inaccuracies in Photographs of North American Indians." *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 2 (Fall 1975): 67-79.

________. "Historical Photographs as Anthropological Documents: A Retrospect." *Visual Anthropology* 3 (1990): 131-156.

Coombes, Annie. "Inventing the 'Postcolonial': Hybridity and Constituency in Contemporary Curating." *New Formations* 18 (Winter 1992): 39-52.

Cummings, Stephen. "Seeing Native Photographs." In *Silver Drum: Five Native Photographers*, 5. Hamilton: Native Indian/Inuit Photographers' Association, 1986.

Curtis, Edward. "Vanishing Indian Types." *Scribner's Magazine* 39 (June 1906): 657-671.

________. "The Vanishing Red Man." *Hampton Magazine* 28 (1912): 244-253,308.

Crosby, Marcia. "Construction of the Imaginary Indian." In *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, ed. Stan Douglas, 267-291. Vancouver: Or Gallery, 1991.

Dempsey, Hugh A. *History in their Blood: The Indian Portraits of Nicholas de Grandmaison*. Toronto/Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1982.

________. *Indian Tribes of Alberta*. Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1986.

Devereaux, Leslie and Roger Hillman, ed. *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology, and Photography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Doxtator, Deborah. "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum: Erasing the Stereotypes." *Muse* vol. 6:2 (1988): 26-31.

________. *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness* rev. ed. Brantford, Ont.: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1992.

________. "The Implications of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy." In *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-Colonial Societies, Proceedings*, 56-70. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994.

"Early Photographers of First Peoples in British Columbia." http://rbcm1.rbcm.gov.bc.ca/notes/early.html [URL last consulted August 6, 2000]

Edwards, Elizabeth. "Photographic 'Types': The Pursuit of Method." *Visual Anthropology* 3 (1990): 235-258.

________. "Ordering Others: Photography, Anthropologies and Taxonomies." In *In Visible Light: Photography and Classification in Art, Science and The Everyday*, 54-68. Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1997.

________. "Photographs as Objects of Memory," in *Material Memories*, ed. M. Kwuit, C. Breward and J. Aynsley (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999), 221-236.

"Emergence from the Shadow: First Peoples' Photographic Perspectives." http://www.civilization.ca/membrs/fph/jaillir/jailline.html [URL last consulted April 28, 2000]

"Exhibit Aims to Rediscover Aboriginal Identities." *Alberta Connections* 5 (Summer 1999): 6.

Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Fleming, Paula Richardson and Judith Luskey. *The North American Indians in Early Photographs*. Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1988.

Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver : Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.

________. *Copying People: Photographing British Columbia First Nations 1860-1940.* Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1996.

Gidley, Mick. *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Ginsburg, Faye. "Mediating Culture: Indigenous Media, Ethnographic Film and the Production of Identity." In *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology and Photography*, ed. Leslie Devereaux and Roger Hillman, 256-291. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Gold, Peter. "Returning Photographs to the Indians." *Studies in Visual Communication* 9 (Summer 1983): 2-14.

Government of Canada. *Annual Report on the Operation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1998-1999*. Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage, 2000.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford, 222-237. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990.

Halpin, Marjorie. "Afterword." In *Our Chiefs and Elders: Words and Photographs of Native Leaders* by David Neel, 183-189. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992.

Harlan, Theresa. "A Curator's Perspective: Native Photographers Creating a Visual Native History." *Exposure* (Fall 1993): 12-22.

________. "Creating a Visual History: A Question of Ownership." *Aperture Magazine* (August 1995): 20-33.

________. "As in Her Vision: Native American Women Photographers." In *Reframings: New American Feminist Photographies*, ed. Diane Neumaier, 114-124. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.

Harris, Leo D. "Photographing My Indian Neighbors." *American Photography* 43 (April 1949): 38-40.

Hart, E.J. *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism*. Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983.

"Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump." www.head-smashed-in.com (URL last consulted August 16, 2000).

Hegeman, Susan. "Landscapes, Indians and Photography in the Age of Scientific Exploration." In *The Big Empty: Essays on Western Landscapes as Narrative*, ed. Leonard Engel, 49-74. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

Hill, Richard. "Photography's Next Era." In *Silver Drum: Five Native Photographers*, 20-23. Hamilton: Native Indian/Inuit Photographers' Association, 1986.

Hill, Rick. "Sacred Trust: Cultural Obligation of Museums to Native People." *Muse* 6 (Fall 1988): 32-37.

________. "In Our Own Image: Stereotyped Images of Indians Lead to New Native Artform." *Muse* vol. 6:2 (Winter/January 1989): 32-37.

Hill, Tom. "First Nations and Museums." *Muse* vol. 6:2 (1988): 2.

Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

________. *The Familial Gaze*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1998.

Hudson, Anna and Jeff Thomas. "Edmund Morris: Speaking of First Nations." In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup with Shannon Bagg. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001.

Holmgren, Eric J. "Ernest Brown, Photographer." *Alberta History* 28 (Autumn 1980): 16-19.

Jackson, Peter. "Constructions of Culture, Representations of Race: Edward Curtis's 'Way of Seeing'." In *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, ed. Kay Anderson and Fay Gale, 89-106. Melbourne: Wiley Halsted Press, 1992.

Jenkins, David. "The Visual Domination of the American Indian: Photography, Anthropology, and Popular Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Museum Anthropology* 17 (1993): 9-21.

Jessup, Lynda. "Some Readings are More Equal than Others." *Studies in Cultures, Organizations and Societies* 3 (1997): 179-210.

________, with Shannon Bagg, ed. *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001.

Karp, Ivan and Steven D. Lavine, ed. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

________. "Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, 1-9. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Kerbiriou, Anne-Hélène. *Les Indiens de l'ouest Canadien: vus par les oblats, 1885-1930*. Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1996.

King, J.C.H. *First Peoples First Contacts: Native Peoples of North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Kolodny, Rochelle. Review of *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Imagery*, by Melissa Banta and Curtis M. Hinsely. *Muse* vol. 6:2 (Winter/January 1989): 86.

Krouse, Susan Applegate. "Photographing the Vanishing Race." *Visual Anthropology* 3 (1990): 213-234.

Lippard, Lucy. *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1990.

________. *Partial Recall.* New York: New Press, 1992.

________. "Independent Identities." In *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III, 134-148. London: Routledge, 1999.

"Lost Identities: A Journey of Rediscovery." Exhibition Information Kit. Edmonton: Alberta Community Development, 1999.

Lyman, Christopher. *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Maracle, Yvonne. "Native Indian/Inuit Photographers' Association." *Canadian Woman Studies* 10 (Summer/Fall 1989): 158.

Marshall, Gordon. *A Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Martinez, Katharine. "Imaging the Past: Historians, Visual Images and the Contested Definition of History." *Visual Resources* 11 (1995): 21-45.

McEvilley, Thomas. *Art and Otherness: Crisis in Cultural Identity.* Kingston, NY: McPherson & Company, 1992.

McGill, Jean S. *Edmund Morris: Frontier Artist.* Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1984.

McMaster, Gerald. "Colonial Alchemy." In *Partial Recall*, ed. Lucy Lippard, 76-87. New York: The New Press, 1992.

________. "Museums and Galleries as Sites for Artistic Intervention." In *The Subjects of Art History: Historical Objects in Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Mark A. Cheetham, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, 250-261. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

________. "Towards and Aboriginal Art History." In *Native Art in the Twentieth Century*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing, 81-96. London: Routledge, 1999.

Medland, Wendy S. "Harry Pollard, Photographer." *Alberta History* 29 (Spring 1981): 20-28.

Mihesuah, Devon A. *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities*. Atlanta: Clarity Press, 1996.

Mitten, Brenda. "Connections." In *Silver Drum: Five Native Photographers*, 14-15. Hamilton: Native Indian/Inuit Photographers' Association, 1986.

Monsen, Frederick. "Picturing Indians with the Camera." *Photo-Era: The American Journal of Photography* 25 (October 1910): 165-171.

Mydin, Iskander. "Historical Images – Changing Audiences." In *Anthropology and Photography*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards, 249-252. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992.

Neel, David. *Our Chiefs and Elders: Words and Photographs of Native Leaders*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992.

Nemiroff, Diana. "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of Exhibitions of First Nations Art." In *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Narine, 411-436. London: Routledge, 1996.

Parmar, Pratibha. "Black Feminism: The Politics of Articulation." In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford, 101-126. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990.

Peterson, Nicholas. "The Popular Image." *Blackflash* 18 (Summer 2000): 24-35.

Phillips, Ruth. "Indian Art: Where do you put it?" *Muse* vol. 6:2 (Fall 1988): 64-71.

________. "How Museums Marginalise: Naming Domains of Inclusion and Exclusion." *Cambridge Review* (February 1993): 6-10.

________. "Fielding Culture: Dialogues Between Art History and Anthropology." *Museum Anthropology* 18 (1994): 39-46.

________. and Christopher Steiner. "Art, Authenticity and the Baggage of Colonial Encounter." In *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, 3-19. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Podedworny, Carol. "New World Landscape: Urban First Nations Photography. Interview with Jeffrey Thomas." *Fuse* 19 (Winter 1996): 34-40.

Poole, Deborah. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Price, Mary. *The Photograph: A Strange, Confined Space.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Price, Sally. *Primitive Art in Civilized Places.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Pultz, John. *The Body and The Lens: Photography 1839 to the Present.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995.

Ramírez, Mari Carmen. "Brokering Identities: Art Curators and the Politics of Cultural Representation." In *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, 21-38. London: Routledge, 1996.

Reid, Dennis. *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*, 2d ed. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Rickard, Jolene. "Sovereignty: A Line in the Sand." *Aperture Magazine* (August 1995): 51-54.

Rieusset-Lemarié, Isabelle. "Web Museums and Memory in the Age of Digital Multimedia Networks (Extensions of Walter Benjamin's Insights)." Conference Paper, Museums and the Web 2000 – Minneapolis, April 16-19, 2000. www.archimuse.com (URL last consulted August 28, 2000).

Ring, Mildred. "Kodaking the Indians." *Camera Craft* 31 (February 1924): 71-76.

Roalf, Peggy. "Strong Hearts: Native American Visions and Voices." *Aperture Magazine* (August 1995): 3.

Rowat, Theresa. "Exhibiting Photography: The Image and the Artifact." *Muse* 6 (Winter/January 1989): 67-69.

Rushing, W. Jackson, III *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories.* London: Routledge, 1999.

Rutherford, Jonathan, ed. *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference.* London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990.

Schwartz, Joan. "*The Geography Lesson*: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies." *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (January 1996): 15-45.

Scully, Julia. "Seeing Pictures." *Modern Photography* 39 (April 1975): 10, 120, 123.

Semchuk, Sandra. "The Silver Drum." In *Silver Drum: Five Native Photographers*, 33-40. Hamilton: Native Indian/Inuit Photographers' Association, 1986.

Sherman, Daniel J. and Irit Rogoff, eds. *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses and Spectacles*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Silversides, Brock. *The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians 1871-1939*. Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1994.

Skidmore, Colleen. " 'All that is interesting in the Canadas': William Notman's Maple Box Portfolio of Stereographic Views, 1860." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32 (Winter 1998): 69-90.

Sladen, Douglas. *On the Cars and Off*. London: Ward, Lock and Bowden Ltd., 1895.

Smith, Jaune Quick-To-See. "Family Album." In *Partial Recall*, ed. Lucy Lippard, 59-63. New York: The New Press, 1992.

Smith, Paul Chaat. "Ghost in the Machine." *Aperture Magazine* (August 1995): 6-9.

Smith, Shawn Michelle. "Photographing the 'American Negro': Nation, Race and Photography at the Paris Exposition of 1900." In *With Other Eyes: Looking at Race and Gender in Visual Culture*, ed. Lisa Bloom, 58-87. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic Histories, Institutions, and Practices*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977.

Sponholz, Edward. "Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump Interpretive Centre." *Muse* 6 (1988): 8-9.

Stevens, John A. *Encounters: Early Images of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples from the Library Collections of the Geographical Survey of Canada*. Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, 1996.

Stratton, Jon and Ien Ang. "Multicultural Imagined Communities." *Continuum* 8 (1994): 124-158.

Sturken, Marita. "The Image as Memorial: Personal Photographs in Cultural Memory." In *The Familial Gaze*, ed. Marianne Hirsch, 178-195. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1998.

Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. London: MacMillan Education, 1988.

Tator, Carol, Frances Henry, and Winston Mattis. *Challenging Racism in the Arts: Case Studies of Controversy and Conflict*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

"Telling History by Photographs" *The Craftsman* 9 (1906): 846-849.

Tepper, Leslie H., ed. *The Interior Salish Tribes of British Columbia: A Photographic Collection*. Canadian Ethnology Service. Mercury Series Paper 111. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada/Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1987.

________. *The Bella Coola Valley: Harlan I. Smith's Fieldwork Photographs, 1920-1924*. Canadian Ethnology Service. Mercury Series Paper 123. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991.

Thomas, Jeff. "Pow Wow Dancers." *Camera Canada* 61 (Autumn 1984): 34-39.

________. "Strong Hearts." Aperture Magazine (August 1995): 104-109.

________. "My Quest for Luminance." *Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1996.

________. "The Portfolio: Luminance – Aboriginal Photographic Portraits." *The Archivist* 112 (1996): 7-23.

________. Text panels from the exhibition "Emergence from the Shadow: First Peoples' Photographic Perspectives." Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec. Oct. 23, 1999 – Jan. 2, 2001.

Tompkins, Edward. "Aboriginal Portraits." *Aboriginal Portraits from the National Archives of Canada*, Promotional Pamphlet. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada/Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1996.

Valaskakis, Gail Guthrie. "Parallel Voices: Indians and Others, Narratives of Cultural Struggle." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 18 (Summer 1993): 283-296.

Webster, Gloria Cranmer. "From Colonization to Repatriation." In *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, ed. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, 24-37. Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992.

Wells, Liz, ed. *Photography: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Whitelaw, Anne. "*Land Spirit Power*: First Nations Cultural Production and Canadian Nationhood." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 12 (Fall 1995): 12-30.

Willis, Anne-Marie. "Photography and Film: Figures in/of History." In *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology and Photography*, ed. Leslie Devereaux and Roger Hillman, 77-93. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Woodward, Kathryn. *Identity and Difference*. London: Sage Publications, 1997.