First Nations, Museums and McCord Museum's Journey *Across Borders*

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A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 2001

ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines Native souvenir arts of the Northeastern Woodlands and their inclusion within collections and exhibitions in Western museums. Since Western scholars have for the most part perceived Native souvenir arts as inauthentic, these objects have not only been excluded from serious study, but Western museums have rarely exhibited them on a large scale. While emerging shifts in exhibition practices have been taking place since the mid-twentieth century and Native souvenir arts have been finding their way into Western museums, the inclusion of this type of object within exhibitions is uncommon. For this reason, the display of a large number of souvenir arts in *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life*, presented at the McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, from June 17th, 1999, to January 9th, 2000, proved useful for this study and is thus the focus around which this thesis pivots.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to the late Ivan Dobroruka (1934-2001), an outstanding person as well as artist. Thank you for always believing in me.

First and foremost, I want to thank my parents, Slavka Jarosova and Juraj Smirina. I am also indebted to Dr. Joan Acland for all her help, support and patience; Dr. Loren Lerner and Sandra Paikowsky for their in-depth reading of my work and their helpful suggestions; the Department of Art History at Concordia University for the longest experience of my life; Guislaine Lemay and the staff members of the McCord Museum; Dr. Ruth B. Phillips, Michelle Hamilton, Dr. Trudy Nicks, Marie-Paule Robitaille and Alan Hoover for providing me with much needed information; all my friends and family who encouraged me over the years; and last but certainly not least, I want to thank Personnelle for making affordable extra strength acetaminophen and Lalco Laboratory for their 1500 mg caplets of St. John's Wort.

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INTRODUCTION

Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life was an exhibition of Native material culture held at the McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, from June 17th, 1999, to January 9th, 2000. The objects exhibited consisted of intricately beaded and embroidered historical items such as a mid-nineteenth century beaded leather bag, covered with red beads, at the centre of which is depicted a turtle surrounded by a curved motif in white, yellow and navy blue. Other items included in the exhibition were contemporary pieces such as Cheryl Greene's jean jacket with a beaded Buffalo Bills football team logo, 1992. Variously understood as artefact, craft, commoditized art, or contemporary art, the objects contained in *Across Borders* constitute a template through which to examine current critical discussions around exhibition practices as these pertain to Native material culture. I begin this thesis by examining the history of the McCord Museum of Canadian History in order to establish it as a colonial institution. In my second chapter, I give an overview of issues around exhibition practices of Aboriginal material culture, especially as these relate to Native-made commodities. In my final chapter, I discuss the exhibition *Across Borders* in light of the issues highlighted in chapters one and two.

When David Ross McCord (1844-1930) began to intensively collect objects pertaining to the history of Canada in the 1880s, he did so with a desire to build a national museum. By presenting the population with a museum glorifying their country, McCord, like other Canadians of the period, wished to unite Canadians

with a sense of identity and national pride. McCord's wish eventually became true and when the museum opened in 1921, it contained the single largest collection of Canadian history. Eighty years later, the museum is still acclaimed for its archives and collections, such as the 13,000 Aboriginal pieces which make the ethnography and archaeology collection one of the largest ones in the province of Quebec.

However, the importance of the McCord Museum also lies within the context it was created in. During the nineteenth century, anthropology was the core of the dominant culture's superstructure, because it was the system which determined a hierarchy of the world's cultures. European and Euro-North American understandings of Native material culture were rooted in evolutionary theory and people of European descent were thus thought to be on a higher scale of human evolution than non-Western societies. The anthropological evidence of Western power over the "other" was evident in museums where the display of human and technological evolution culminated with Western examples. At the same time, the accepted belief of the nineteenth century supported the view that Aboriginal people were doomed to extinction. Because their societies were seen as less developed, it was believed Native people would not survive in the face of modernity. In turn, this contributed to a salvage paradigm, the collection of large numbers of First Nations' objects in order to safeguard the artefacts before the people died out and their cultures became forever lost. And because David Ross McCord was greatly influenced by some of the most prominent Canadian

anthropologists Daniel Wilson (1816-1892), George M. Dawson (1820-1899) and Horatio Hale (1817-1896), his collecting practices of Aboriginal objects reflected a nineteenth century anthropological framework which became a convention and continued to shape the representation of Native people and their material culture in museums.

In this thesis, I first examine these nineteenth century museum conventions and discuss the changing practices and relations between museums and Aboriginal people which began to take shape by mid-twentieth century. I do this by outlining the impact nineteenth century anthropology had on exhibition practices, by mapping out the specific circumstances of the 1960s which enabled an eventual shift in these practices, and finally by discussing the 1992 Task Force "Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples." The Task Force, which initiated a discussion between museum delegates and First Nations people, proposed a plan of action which could be summarized as follows: increased co-operation between museums and Aboriginal people and the repatriation of culturally significant Native objects from Western museums.

While acknowledging the significance of the Task Force, I point out that several questions still remain unresolved. This is the case of issues around the display and the inclusion within museum collections of Native souvenir arts. The question of souvenir arts is problematic, because despite the fact that these

objects are a significant part of Native material culture, for the most part they have been disregarded by Western scholars. Souvenir arts became a means of economic and cultural survival for Native people of regions such as the Northeastern Woodlands when Native economy and socio-political power were disturbed during the nineteenth century. But in the eyes of Euro-North Americans their hybridity and utilitarian character were an indication these objects were inauthentic, craft, and not worthy of serious study.

However, several changes have been taking place and the question of Native souvenir arts is currently being addressed among scholars. This shift in attitudes is exemplified in the Art Gallery of Ontario Symposium "Aboriginal Representation in the Art Gallery," held from March 4th to March 5th, 2000. Another example of this shift is the McCord Museum's travelling exhibition entitled *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life*, held at the museum from June 17th, 1999, to January 9th, 2000. The exhibition presented over 300 Iroquois beaded works, the majority of which were souvenir arts. *Across Borders* was thus the single largest exhibition of Native souvenir arts in Canada. For this reason, the exhibition proved useful for the examination of museum displays and exhibition practices as related to exhibitions of Native souvenir arts and is thus the focus around which this thesis pivots.

Despite these shifts in exhibition practices, an inclusion of Native souvenir arts within Western museums may also have a negative effect. As I explain in this

thesis, exhibitions are primarily a visual experience for the visitors, making the display of objects more important than any other aspect of an exhibition. In the case of *Across Borders*, I point out that the souvenir arts were displayed as archaeological specimens, in natural history style showcases reminiscent of early museums of anthropology or ethnography. Thus, the McCord displayed these objects in the same manner as museums of anthropology presented the evidence of Western cultures' power over non-Western societies. Further, because museums are one of the population's main sources of information on Aboriginal people and cultures, museums of history provide the public with specific cultural assumptions. Consequently, the display of Native souvenir arts in natural history style showcases may be perpetuating outmoded ideas about Aboriginal people and Native history in Canada.

Because this thesis focuses on emerging shifts in exhibition practices of Native traditional objects in history/anthropology museums, I drew information from literature on museums such as Tony Bennett's "Birth of the Museum," Peter Vergo's "The New Museology," as well as Ivan Karp's and Steven Lavine's "Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display." Another primary resource for this thesis was the writing of Ruth B. Phillips. Her book "Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900" is essential to my discussion of Native commoditized art, as was her unpublished paper "A Proper Place for Art or the Proper Arts of Place?" presented at the Art Gallery of Ontario Symposium, 2000. Direct

interviews and contacts with Guislaine Lemay from the McCord Museum, Trudy C. Nicks from the Royal Ontario Museum, Alan Hoover from the Royal British Columbia Museum, Marie-Paule Robitaille from the Musée de la Civilization, and Michelle Hamilton and Beth Carter from the Glenbow Museum were also fundamental to my research.

Chapter 1: McCord Museum of Canadian History

> As stood Latin to the world so will stand my museum to the history of Canada.
> David Ross McCord, ca. 1910.[1]

This chapter outlines the history of the McCord Museum of Canadian History. It also establishes the museum as a colonial institution and highlights it's relevance to contemporary issues around exhibition practices as these relate to Native material culture.

The McCord Museum of Canadian History was founded by David Ross McCord (1844-1930), a descendant of a wealthy Scottish family which came to Quebec approximately between 1760 and 1761. The first of the McCords to emigrate to North America was John McCord (1711-1793) who settled in Quebec city with his two daughters and two sons. He began to earn his living by selling alcohol, but it was not long before he acquired land which he then leased for substantial amounts of money. In 1777, John McCord followed his son Thomas McCord (c.1750-1824) to Montreal where Thomas soon gained in prominence, despite initial financial and personal difficulties. From 1809 to 1910 he was elected Member of the Assembly for Montreal West as well as for the Town of Bedford from 1816 to 1820.[2] Later, he held the position of police magistrate followed by a term of service as a lieutenant in the Montreal militia.[3] But Thomas

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[1] George P. Argon, "The Mc Cord Family; a Passionate Vision: An Analysis of Artifacts and their Meaning," diss., Concordia University, 1998, iv.
[2] Pamela J. Miller, "When There is no Vision, the People Perish. The McCord Family Papers, 1766-1945," Fontanus 3 (1990): 17-18, 22.
[3] Brian Young, The Making and Unmaking of a University Museum: The McCord,

McCord also knew how to take advantage of the economic opportunities available in Montreal at the time; and he secured his family's future for generations to come by leasing the Nazareth fief in 1792 and the following year by leasing more land from the Congregation of Notre Dame. These two properties were an important source of finance for the McCords, especially when the development of the Lachine Canal increased the land's value.[4]

One of Thomas' sons, John Samuel McCord (1801-1865), climbed even higher in the political and economic scale. He was a respected leader of the Pointe Claire Militia as well as of the First Battalion of the Montreal Militia, and served other military duties such as lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Montreal Cavalry and commander of the First Volunteer Brigade during the Rebellions of 1837-1838. John Samuel McCord also became a judge, a Freemason, a member of the first council of the Art Association of Montreal,[5] the Vice-Chancellor and Chancellor of Bishop's University in Lenoxville, Quebec, and was a Director of the Montreal General Hospital. At the same time, he was a member of the Synod of Christ Church Cathedral, and being greatly interested in meteorology and botany, he belonged to the Natural History Society of Montreal. His wife, Anne Ross (1807-1870) was the daughter of Jane Davidson (1789-1866) and David Ross (1770-1837), one of Montreal's most prominent Scot-Irish families. Besides raising six children and governing two households, Anne Ross was the Secretary

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1921-1996 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) 19.

[4] Young 19.

[5] Pamela Miller and Brian Young, "Private, Family and Community Life," The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision, Pamela J. Miller et al. (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992) 67.

of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum and with her husband, a member of Christ Church Cathedral. She also shared her husband's passion for botany and painted highly detailed and accurate water-colours of plants. Also, Anne Ross and John Samuel both loved history: Anne Ross was a collector, while John Samuel commissioned paintings of Montreal landscapes from the artist James Duncan (1806-1881), as well as Henry Bunnett's (1845-1910) depictions of Quebec landmarks.[6]

David Ross McCord, the son of Anne Ross and John Samuel, received a Bachelor of Arts from McGill in 1863 and in 1867 obtained his Master of Arts as well as his Bachelor of Civil Law at the same institution.[7] As a young lawyer, he began working for his family's firm *Leblanc, Cassidy and Leblanc*[8], but his true passion was collecting objects relating to the history of Canada. He avidly gathered close to three thousand items throughout his lifetime, beginning in the 1860s[9] and fully dedicating himself to this practice after the 1880s[10]. Initially, McCord was mostly interested in objects of warfare and thus collected regalia belonging to Canadian and Native military heroes such as Marquis de Montcalm (1712-1759), General James Wolfe (1727-1759) and Tecumseh (1768-1813). Depictions of Canadian naval battles, items associated with the Rebellions of 1837-1838 and the Riel uprising also found their way into McCord's collection, as

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[6] Miller, "When there is no Vision" 23, 25, 26, 29.
[7] Miller, "When there is no Vision" 29.
[8] Young 30.
[9] Miller, "When there is no Vision" 31.
[10] Pamela J. Miller, "David Ross McCord," The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision, Pamela J. Miller et al. (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992) 85.

well as written documents relating to these events. Other themes McCord was interested in were Aboriginal cultures, the role of the fur trade in Canadian history, Canadian exploration, Canadian Protestant and Catholic Spiritual Pioneers, ceramics and decorative arts and prints and drawings depicting Canada's past.[11]

At first, McCord's collection was for his private use only, as his 1878 will stipulated all objects were to be divided between family members. However, a year later his vision changed and he began to view the collection as a foundation for a national museum.[12] This desire to build a national museum was not unusual at the time. During this period of political instability[13], economic hardship and the threat of the American hunger for land, Canadians searched for an identity which would unite the population. And what better way to provide people with a sense of national pride than to present them with a museum glorifying the history of their

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[11]Miller et al, McCord Family: A Passionate Vision (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992) 92-97, 103, 117,125, 137.
[12]Young 39-40.
[13]During the 1880s and 1890s, Canada was faced with internal conflicts, the most significant of which can be outlined in four main points. First of all, the Maritimes and the provinces of Quebec and Ontario were dissatisfied with Canada's centralization and wanted the power of their provincial governments to increase. Second, a continuous battle was led over the Ontario and Manitoba border, an issue which was resolved only in 1889. Third, in Western Canada, Aboriginal peoples demanded the fulfilment of treaty agreements on the part of the federal government, the Métis requested the settlement of their land claims and Euro-Canadians wanted further participation in political and economic matters. Also, French-Canadian nationalists in Quebec fought for their political, economic and cultural independence, while those living outside of the province struggled to preserve their religious, educational and linguistic rights. In R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith, Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1988) 64-77.

country.[14] It is certainly not a coincidence then, that the period between 1880 and 1920, when McCord's collecting was at its peak, was marked by the establishment of national holidays and the inauguration of monuments commemorating Canadian heroes.[15] David Ross McCord's desire to foster a particular Canadian identity by uniting the different cultural heritages of Canada is exemplified in a segment of a letter he wrote to a donor in 1919: "I have always held that I am not the owner of these things, I simply have held them in trust for my country, and now I have donated them to her. .... I am not going to make a Protestant or a Catholic museum. I will also make it as Indian as I possibly can,- a museum of the original owners of the land."[16]

From the 1860s, the time McCord began to collect objects relating to the history of Canada, to the early 1920s, there were five main sources for the objects in his collection: original owners, their descendants, dealers, other collectors, as well as McGill graduates who contributed to the collection after McGill University took possession of it in 1919.[17] While McCord purchased the majority of the objects in his collection, which in 1930 was evaluated at $449,000,[18] he was sometimes able to acquire particular items as donations. But his collecting practices soon gained a bad reputation among his family, friends

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[14]Miller, "David Ross" 85.
[15]Some examples are the de Maisonneuve (1895) and the Dollard des Ormeaux (1920) monuments in Montreal; the Alexander Mackenzie (1901) and the George Brown (1913) monuments in Ottawa, as well as the Montcalm monument (1911) in Quebec city.
[16]Miller, "David Ross" 85.
[17]Miller, "David Ross" 87.
[18]Miller, "When there is no Vision" 31.

and acquaintances. When visiting, McCord was not left unaccompanied, because it was believed he would do anything to procure new artefacts for his collection, including taking objects in the owners' absence.[19] In the later years of his life McCord relied more heavily on private dealers in his desire to fill in what he thought were gaps in his collection. McCord's hastiness to complete his collection before his death caused him to disregard the history of many objects, even though their authenticity and historical importance always played a major role in his collecting practices.[20]

In 1908, McCord offered his collection to McGill University, because he perceived it as closely related to the university. McCord was a McGill graduate who appreciated the classical education he received there, and was also an admirer of geologist William Dawson (1820-1899), who was principal of McGill University from 1855 to 1893. McGill was also a part of the Square Mile, the Montreal area built for the greater part by prominent Scottish and British families, making McGill's campus a representation of the ideals of the Victorian élite. McCord was thus convinced the university would warrant the immortality of his collection and that by becoming the owner of his collection, McGill could "at once become not only the historical centre of Canada...but a site for pilgrimage and study."[21] However, McGill turned McCord's donation down, because of unacceptable conditions tied to the gift. McCord insisted on housing the collection in the Jesse Joseph House (which McGill planned to convert into a library) and he

[19]Miller, "When there is no Vision" 29.
[20]Miller, "David Ross" 87.
[21]Young 51-52.

expected the university to provide security for the collection and to supply him with assistants. Furthermore, McCord wanted to remain the sole decision-maker concerning the collection, believing the:[22] "...classification and arrangement of the material can only be done by him who assembled it."[23] He especially wanted control over all new acquisitions, for fear that objects of lesser value would diminish the overall quality of the collection. McGill was not enthusiastic about the proposition because McCord's demands seemed too much of a price to pay for the collection. More importantly, the university was undergoing financial difficulties, and for this reason required that McCord gather the sum of $5000 in order to operate the museum. Unfortunately, McCord himself did not possess such resources. Although he became the sole proprietor of the McCord estate in 1870[24], the family lease of the Nazareth fief ended in the 1890s. This resulted in a decrease of revenue for the McCords, which was further deepened by David Ross McCord's retirement, his brother's alcoholism and his sisters' unmarried status.[25]

But while McCord preferred McGill University, he also offered his collection to the City of Westmount in 1909. A member of the Westmount City Council, he tried to persuade the city to build a museum for his collection in Westmount Park. Built in 1897 to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the park was a symbol of the admiration of the British Empire. But once again, McCord's

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[22]Young 18, 39-41, 57.
[23]Young 41.
[24]Young 26.
[25]Young 26-27, 33, 40-41, 58.

demands were unacceptable and Westmount rejected his plans.[26] Therefore, McCord concentrated his energies on McGill. But the university was reluctant to invest large amounts of money into the museum and the faculty was not in favour of McCord's project since professional historians did not view amateur collectors and non-professional historians in a good light; the two categories of historians differed in their "dictates of professionalism, their methodology and kind of histories they wrote." [27]

As the negotiations between McCord and the university moved into the second decade of the twentieth century, McGill's interest in the collection was fading even further. World War One encouraged McGill's increasing focus on research of "sound waves, antisubmarine detection devices... weapons of destruction," and developments in other branches of the sciences.[28] Thus, instead of being in tandem with McGill's new goals of professionalism and specialization, the McCord collection represented the antithesis of these modern aims. And so, McCord's exasperation grew as McGill continued to refuse his donation, as he wrote in a 1920 letter to an acquaintance: "...Has nobody about the University realized the difference between priceless things and duplicable things? Or that in one moment, by the turn of a key, McGill would stand not only far beyond Canada, but in some important sections, the leader of the world. ...."[29]

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[26]Young 57-59.
[27]Young 53.
[28]Young 50.
[29]Young 54-55.

Finally, in 1919 McGill University ceded to McCord's pressure and the collection was moved to the Jesse Joseph House.[30] The museum opened on October 13th, 1921 and it contained the single largest collection of Canadian historical objects and archives. It included over a thousand five hundred ethnographic pieces, approximately one thousand archaeological artefacts, manuscripts and portrayals of Native Canadian way of life.[31] More precisely, there were objects pertaining to: the Abenaki, Mi'kmaq, Iroquois, Plains and West Coast Indians; French Regime and the Seven Year's War; General Wolfe and other generals; the McCord family and relatives; Protestant Spiritual Pioneers; Roman Catholic Spiritual Pioneers; the American Revolution; Chinese porcelain; the Province of Quebec; Artists; Poets; the Arctic and the Montreal and McGill Universities,[32] while the archives contained documents related to Canadian social, religious, economic and business history.[33]

Unfortunately, David Ross McCord was not present at the opening of the museum due to illness. In June 1922, he was diagnosed with arterial sclerosis and mental instability. McCord was becoming physically aggressive and following an episode during which he attacked his wife in an attempt to kill her, he was hospitalized[34] at the Homewood Sanatorium in Guelph, Ontario,[35] where he died

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[30]The building eventually became the McLennan Library.
[31]Donald Wright, "David Ross McCord's Crusade," The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision, Pamela J. Miller at al. (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992) 89, 103.
[32]Miller, "When there is no Vision" 31-32.
[33]Young 7.
[34]Young 31, 60.
[35]Miller, "When there is no Vision" 29.

in April 1930. Because his wife and his siblings passed away before him and none of the McCord six brothers or sisters had children, David Ross was the last of the McCord family in Montreal.[36]

The museum that David Ross McCord founded was open for fourteen years, but visitors were rare. The museum was generating little interest and, losing money, the Board of Governors of McGill University decided to close the museum on May 31th, 1936. The McCord showed a deficit of $29,371 for the period between 1931 and 1934 and McGill's savings would amount to $4993 a year if the museum was shut. As explained by McGill University's Board of Governors:

> The Canadian collection in that museum is in some respects unrivalled. Unfortunately, the university is not in a position to utilize this museum to the full at the present moment and therefore the museum will be temporarily closed to the public. All steps will be taken to safeguard the collections which have been entrusted to the university, and all possible arrangements will be made for serious scholars to utilize the material kept there. ....It should be widely known that the policy of the university remains what it was, and that the present action is dictated merely by the financial difficulties of the moment.[37]

The closing of the museum caused disapproval, especially from five and six grade teachers who used the McCord to teach Canadian history to some six thousand students a year. But the museum remained closed throughout the next three decades and even research in the collection and archives was authorized only from time to time.[38]

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[36]Young 31.
[37]Young 72-73.
[38]Young 76.

During this period, the administration of the McCord Museum was the responsibility of Alice Johannsen (1911-1992), who first began to work in the McGill Museums as a volunteer in 1939. In 1942 she became assistant curator in the Redpath Museum, in 1950 its director as well as assistant director of McGill Museums and finally, in 1955, director of McGill Museums. Johannsen's primary preoccupation was to modernize and revive the university's museums, but despite of her devotion, she was unable to generate interest in them from the part of McGill authorities or faculty. In 1954, with the help of a volunteer, she transferred the McCord collection from the Jesse Joseph House whose poor condition forced a transfer of all objects to the A. A. Hodgson House, on the present-day site of the Stewart Biology Building. A year later, Johannsen hired Isabel Dobell to make an inventory and to organize the collection. In 1957, Dobell was named curator of prints and drawings at the McCord Museum, became chief curator in 1968, and from 1970 to 1975 was the museum's director. Most importantly, Dobell was able, through her contacts with influential and wealthy women of Montreal, to seek financial support from the Stewart, Molson and McConnell families. With their assistance, Johannsen was able to hire additional staff and Dobell was able to study at the Radcliffe Institute on Historical and Archival Management at Harvard University.[39]

From 1957, one of the rooms of the Hodgson House was used as an exhibition space where objects from the McCord collection were exhibited. This encouraged McGill University to give the collection the attention it deserved and it

[39]Young 74-78.

was decided to eventually move the museum to the old Student Union building on Sherbrooke Street, across from the McGill Roddick Gates.[40] Then, in the late 1950s, *Maclean's Magazine* published a number of articles about William Notman, the eminent Montreal photographer, which generated great interest in his work. Because the Notman Photographic Archives[41] were donated to the McCord Museum by Empire Universal Films and the Maxwell Cummings Foundation in 1956, a renewed interest in the museum was born. Awareness of the McCord collection was also intensified by the 1962 exhibition of McCord's prints and paintings at the National Gallery of Canada, *Everyman's Canada*, and which was curated by Dr. Russell Harper and Dr. R. H. Hubbard. By this time, the general feeling was the McCord Museum should reopen, as expressed in a 1963 article in the Montreal Star: "...if we are to have any history, we can't let things like these get away from us. The world may be choked with papers, but we ought to be careful of what we destroy. Too much has been lost already. Coming up to our hundredth birthday as a nation, we should give a thought to the danger of losing our memory. And that's where museums come in."[42] In 1963, Dr. Russell Harper became Chief Curator at the McCord Museum and when Stanley Triggs was appointed Curator of the Notman Photographic Archives in 1967, they co-wrote *Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman Photographs.*[43] 1967 also

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[40]Isabel Barclay Dobell, "Buried Treasure," A Fair Shake: Autobiographical Essays by McGill Women, ed. Margaret Gillett and Kay Sibbald (Montreal: Eden Press, 1984) 143.

[41]The Notman Photographic Archives were formed of 700,000 objects such as glass negatives, prints, lantern slides, photo albums, daguerreotypes, tintypes, photographic equipment, painted photographs, as well as 400,000 Notman studios photographs taken between 1856 and 1935. In Young 78.

[42]Young 103.

[43]Dobell 144.

marked the centenary of Canada and the International Exposition in Montreal which brought a renewal of interest in Canadian history and consequently in the McCord Museum.

As planned, McGill moved the McCord to the vacant Student Union Building on February 1968. However, the university still had trouble financing the reopening of the museum.[44] Discouraged, Alice Johannsen resigned from her positions at McGill Museums in 1970, but due to generous donations secured by Isabel Dobell, the McCord Museum of Canadian History was able to open its doors on March 4th, 1971.[45] During the 1970s, the McCord Museum became internationally renowned, as a result of the importance of its collections, the high quality of its exhibitions and its first-rate curatorial staff. In spite of this, McGill University was still reluctant to commit financially to the museum. Therefore, in order to improve its public programming and consequently to receive more federal funding, the university coupled the McCord with the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA). But McGill refused to surrender the ownership of the collections to the MMFA and in 1979, four years after the unification of the two museums, the agreement was suspended. In the mid-1980s, the McConnell Family Foundation decided to finance the museum and McGill was finally able to relinquish its financial responsibilities of the McCord, and yet, without losing possession of the collections.[46]

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[44]Young 105.
[45]Dobell 146.
[46]Young 113-114, 127-128, 150-151.

In 1987, McCord Museum's board decided to renovate the old Student Union building, designed in 1906 by Percy Erskine Nobbs (1875-1964), and to expand on the museum's space with an addition to the original building. The museum hired Montreal firm LeMoyne Lapointe Magne to construct the 55,400-square-foot annex to the south of the Nobbs structure.[47] As had been agreed upon, the new building is modern in appearance, but it is still in harmony with the older section of the museum. The facade of the expansion is also of limestone and the rhythm of the windows and subtle ornaments of the original building are echoed in the annex.[48] The interior consists of a combination of slate, grey-painted steel, glass, maple and concrete, and circulation about the museum is designed as to lead the visitor from one building to the other, in an attempt to link the two structures.[49] The final result was largely acclaimed and in 1989, the $30.5 million project was awarded a Canadian Architect Magazine award of Excellence.[50] After the reconstruction, the museum reopened in 1992, but soon after, tensions between staff and administration occurred. These tensions culminated in the 1996 dismissal of several employees and the announcement of the closing of the historical archives. This time, though, immediate protests came from a number of institutions such as the Canadian Historical Association, the Association des Archivistes du Québec, the Association of Canadian Archivists, the Association of Canadian Studies, faculty and students from Montreal universities as well as from the universities of Edinburgh, Harvard and Berkeley. Two years later, the

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[47]Heidi Landecker, "Four New Museums Devoted to Art, Archaeology, and History in Montreal," Architecture 81 (1992): 74.
[48]Joseph Baker, "Museums in Montreal," The Canadian Architect 37.6 (1992): 22.
[49]Landecker 76.
[50]Baker 22.

museum named a new director and with the archives remaining open,[51] the museum continues to be dedicated to the study and research of Canadian history, to its preservation and diffusion.[52]

Today, the museum's collection is formed of five separate parts: the ethnography and archaeology collection; costumes and textiles[53]; archives, including the Notman Photographic archives; paintings, prints and drawings, and decorative arts.[54] Because the McCord is a museum of history and its collection of Aboriginal objects amounts to some 13,000 pieces which makes the ethnography and archaeology collection one of the largest in the province of Quebec. The McCord regularly hosts exhibitions of Aboriginal art and/or history.[55] One such exhibition was *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life*, an exhibition held at the McCord from June 17th, 1999 until January 9th, 2000 and which lay the groundwork for the topic of this thesis.

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[51]Young 165, 168-169.
[52]Le Mandat (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1998).
[53]The Costume and Textile Collection was included in 1957. It later became the most important costume collection in Quebec and the second largest in Canada, following that of the Royal Ontario Museum. In Young 7.
[54]McCord Museum of Canadian History (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, n.d.).
[55]McCord Museum of Canadian History.

Chapter 2: Museums and Aboriginal Souvenir Arts of the Northeastern Woodlands

In chapter two, exhibition practices pertaining to Native material culture are outlined, with attention to issues related to the display of Native-made commodities in Western museums.

In her essay "Indian Art: Where Do You Put It?," Ruth B. Phillips outlines some of the issues pertaining to exhibitions of Native art and material culture in Western museums, especially questions concerning the "how" and "where" Native objects should be exhibited.[56] The complexity of the subject is clearly felt through Phillips' article and it is evident museums are faced with numerous theoretical and practical challenges. For instance, Native material culture can be loosely divided into four main categories: historical objects (illustrations 1-2), tourist and craft art (illustrations 3-4), contemporary art (illustrations 5-6) and current traditional objects (illustrations 7-8).[57] However, the distinctions between one category and another may be hard to define, because the boundaries of classification tend to overlap. Most importantly, there is a discrepancy between

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[56]Ruth B. Phillips, "Indian Art: Where Do You Put It?" Muse 6 (1988): 64-66.

[57]It is important to point out the difference First Nations historically made between the terms "art" and "object/material culture". As Tom Hill explains, ..."[aboriginal] traditional languages [did not have] a word for "art." There were few Aboriginal art forms that were without an established function in daily life. To the American Indian, everything he made served a purpose." Therefore, one should be careful when assigning the term "art" to a Native-made historical object. In Tom Hill, "A First Nations Perspective: The AGO or the Woodland Cultural Centre," unpublished paper, Aboriginal Representation in the Art Gallery Conference, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 4-5 Mar. 2000. n.pag.

Western taxonomies of visual culture and the Aboriginal perspective, often rendering Western terms unsuitable for Aboriginal made objects. This leads to many questions, such as: are commoditized objects craft art or can they also be viewed as current traditional objects? How can one differentiate between the genres of current traditional objects and contemporary art? Consequently, as Phillips explains, a dialogue has been formed around the question of a proper place for Native material culture in the museum. More questions thus arise: can historical objects be exhibited in an art gallery if they were never meant to be seen as art? Or can contemporary art be shown in museums of anthropology? It must not be forgotten, though, that at the centre of these issues also lie Euro-centric understandings of First Nations people, cultures and world views.

During the nineteenth century, anthropology became the science by which human beings were categorized into different races and by which a hierarchy of the world's cultures was determined. This period was concurrent with the great age of museum building, especially between the 1840s and the 1890s when collecting objects from "other" cultures reached its peak. Because European and Euro-North American understandings of Native material culture were rooted in evolutionary theory and people of European descent were thought to be on a higher scale of human evolution than non-Western societies, Aboriginal objects were seen either as scientific documents or as mere curiosities. Just as human remains, which anthropologists amassed as evidence of the superiority of Europeans over other ethnicities[58], Native material culture was intended to display

[58]By the late 1800s, human remains were used in evolutionary displays where

the inferiority of First Nations' technologies. As Tony Bennett explains, anthropology was the core of the dominant culture's superstructure because it created a link between the histories of the world's nations, while excluding colonized peoples from history and relegating them to what he calls "the twilight zone between nature and culture."[59] The anthropological evidence of Western power over the "other" was presented in museums where the display of human and technological evolution culminated with Western examples. Or, in Tony Bennett's words, "the exhibition of other peoples served as a vehicle for the edification of a national public and the confirmation of its imperial superiority."[60] At the same time, nineteenth century thought supported the view that Aboriginal people were doomed to extinction. Because their societies were seen as less developed, it was believed Aboriginals would not survive in the face of modernity. In turn, this contributed to a salvage paradigm, that is, the collection of large numbers of First Nations' objects in order to safeguard their artefacts before the peoples died out and their cultures became forever lost. This nineteenth century anthropological framework became a convention which continued to shape the representation of Native people. As Janet Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips describe in "Our (Museum) World Turned Upside Down: Re-Presenting Native American Arts,": "They have both been forms of mortuary practice, laying out the corpuses/

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non-Western peoples were located at the beginning of human development. Tony Bennett gives the example of Saartjie Baartman, a black woman also known as the Hottentot Venus, who was displayed in Paris and London because the size of her posterior was seen as unusual. After her death in 1815, her genitalia were paralleled to those of orang-utans and were displayed in the Musée d'Ethnographie de Paris. In Tony Bennett, The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics (London: Routledge, 1995) 77-79.

[59]Bennett 79.

[60]Bennett 77-79.

corpses of the Vanishing American for the post-mortem dissection in the laboratory, for burial in the storage room, and for commemoration in the exhibition."[61]

In Canada, the discipline of anthropology emerged in the 1850s. It was introduced by the archaeologist Daniel Wilson (1816-1892), for whom anthropology was a second vocation. Wilson became one of Canada's most prominent anthropologists of the nineteenth century, along with George M. Dawson (1820-1899), a geologist, and Horatio Hale (1817-1896), a philologist and ethnologist. The three men often shared the same points of view on Native cultures. Both Wilson and Dawson saw Native cultures as less developed than European societies, but because of his religious convictions, Dawson did not share Wilson's belief in evolutionary theory. While both thought Native people were representative of European prehistoric societies, Dawson believed Aboriginal people were simply "degenerate," claiming "they were for the most part the veriest savages."[62] In turn, Horatio Hale believed that Native people had the same intellectual capacities as European cultures, a view he shared with Wilson. But while the three men were influential Canadian anthropologists of the nineteenth century, and as his notes and letters suggest, even influencing the work of David Ross McCord[63], they were not professionally trained as

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[61]Janet Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, "Our (Museum) World Turned Upside Down: Re-Presenting Native American Arts," Art Bulletin 77.1 (1992): 7.
[62]Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," Journal of Canadian Studies 8.1 (1973): 33, 37.
[63]Moira T. McCaffrey, "Rononshonni-The Builder: McCord's Collection of Ethnographic Objects," The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision, Pamela Miller et al. (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992) 105.

anthropologist since the field of anthropology was unprofessionalized at the time.[64] This began to change in 1888 when the British Association's for the Advancement of Science Committee on the North-western Tribes of Canada hired Franz Boas (1858-1942), a German-born American anthropologist who argued against evolutionary theory. By hiring Boas, the Committee secured a professional anthropologist for Canada, and in 1910 it played a key role in the establishment of the Anthropology Division of the National Geological Survey of Canada. At the same time, the Victoria Museum in Ottawa had just opened and desired the services of a professional anthropologist. Boas suggested Edward Sapir (1884-1939), American linguist and anthropologist, with whose appointment Canadian anthropology ended its era of supposed amateurism. Canadian anthropology was thus most indebted to American and British examples[65] and it should not be surprising then, that Canadian museums of anthropology and ethnography reflected American and British patterns of collecting and display.

By mid-twentieth century, the relationship between museums and Aboriginal peoples in Canada was changing. The circumstances for new museological approaches to representations of First Nations cultures occurred in the post-Second World War era. Among other circumstances, the large numbers of Aboriginals enrolled in the Canadian army during the war and Canada's emphasis on its multicultural character, also contributed to this change. Consequently, when Canada's Centennial was highlighted by Montreal's Expo '67, First Nations

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[64]McCaffrey 105.
[65]Cole 33, 41-44.

people expressed the wish for a separate area devoted to Aboriginal cultures. The outcome was the creation of the *Indians of Canada Pavilion*, and as Berlo and Phillips point out, it was the first Native self-representation at a major international exhibition. In the 1970s, noting the success of the Native pavilion, the Canadian government provided funding to train museologists in Native art. The government also helped to create Native cultural centres, where Native artists could be trained and where they could exhibit.[66] Simultaneously, the definition of the "other" by the disciplines of anthropology and history were increasingly being scrutinized, and their Euro-centricism criticized.[67] This criticism came especially from Native artists who deplored the low numbers of Native works in public museum and art gallery collections.[68] According to Diana Nemiroff, Curator of Contemporary Art, this eventually led to changes within museum procedures, such as the 1983 modification of the National Gallery's acquisition policy whose revision encouraged the gallery to begin to acquire contemporary Native and Inuit art. Nemiroff also states there was a substantial increase in Native art exhibitions during the 1980s.[69] She lists several exhibitions which were organized with the co-operation of Native scholars and artists, such as *New Work by a New Generation*, Regina, 1982 and *Beyond History*, Vancouver, 1989.[70]

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[66]Janet Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, Native North American Art (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 231, 234.
[67]Mary Tivy, "Museums and Exhibits of First Nations: Old Paradigms and New Possibilities," Ontario Museum Annual 11 (1993): 12.
[68]Berlo and Phillips, Native North American Art 235.
[69]For the purpose of this thesis, it is noteworthy that the McCord Museum held eight exhibitions of Native art and material cultures between 1980 and 1983, while only three such shows were held at the museum between 1963 and 1978.
[70]Diana Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of

With these modifications, museums began to better represent Aboriginal objects and their makers, but further improvements have taken place since the 1990s. Recent changes in the exhibition practices of Aboriginal objects in Canadian museums include the use of Native languages on text labels and wall panels, as well as the frequent consultation of Aboriginal communities prior to the organization of such presentations. Because exhibition practices encompass all aspects of an exhibition, museums have been rethinking their entire approach to the display of Native material culture. They are not only moving away from Euro-centric terminology and taxonomy which disregarded Aboriginal histories, cultures and world views, they are acknowledging that exhibitions have been used to support the Western power structure.

As Tom Hill explains, when First Nations people began to publicly criticize museums, their efforts were mostly directed at museums of anthropology. However, Hill continues, museums of art were also scrutinized, especially because of their insufficient inclusion of Native art within their collections.[71] The major move towards significant improvement came in the Glenbow Museum's exhibition *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* in Calgary. The exhibition was organized on the occasion of the 1988 Calgary Olympic Games, as a part of the Olympic Arts Festival. As the title of the exhibition suggests, it was meant to represent and celebrate the material cultures

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Exhibitions of First Nations Art," Thinking About Exhibitions, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996) 412, 428-429.

[71]Hill, "A First Nations Perspective" n.pag.

of Canada's First Peoples at the time of contact, and displayed more than 650 objects. In *The Spirit Sings*, the curators gathered together objects many of which had been in the possession of European collectors and now found their way home for the first time since they had left Canada. However, the Lubicon Lake Cree were displeased with the Glenbow's organization of the show because *The Spirit Sings* was sponsored by Shell Oil Company, an industry exploiting lands claimed by the Cree Nation. The Lubicon Cree were angered by the irony of having the so-called "greatest" show of Native Canadian material culture sponsored by a company that was encroaching on their rights.[72] Consequently, a boycott of the exhibition was set in motion in the middle of April, 1986.[73] The Lubicon Lake Cree band appealed to the hundred and ten museums who were lending objects to the Glenbow to withhold their support of *The Spirit Sings*. While twelve European museums responded positively to their request, all Canadian museums approached regarding the boycott, refused to support it.[74] They had done so on the grounds that siding with one particular political or cultural group would be an unethical position and could result in a museum's loss of academic

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[72]An Iroquois group also brought the Glenbow Museum to court, in order to prevent the display of a Ga:goh:sah mask (or False Face mask) during *The Spirit Sings*. Ga:goh:sah masks are traditionally worn by Iroquois healers and are not meant for public view. The Iroquois lost their case in court, but when the exhibition was moved to its second venue, held at the National Gallery of Canada's Lorne Building, Ottawa, and sponsored by the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, the curators decided to meet the Iroquois demand and removed the mask from the exhibition. In Berlo and Phillips, "Our (Museum) World" 8-9.

[73]The boycott of *The Spirit Sings* was not the first struggle between First Nations and Canadian museums, however, the previous tensions were not as highly publicized and were more local than global. In Trudy C. Nicks, "Partnerships in Developing Cultural Resources: Lessons From the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples," Culture 12.1 (1992): 88.

[74]Julia Harrison, "Museums and Politics: The Spirit Sings and the Lubicon Boycott," Muse 6 (1988): 12.

freedom.[75] Regardless, *The Spirit Sings* still opened to the public as planned, on January 14th, 1988.[76]

By 1988, the Assembly of First Nations and other First Nations communities and organizations had joined the Lubicon Cree in their plea and wished to discuss the matter of *The Spirit Sings* with the Canadian Museums Association.[77] During the exhibition's sojourn at National Gallery of Canada's Lorne Building, Ottawa,[78] George Erasmus, then the National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, invited the Director of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, George MacDonald, to collaborate on a joint conference addressing the issues raised by the controversy.[79] As a result of the conference, the Canadian Museums Association and the Assembly of First Nations decided to hold yet another symposium where the issues would be discussed in more detail. This took place in November 1988 at Carleton University, in Ottawa, and was entitled "Preserving Our Heritage: A Working Conference Between Museums and First Peoples." One hundred and

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[75]Bruce G. Trigger, "A Present of Their Past? Anthropologists, Native People, and their Heritage," Culture 8.1 (1988): 73.
[76]Harrison 12.
[77]Harrison 12.
[78]The second venue of *The Spirit Sings* was to be the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull. However, the construction of the museum was delayed and while the CMC sponsored the exhibition, it had to be set up in the now vacant building of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. In Beth Carter, e-mail to the author, 6 Sept. 2001.
[79]Museums possessing large numbers of Native objects already attempted to come to a consensus regarding the increasing demands from First Nations communities for the repatriation of their objects. The discussion was entitled "Museums and Native Collections," and was held at the Glenbow Museum in September 1986. At the time, a consensus was not reached. In Michael Ames, Julia Harrison and Trudy C. Nicks, "Proposed Museum Policies for Ethnological Collections and the Peoples they Represent," Muse 6 (1988): 47.

fifty Native and non-Native representatives participated and it was decided that a task force should be formed.[80] This task force would offer a series of recommendations and guidelines for future exhibitions of First Nations art and objects in Canadian museums.

The committee of the task force was formed of twenty-nine Canadian museums' professionals and First Nations delegates.[81] Its members met for the first time in February 1990 at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, and later at the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford. The first step the task force made was to identify the major issues to be addressed and may be summarized as follows: 1) greater participation of Aboriginal people in the interpretation of their histories and cultures by museums 2) increase of possibilities for Aboriginal people to access museum collections relevant to their histories and cultures 3) repatriation of human remains and specific objects.[82]

The participants in the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples were divided into three groups, each of which concentrated its research in a particular Canadian region. All three committees consulted museums, First Nations communities and related organizations in their assigned region. Between February 7th and 9th, 1992, the final report of the Task Force, "Turning the Page:

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[80]Tom Hill, "Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples," Ontario Museum Annual 11 (1993): 20.
[81]Beth Carter, "Let's Act-Not React: Some Suggestions for Implementing the Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples," Alberta Museums Review 18.2 (1992): 13.
[82]Hill, "Forging New Partnerships" 20.

Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples," was presented during a conference of the same name held in Ottawa. The report made four main recommendations:[83] the first was for increased co-operation between Native communities and museums. While museum professionals were encouraged not to disregard Aboriginal perspectives, Native people were asked to acknowledge the work of non-Native museum professionals.[84] In their second suggestion, the Task Force urged museums to consider repatriation of human remains as well as sacred and culturally significant objects or those collected under doubtful circumstances. Concerning those museums not in favour of repatriation, the Task Force encouraged them to allow First Nations better access to culturally important artefacts. Lastly, the Task Force recommended better education of non-Native staff about Native cultures and an increase in the numbers of First Nations staff within museum personnel.[85]

As has already been mentioned, relations between museums and Aboriginal people have been improving since the middle of the twentieth century, but the boycott of *The Spirit Sings* further hastened the process. So why had First Nations people not been critical of the situation between their communities and museums at an earlier point? The explanation for this is fairly simple. Only a small number of First Nations individuals was employed as museum staff, but according to Bruce Trigger, an eminent anthropologist, "there were few public complaints by

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[83]Hill, "Forging New Partnerships" 20.
[84]George F. MacDonald, "Changing Relations Between Canada's Museums and First Peoples," unpublished paper, Post-Colonial Formations Conference, Brisbane, Australia, July 1993.
[85]Carter 13-15.

Native People because not many of them visited museums and even fewer felt themselves to be in a position to criticize openly what White people were doing."[86] This is supported by a 1989 survey conducted in London, England, which determined that people of European background were fifty percent more likely to visit a museum than people of other ethnic backgrounds. Another survey dating from 1991, conducted by the London Museums Service, showed the cause of this attitude was the non-European perception of museums as "intimidating and almost totally devoted to educated white culture, and therefore [holding] little relevance for them."[87] And while museums have been modifying their approach to the people they represent and consequently to their visitors, several questions are yet unresolved.

Aboriginal Souvenir Arts in the Museum

At the time of contact between Europeans and the Aboriginal communities of Canada, an extensive trade network was already in place throughout North America. The trade routes followed rivers and mountain ranges and extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, as well as from present-day Mexico to Hudson's Bay. In the east, the St. Lawrence River provided access to the Atlantic coast by the Richelieu River, Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, while the Mohawk River linked Native traders to Lakes Ontario and Erie.[88] According to

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[86]Trigger, "A Present of Their Past?" 76.
[87]Nick Merriman and Nima Poovaya-Smith, "Making Culturally Diverse Histories," Making Histories in Museums," ed. Gaynor Kavanagh (London: Leicester University Press, 1996) 176.
[88]Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., Encyclopaedia of North American Indians: Native American History, Culture, and Life from Paleo-Indians to the Present (Boston:

archaeological findings, Native communities of the Great Lakes region and the Northeast had been involved in trade for more than four thousand years prior to the arrival of Europeans. They traded objects particular to specific Native groups which were made specifically for sale. Therefore, the incorporation of European goods into their trade network did not demand large adaptations.[89]

European traders were mainly interested in objects of superior craftsmanship, as well as curiosities, or objects which possessed "exotic" or non-European qualities. Native people gladly supplied Europeans with these types of objects, as long as they received in return such desired European goods as iron axes, knives and guns. Thus by the 1590s, commerce between Native communities and European traders was well established.[90] Such trade encouraged the production of goods which targeted European consumers and while this type of object was especially common during the nineteenth century, such commodities were certainly a part of the market during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[91] Woodlands, or the region of the Great Lakes and the Northeast, the home of the Iroquois, was what Ruth B. Phillips calls "contact zones," or places where the exchange of cultures takes place. It is here that a collapse between the European and Native systems of aesthetics began to take place as early as the early

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Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996) 640, 642.
[89]Ruth B. Phillips, Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900 (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998) 22.
[90]Francis 41.
[91]Ruth B. Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art or the Proper Arts of Place?" unpublished paper, Aboriginal Representation in the Art Gallery Conference, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 4-5 March 2000, 14.

1700s.[92] That is to say that objects were fashioned from both Native and European materials and reflected the aesthetics of both cultures.[93] At first, hybrid commodities were appreciated for their unique character,[94] but during the mid-nineteenth century the objects increasingly reflected Victorian aesthetics and responded to the demand for ornamental and utilitarian household items. Up until the mid-nineteenth century these hybrid objects were widely collected and appreciated by social elites, since, as Phillips points out, collectors "praised the initiative and innovative abilities of Native artists as evidence of their innate abilities and 'civilizability'."[95]

In the Northeast-Woodlands area, the second half of the nineteenth century brought about a series of events which greatly disturbed the Native way of subsistence as well as their socio-political power. The explanations of these problems are numerous and complex, but there were three major factors. The first was the systematic stripping-away of land by European colonizers who assigned Native communities to reserve areas where the poor quality of the land made hunting, gathering and farming practically impossible. The second factor was the undermining of the social and political power of Aboriginal communities by the creation of the federal Indian Act in 1876, which regulates almost every aspect of Aboriginal life.[96] For example, the Indian Act abolished traditional

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[92]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 17, 22.
[93]This reaction, of course, was not restricted to North America. The merging of non-European aesthetics with those of the colonizers was a common occurrence since the 1600s. In Phillips, Trading Identities 3.
[94]Phillips, Trading Identities 17.
[95]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 15.
[96]The Indian Act has been revised in 1951 and 1985, but is still in place.

ceremonial practices and stipulated that Native women who married non-Aboriginal men lost their legal status as Indian. In spite of the economic devastation and long-run effects of economic disempowerment and social dislocation, the most humiliating policy for Aboriginal people was undoubtedly the implementation of residential schools. The main purpose of the schools was to assimilate Native children and thus to "civilize" them.[97] Children were torn from their communities, forbidden to speak their Native languages, and were otherwise mistreated.[98]

Because these circumstances, among others, had a negative impact on Aboriginal economies, Native populations of the Woodlands region began to rely more and more on the tourist art market from the second half of the nineteenth century. This economic factor was encouraged in two ways. The development of railways during the nineteenth century allowed the middle classes to escape industrialized urban centres and engage in the upper-class habit of vacations. Secondly, as the reserves themselves became exotic travel destinations, the steady influx of visitors provided Woodlands craft producers with a considerable number of potential customers. The purchase of Native-made souvenirs was the

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[97]Ironically, nineteenth century criteria for being considered "civilized" were difficult to fulfill. One must be Christian, able to read French or English, able to farm and not have any debts.

[98]Native children were often taken by force from their families, their letters home were censored and the time spent with their families was restricted. Large numbers of Aboriginal children were also physically and sexually abused. As a result, once they reached adulthood, these men and women often possessed poor family skills and abused of drugs and alcohol. These problems were then passed on from one generation to another, but many Native communities have now recovered from these atrocities.

obvious choice for many travellers. Not only were they of fine craftsmanship and often of utilitarian value,[99] but their imagery and materials were seen as "representative" of Indian art (even when they possessed hybrid stylistic elements).[100] The market on reserves located near urban centres was the most prosperous, enabling individuals and families participating in the trade of souvenirs to oftentimes live very comfortably .[101]

Commoditized objects have usually been considered as inauthentic by art historians and anthropologists, who have traditionally given more weight to unique and antique Native productions with minimal European influence. Therefore, such souvenir objects tend to be ignored or located on the margin because they are not compatible with the preconceived idea of Indian art.[102] In other words, what Western scholars initially saw as progress, was later seen as degeneration. This goes against the previous discussion of hybrid objects as more economically viable, but it is important to note that attitudes toward Native commodities were often contradictory. Furthermore, with the establishment of

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[99]Native artists created two types of commodities. The first type of objects had utilitarian purposes, while the second type was more aesthetics-oriented. The later category can be further divided into objects normally used by Native people and objects made only for non-Native consumers. In Phillips, Trading Identities 4.
[100]Phillips, Trading Identities 3, 6, 9, 22-24. It is noteworthy that the wish for the exotic and the different was never reserved to the peoples of European decent. Non-Western peoples also loved European goods they viewed as "exotic." In Nelson H. Graburn, ed., Ethnic and Tourist Arts (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) 11. Janet Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips give the example of Mandan and Blackfeet peoples who were reported to take pride in wearing British military coats, Navajo blankets and Pueblo pendants. In Berlo and Phillips, Native North American Art 29.
[101]Phillips, Trading Identities 24, 25, 29, 31, 33.
[102]Phillips, Trading Identities ix-x.

anthropology as an academic discipline by the end of the nineteenth century,[103] the perception of these souvenir items shifted in the eyes of many scholars. Not only were hybrid objects seen as non-representative of authentic Native production, they also posed a threat to Euro-Canadian culture. By blurring the boundaries between Euro-Canadian aesthetics and those of Native people, the objects seemed to erase the elements which distinguished one culture from the other.[104] This made it more difficult, in Phillips' words, to "construct evolutionary histories of primitive art," as well as to "romantically escape modernity."[105] For these reasons, up until about the mid-twentieth century, the majority of art historians and anthropologists believed authentic Native art should display as little European impact as possible.[106] A quote by Hjalmar Stolpe (1841-1905), a leading Swedish scholar of non-Western art, demonstrates this viewpoint:

> Another difficulty incident to the Indian material, is that it so often bears obvious traces of the influence of the white man's industry. The furniture nails driven into clubs or pipe-stems, the garniture of glass beads on all sorts of articles, prove that the style is no longer genuine, but spoiled by European importations. And deterioration has gone yet further. The white man's patterns have been simply imitated.....[107]

Or, as Nelson Graburn reflects: "European and Western society in general, while promoting and rewarding change in its own arts and sciences, bemoans the same in others. They project onto "folk" and "primitive" peoples a scheme of eternal

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[103]Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, "Art, Authenticity and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter," Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds, ed. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 3.
[104]Phillips, Trading Identities x.
[105]Phillips, Trading Identities 18.
[106]Phillips, Trading Identities xiii.
[107]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 16.

stability, as though they were a kind of natural phenomenon out of which myths are constructed."[108]

Phillips further explains the dismissal of hybrid commodities also stemmed from the idea that inauthentic objects could not be seriously studied for purposes of historical inquiry within the context of theories of evolution.[109] What further deteriorated the position of First Nations tourist art within the artistic milieu, was its association with "craft" rather than "art." Although the definition of craft is hard to outline,[110] it was generally regarded as a hobby of producing handmade objects to use on a regular basis. Craft was also viewed as a leisurely activity not truly praiseworthy,[111] and in the case of traditional crafts, as drawing more on collective ideas of aesthetics rather than on individual artistic ingenuity.[112]

The dichotomy between art and craft is rooted in Classical Greek philosophy which claimed the superiority of disciplines employing mathematics. The Greeks considered mathematics the most intellectual occupation, because it involved the

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[108]Graburn 13.
[109]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 17.
[110]The same is the case with the concept of 'art'. Because of their indefinite meaning, certain scholars such as Howard Collinson even consider the terms 'art' and 'craft' as useless. In Howard Collinson, "Historical Contexts and Contemporary Concerns," Making and Metaphor: A Discussion of Meaning in Contemporary Craft, ed. Gloria Hickey (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994) 97.
[111]Margaret Visser, "Keynote: The Language of Things," Making and Metaphor: A Discussion of Meaning in Contemporary Craft, ed. Gloria Hickey (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994) 13.
[112]Gerald L. Pocius, "Craft and Cultural Meaning," Making and Metaphor: A Discussion of Meaning in Contemporary Craft, ed. Gloria Hickey (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994) 128.

least manual labour and the status of the artists rose. The intellectual abilities, rather than manual prowess were further praised during the Renaissance, as the status of the artist rose to the level of the architect. The gap between art and craft was widened and the association of the artist with the intellect and that of the craftsperson with handwork persisted.[113] This hierarchy of the visual arts was further solidified during the nineteenth century by German art historians who were influenced by Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and his concept of utilitarian wares as inferior to purely aesthetic works.[114]

This perception of craft and the discrimination of commoditized objects within the narrative of the history of art is highly problematic but it is of great importance to the approach of Woodlands art as well as to Native art in general. Concerning this attitude toward Woodlands commodities, Ruth B. Phillips points out that such attitudes not only disregard the importance of the creators of these objects but also of their consumers. Secondly, it often fails to recognize the global significance of commoditized objects whose study is useful for a better understanding of the merging of different aesthetic traditions. And lastly, it tends to deny non-European aesthetics an equal footing with the Western system of visual culture.[115] In contrast, such prejudices tend to disregard the high esteem in which these objects are held in Woodlands communities.[116]

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[113]Kathy M'Closkey, "Towards a Language of Craft," Making and Metaphor: A Discussion of Meaning in Contemporary Craft, ed. Gloria Hickey (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994) 60.
[114]Phillips, Trading Identities 17.
[115]Phillips, Trading Identities x.
[116]Phillips, Trading Identities 20.

Recently, Canadian museums and art galleries have been addressing questions around the display of Native material culture, as well as those of craft and souvenir arts. Many of these issues were addressed during the Art Gallery of Ontario Symposium, "Aboriginal Representation in the Art Gallery," held from March 4th to March 5th, 2000. At the centre of the Symposium's discussions was the representation of Aboriginal objects in the public art gallery and museum setting. The symposium was attended by scholars from such institutions as the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the National Gallery of Canada, the Vancouver Art Gallery, the Royal Ontario Museum and the McCord Museum of Canadian History, to name a few. The conference was divided into several sections which altogether presented five main points. The first discussion invited speakers and participants to determine whether galleries and museums are appropriate settings for historical Aboriginal art and objects. More specifically, the discussion focused on the problematics around the juxtaposition of Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian objects in general. It was stated that not only is the art historical framework of museums and art galleries mostly Euro-centric, but Aboriginal objects were usually not intended to be seen as works of art. The second discussion evolved around the display of Euro-Canadian visual culture alongside Aboriginal objects of the same period, problematic because to display the two side-by-side requires the acceptance of Native tourist and craft art into the larger scope of art making. The third discussion centred around the problem of representing an entire Aboriginal group by a limited number of objects in a museum's or gallery's possession and consequently the institution's relation to collecting policies. The

fourth section focused on Inuit art and the rethinking of Inuit art history. Finally, the fifth section of the symposium discussed the difficulties in displaying contemporary Aboriginal art, because the works have to be considered within the large scope of Aboriginal material culture as well as non-Aboriginal contemporary art.[117]

During the AGO Symposium discussion on tourist and craft art, Ruth B. Phillips presented a paper entitled "A Proper Place for Art or the Proper Arts of Place?" Here, Phillips proposed to "position ...native-made 'craft' and 'tourist arts' in more inclusive museological narratives of Canadian art history."[118] However, she explains that the museums' Euro-centric perspective played a key role in propagating power structures which ignored Aboriginal histories and cultures and as a result souvenir and craft wares do not always find their way into these institutions. But as Phillips states, museums will continue to be present and will continue to be seen as the best-suited place for art and for this reason, tourist and craft arts should not be excluded from the exhibition space. Their inclusion will be a demonstration of two very important and intricately linked shifts: the acceptance of hybrid and tourist objects as important elements of the history of Native art and cultures; and the acceptance of Native systems of value.[119] Such change in attitude had already been underway with the increasing collaboration between museums and First Nations peoples, especially since the 1992 Task

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[117]AGO Program: A Working Discussion on Aboriginal Representation in the Art Gallery, Aboriginal Representation in the Art Gallery Conference, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 4-5 Mar. 2000.
[118]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 2-3.
[119]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 3.

Force "Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples," which has been a step towards the breaking down of the rigidly Euro-centric taxonomies of art and culture. Museums staff have been learning from their Native collaborators, especially artists and curators, who have never excluded commoditized objects from the narrative of First Nations art history. In a text panel at the National Museum of the American Indian in New York city, Richard W. Hill writes:

> Scholars often debate the authenticity of Indian art when it shows European influences. New materials are looked on as signs of acculturation and are considered a creative blending of two traditions. Such works may have been the only way in which the skill of quillwork and the use of Native designs were able to continue. If Native art is denied any opportunity to change, it becomes a prisoner of its own past.[120]

However, objects which were seen as inauthentic because of their hybridity, still found their way into museums. There are two main reasons for this. For one, despite of museums' preference for objects of spiritual and ceremonial character, the number of such objects in collections is relatively small. Not only were Aboriginal people reluctant to give up their spiritual and ceremonial regalia, but prior to the mid-nineteenth century these items were not in great demand by institutions. They were disregarded by Western collectors who perceived them as "pagan" and "grotesque," while ordinary consumers saw them as inappropriate for the home setting. Additionally, contact zones such as the Woodlands, were regions where hybrid objects replaced historical aesthetics and materials in a shorter period of time than in other areas. Therefore, by the time the perception

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[120]Phillips, Trading Identities 71.

of spiritual and ceremonial objects changed in the eyes of collectors and museums, these objects had largely been replaced by hybrid ones. Second, with repatriation policies of the late twentieth century, which encouraged the return of numerous historical items to Native communities and individuals, hybrid objects often replaced or represented the repatriated ones.[121]

According to Ruth B. Phillips, when hybrid objects, whether commodities or not, find their way into museum and gallery collections, this testifies that cultural institutions are accepting Aboriginal systems of value. This is important, because this practice ends the silencing of the Native voice and acknowledges the fact that the criteria of the Western concept of "art" as unique and individualist are incompatible with Aboriginal views.[122] First Nations historical objects came to be perceived as "art" during the first half of the twentieth century due to the focus of anthropologists on Native material culture and of the praise of Aboriginal artefacts by the modernists.[123] Because this Euro-centric classification of material culture negates Aboriginal perspectives, Phillips argues for a shift in art historical language, suggesting the incorporation of the term "visual culture." She writes:

> ...the notion of 'visual culture'.... embraces the full range of visual representations in photography, film, video, television, journalism, electronic media, traditional fine art media, folk and popular crafts

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[121]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 8, 12-13.
[122]Phillips, "A Proper Place For Art" 3.
[123]In the first decade of the twentieth century, European artists such as Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and Paul Klee (1879-1940) drew inspiration and borrowed formal elements from Oceanic and African objects. Twenty years later, Native North American objects also became of interest, especially to Jackson Pollock (1912-1956), Barnett Newman (1905-1970) and other Abstract Expressionists.

> and scientific and technological imaging.....[and] thus permits... a more comprehensive narrative of the history of Native art.[124]

Nonetheless, the designation of Aboriginal objects as "art" had positive consequences. Because of the belief that only "cultured" societies could produce "fine art," the idea of the "Vanishing Indian" was side-stepped. Thus, the term "art" gave Native objects a validity for the average museum and gallery visitors and the objects were not only being recognized, but also earned a space within which they could continue to evolve.[125]

When Aboriginal objects such as tourist and craft arts find their way into museums and galleries, this also means they are finally being rid of the tag "inauthentic" and will be admitted by Western institutions. However, Phillips mentions that such an inclusion within a museum or art gallery is not without its difficulties. Because the majority of Woodlands and Plains tourist and craft arts are either beaded or embroidered, she says that the representation of Native beadwork and embroidery should not be done without acknowledging the same type of work done by Victorian women. This is because the art of both cultures developed side-by-side, with a constant exchange between the two. She also points out that unless museums and galleries shift away from the Western focus on the visual, historical and current traditional Native arts (whether art or craft) will not be fully represented. She says this, because Native traditional cultures did

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[124]Ruth B. Phillips, "Art History and the Native-Made Object: New Discourses, Old Differences?" Native American Art in the Twentieth Century, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (London: Routledge, 1999) 103-104.
[125]Phillips, "Art History and the Native-Made Object" 98.

not possess this focus on the visual. Smell, performance, ritual, and narrative, among others, have always been and remain equally important, if not more so.[126] For instance, in "Imperfect Translations: Rethinking Objects of Ethnographic Collection," Julie Cruikshank writes about the importance of oral traditions. She gives the example of First Nations groups of the Northwest, who have not only been concerned with the repatriation of their material culture, but also asked for the return of transcribed and tape recorded stories and songs. In other words, Aboriginal non-visual traditions are as important as visual ones.[127] At the same time, the inclusion of multi-sensorial work in museums and art galleries was made difficult by the modernist focus on the visual and while this has changed, the display of artwork which require the visitor's reliance on other senses than vision, poses certain difficulties. For example, when exhibiting an object which should be experienced by touch, this object is at risk of disintegrating faster than an object which is not subjected to regular handling.

Another important point Phillips raises in her AGO symposium paper, is that the inclusion of tourist and craft arts in the art gallery and museum space will result in a shift away from the prevalently male-centred standpoint.[128] This attitude can be closely tied to the general perception of embroidery in the field of art history and consequently of beadwork. In her book "The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine," Rozsika Parker provides the reader

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[126]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 21-22.
[127]Julie Cruikshank, "Imperfect Translations: Rethinking Objects of Ethnographic Collection," Museum Anthropology 19.1 (1995): 28.
[128]Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art" 21.

with the Western view of embroidery, as well as of the division between art and craft. She begins by noting that medieval professional embroiders were both male and female. They were either members of a guild, belonged to the household of a wealthy family, or were members a monastery or nunnery. At this time, embroidery was as valued as painting and sculpture, but during the Renaissance the art began to be perceived as "women's work." This occurred in direct response to the systems of thought of the day, many of which centred around the distinctions between the two genders.[129] The primary doctrine of the Renaissance was humanism which positioned "man" at the centre of the cosmos and was based on the work of Aristotle (384-322 BCE) and Plato (c. 428-347 BCE), who considered women as intellectually inferior.[130] For this reason, and because of the changes in European society and economy, women were increasingly relegated to the domestic sphere. By the sixteenth century, embroidery was supplied by the women of the household and as a consequence, commissions for professionally embroidered works decreased. This was intensified by the upper class appreciation of other forms of art, such as painting and sculpture. Increasingly, women were being compelled to learn to embroider from early childhood. Thus, by the seventeenth century young women were remarkably skilled in embroidery at an early age, which eventually led to the perception that women's ability to embroider was innate. During the 1800s, the affiliation of women with "craft" such as embroidery and that of "art" with men, was firmly established. These

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[129]Rozsika Parker, The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine (New York: Routledge, 1989) 17, 60-61.
[130]Ted Honderich, The Oxford Companion to Philosophy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 375, 769, 918.

associations were further strengthened by the Victorian distortion of history which disregarded male participation in embroidery during medieval times, as well as by the exclusion of women from art academies.[131] During a 1905 exhibition of Medieval embroidery, a writer for the *Burlington Magazine*, May Morris, commented:

> I gather it has come as a surprise to many people that work so distinguished , so highly developed and so varied, should have been produced at this early date. The surprise surprises me, for they accept without exclamation the font of Well Cathedral, illuminated books from Winchester, and so forth, and this is but part of the same story.[132]

While many artists of the twentieth century continue to employ embroidery in their work, its connection with women's art remains present.[133] Thus, it is clear that beaded or otherwise embroidered tourist arts are not only positioned on the periphery of material culture systems because of their utilitarian character, but also because of the perception of these items as "craft." However, because embroidery has a long tradition among Aboriginal nations of the Woodlands, this dichotomy between art and craft is incompatible with Native value systems and reflects colonial and patriarchal paradigms. Janet Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips discuss the Native appreciation of arts such as weaving, basketry and beadwork and give two examples to support their argument. First, they mention Great Lakes textile arts created by women artists who are believed to possess

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[131]Parker 11, 17, 64, 81, 120.
[132]Parker 38.
[133]Parker 214.

Second, they write about the equal level of appreciation the Navajo give to female produced blankets and medicine men's sand paintings.[134]

Because Native souvenir arts are an integral part of First Nations lives, and because the inclusion of these objects in museum collections marks a significant shift in the perception of Native souvenir arts, exhibitions such as McCord Museum's *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* play an important role in the establishment of this new art history. Additionally, *Across Borders* is an excellent example of the importance of beaded souvenirs for First Nations communities, since the Iroquois[135] have employed embroidery well before contact with Europeans.[136]

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[134]Berlo and Phillips, Native North American Art 33-34.

[135]The term 'Iroquois' designates the six nations which form the Iroquois Confederacy, that is, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and the Tuscarora. The Iroquois also refer to themselves as *Rotinonhsyonni* which translates as "they make the house." In Brian Maracle, Back On the Rez: Finding the Way Home (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1996) x.

[136]The Iroquois traditionally employed three types of embroidery: moosehair embroidery, quillwork and finally beadwork. Prior to the European importation of glass beads from the early sixteenth century onward, the Iroquois fashioned their beads out of any material into which a hole could be drilled. Most often, beads were made of stone, bone, pottery and shells. Also, the Iroquois greatly value wampum, or cylindrical beads made from quahaug sea shells or hard shell clams. The beads vary in colour from white to dark purple and in the past served many purposes such as decoration and currency. Most importantly, wampum are used to fashion wampum belts which serve as contracts or as commemorations of important events. In Carrie A. Lyford, Iroquois Crafts (Ohsweken, ON.: Iroqrafts Ltd., 1988) 46-47.

Chapter 3: The Display of Souvenir Arts in McCord Museum's *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life*

> A single bead represents an ancient process of human decorative expression that has existed from our beginning. Beadwork is an extension of us defining ourselves.
> Joel Montour[137]

Chapter three analyses Western museums in relation to the role they play in Western societies, especially as disseminators of information on Aboriginal cultures. In light of this, the exhibition *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* is discussed, with an emphasis on its display of Native commodities.

In light of the information on Western museums and issues surrounding Native souvenir arts of the Northeast, I want to centre the following discussion around the exhibition *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life*. The exhibition was presented at the McCord Museum, Montreal, from June 17th, 1999 to January 9th, 2000, and it displayed over 300 Iroquois commoditized objects dating from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. By displaying hybrid souvenir arts, *Across Borders* represented an opportunity to reveal several important issues related to First Nations art, cultures and histories. This display of souvenir arts brought attention to the economic and social hardship of First Nations communities of the Northeast by discussing, within the exhibition, souvenir arts as a means of cultural and economic survival. As previously stated, the establishment of the

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[137]Debora Doxtator and Janet Clark, Basket, Bead and Quill (Thunder Bay, ON: Thunder Bay Art Gallery, 1995) 14.

Indian Act in 1876 confined First Nations communities to the margin of Canada's political system, took away land and left Native communities of the St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes region without resources for hunting, gathering and farming, and created social problems by such provisions as the banning of traditional ceremonies. With their economic and social structures perturbed, many Native communities became increasingly involved in the trade of souvenirs. Souvenir arts thus became a primary means of economic and cultural survival, especially in areas such as the Northeastern Woodlands. This situation remained practically unchanged until 1951, when an important revision of the Indian Act was made. The use of Native languages, the practice of Native religions and Native political organizations were no longer illegal. Nine years later, Aboriginal people were given the right to vote, which further increased their social, political and economic power.[138] These developments of the mid-twentieth century also resulted in a shift in exhibition practices pertaining to Native material culture and Native people became more frequently involved in exhibitions of Aboriginal art and objects.

The main purpose of *Across Borders* was to "explore the artistic, cultural, economic and political significance of beadwork in the lives of Iroquois people."[139] The exhibition brought Iroquois Native souvenir objects to the forefront, and McCord thus called it "a groundbreaking exhibition of ..... stunning and rarely

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[138]Joan Acland, "Elitekey; The Artistic Production of Mi'kmaq Women," RACAR 25.1-2 (1998):10.
[139]Annie Daoust, press release, McCord Museum of Canadian History, 17 June, 1999.

seen beadwork creations....."[140] The show was composed of six sections. The *Introduction* displayed historical and contemporary beadwork, as well as present-day photographs of Iroquois people. The second section was entitled *Iroquois Universe* and aimed to illustrate the Iroquois world-view. Part three of the exhibition was the *Development of Beadwork*, which dealt with the shift from quill-work and other "decorative techniques to the use of glass beads"[141] and discussed the beginnings of beadwork trade. The section *Creating*, explored Iroquois beading techniques and the merging of Iroquois designs within the context of Victorian taste. In *Marketing*, the exhibition focused on the economic dimension of beadwork, while the last section, *Continuing*, acquainted the visitors with contemporary Iroquois artists who use beads in their work.[142]

Across Borders was curated by Kanatakta, Executive Director, Kanien'kehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center, Kahnawake; Kate Koperski, Curator of Folk Art, Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University, New York; Moira McCaffrey, Director, Research and Exhibitions, McCord Museum, Montreal; Trudy C. Nicks, Curator, Department of Ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Sandra H. Olsen, Director, Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University, New York; Ruth B. Phillips, Director, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver; Jolene Rickard, Assistant Professor, State University of New York at Buffalo. The exhibition circulated to four museums in Canada and the United

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[140]Daoust.
[141]Daoust.
[142]Daoust.

States,[143] and was organized and by the McCord Museum and the Castellani Art Museum in collaboration with the Kanien'kehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center, Kahnawake, the Tuscarora Nation community beadworkers of New York State and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.[144]

While *Across Borders*' shift from a colonialist paradigm to contemporary inclusion of Native communities has been increasingly common in Western museums, souvenir arts are still largely ignored in exhibitions of Aboriginal material culture. In Canada, most major museums and galleries are currently exhibiting First Nations objects or have done so in the past; however, only a small number of these exhibitions has offered a substantial presentation of tourist art. Michelle Hamilton, Curator of Ethnology at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, explained that Native tourist wares have been displayed in several of their exhibitions as examples of cross-cultural exchange between Native and Euro-Canadian arts and crafts. The focus, thus, was not on the continuation of Native cultural and artistic heritage or the economic and political significance of Aboriginal commodities, as was the case with *Across Borders*. Hamilton also added that: "many museums still feel that this kind of artefact is tacky, inauthentic, and not worth bothering with."[145] But this situation will be shifting at

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[143]The exhibition was to travel to the Canadian Museum of Civilization Hull, Quebec from May 25th to October 2001, the National Museum of the American Indian in New York City from December 9th 2001 to May 19th 2002, to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, June 21st 2002 to October 13th, 2002 and to the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Mashantucket, Connecticut from November 23rd, 2002 to February 16th, 2003. In Guislaine Lemay, e-mail to the author, 30 Mar., 2001.

[144]Daoust.

[145]Michelle Hamilton, e-mail to the author, 9 May 2001.

the Glenbow in October 2001 when the museum begins its behind-the-scenes tours of souvenir wares.[146] Several other institutions such as the Royal British Columbia Museum, the Musée de la Civilization à Québec and the Royal Ontario Museum have policies regarding the inclusion of tourist art in exhibitions of First Nations material culture.[147] The Manager of Anthropology at the Royal British Columbia Museum, Alan Hoover, informed me the Royal BC Museum displays two showcases of tourist wares in their permanent exhibition on First Peoples, and will be reinstalling an exhibition on Haida argillite[148] sculptures in fall 2001.[149] Marie-Paule Robitaille, the Curator of Native and Inuit collections at the Musée de la Civilization à Québec, wrote me the Musée de la Civilization had exhibited souvenir arts on several occasions, but since 1998 possesses large showcases which display Aboriginal commodities. More importantly, the museum addresses the reasons for which souvenir wares became the primary means of economic and cultural survival for Native communities.[150] The Curator of Ethnology of First Nations and of Art by Contemporary First Nations Artists at the Royal Ontario Museum, Trudy C. Nicks, explained the Royal Ontario Museum has also exhibited tourist wares, but that their souvenir aspect was downplayed. She stated that, pieces of tourist art have been used to demonstrate the technical and artistic abilities of their makers without situating the works within the history of

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[146]Hamilton.

[147]I also contacted the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, regarding this policy, but I obtained no response.

[148]Argillite carvings were probably the first Native made objects to be made specifically for consumption by Europeans and were created by Queen Charlotte Islands Haida communities during the mid-nineteenth century. In Hill, "A Fist Nations Perspective" n. pag.

[149]Alan Hoover, e-mail to the author, 9 May 2001.

[150]Marie-Paule Robitaille, e-mail to the author, 9 Aug. 2001.

Native cultural and artistic traditions. As one of the curators of *Across Borders*, Nicks pointed out the exhibition is the first presentation to emphasize tourist art "so clearly and to such an extent."[151]

By displaying souvenir arts as authentic Aboriginal artefacts and thus recognizing the objects have always held an integral part in Iroquois existence, *Across Borders* presented its visitors with the Native perspective of their material culture instead of Western-value systems. For this reason, it may be argued that by exhibiting souvenir arts *Across Borders* subverted major subtexts of colonialism, especially since museums of history (which are also museums of anthropology and ethnography) such as the McCord Museum, were instrumental in the earlier construction of narratives of the nation and thus were powerful tools for the legitimation of Western exercise of power.

The exhibition also juxtaposed souvenir arts to historical items, as was the case in the installation *Iroquois Universe* (illustrations 9-10), and thus placed the former on an equal footing with the later and contributed to the increase of value of the souvenir wares in the eyes of the visitors. In spite of this, the majority of the displayed items were used more as examples of technical and aesthetic merit and of cross-cultural exchange than as truly significant cultural productions. The majority of these objects were displayed as archaeological specimens, in natural history style showcases reminiscent of early museums of anthropology or ethnography (illustrations 11-12). This was especially the case with contemporary

[151]Trudy C. Nicks, e-mail to the author, 11 May 2001.

souvenir wares. The newer the objects, the more likely were they to be presented in this way. Similar but older objects were not uniformly arranged in this type of showcases, being displayed in a manner which allowed each item to stand out to some extent (illustration 13). Undeniably, this was because historical items are still held in higher esteem than commodities. In "Native North American Art," Berlo and Phillips express a similar discontentment with this type of display in their discussion of Native American art of the 1930s to the 1960s:

> The museum display of easel paintings alongside pottery, beadwork and silversmithing established the new work as continuous with 'authentic' historic artistic traditions. These projects, however, could not fully position modern Native painting within the most prestigious western category of 'fine art.' The language of presentation remained patronizing, and the stylistic conventions that had been established for Indian painting associated it with categories of the folk and the naive.....[152]

Yet, because souvenir wares are intricately tied to the social and economic situation of Native people of the Northeast, it is logical to display these items in the contextualized environment of the history museum, and not as works of art. Nevertheless, the Director of Curatorial Services at the McCord Museum and one of several curators of *Across Borders*, Moira McCaffrey, claims these works can be looked upon as art: "We also wanted to bring people across a border that exists between understanding these objects as craft work and understanding them as art. That boundary is quite fluid, and people's first reaction to these objects is always, 'Wow! What an incredible work of art!'"[153]

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[152]Berlo and Phillips, Native North American Art 218.
[153]David Rollins, "Conversation with Moira McCaffrey," The Members of the McCord Newsletter 8.1 (1999): 5.

This statement seems to echo what James Clifford writes in "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections:" "Treatment of artifacts as fine art is currently one of the most effective ways to communicate cross-culturally a sense of quality, meaning and importance."[154] But in spite of its good intentions, Deborah Doxtator points out, this attitude only valorizes Western value judgements and crystallizes in a hierarchy of material cultures. While Doxtator recognizes the formal differences between groups of objects, she claims the focus should rather be paid on the objects' inherent significance within Aboriginal communities.[155] Further, by representing Native souvenir objects as "art," a museum runs the risk of contributing to the stereotype of the noble savage who produces beautiful and fine crafted objects, which do not meet the conventional criteria of fine art.

Across Borders in the Context of History Museums

According to Barbara Fahs Charles, exhibitions in history museums are more challenging than exhibitions in other types of museums. In her article "Exhibition as (Art) Form," Charles begins by listing three categories of museums. The first type of museums she describes are art galleries, in which the artefact is the primary element. The focus is thus on the object itself and in appearance, the display is very simple. All other components of the display, such as labels and

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[154]James Clifford, "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections," Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990) 225.
[155]Doxtator and Clark 18.

text panels are secondary. In the second category, museums of science and technology, it is the concept which is of main importance. In these museums, displays are designed to attract attention by all possible means, with a particular emphasis on new technologies and innovative displays. The third type of museum Charles describes are museums of history, where both the artefact and the concept are emphasized in order to convey a particular idea. Here, the exhibition practices of the art gallery and the science centre are combined. In other words, objects are often treated as artworks, but computers, recordings and videos are used to render the exhibition more appealing to the visitors.[156] Charles also explains that exhibitions in museums of history are the most challenging because of the display of a great diversity of objects as well as the complexity of the ideas conveyed, but in my opinion, the difficulty lies in the representation of an idea through an object. Nevertheless, I agree with Charles' argument that curators of exhibitions in history museums have to take extra care to make the exhibition well structured and thus comprehensible. The theme of the show must clearly be demonstrated, with the exhibition's title, its opening statement, as well as its individual sections. The objects displayed should not only fit well into the whole scheme of the exhibition, but each should also arouse interest on its own. Labels should be well written, interesting and well placed. Lastly, the author speaks of display which should be well thought out, because of its crucial role in the interpretation of the exhibited items. All the components of the display, including the design, the colours and surfaces of the showcases, can make an object look

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[156]Barbara Fahs Charles, "Exhibition as (Art) Form," Past Meets Present: Essays About Historic Interpretation and Public Audiences, ed. Jo Blatti (Washington, DC.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1987) 97-100.

more significant than another, guide the viewer's gaze and highlight underlying ideologies.[157] Moira McLoughlin supports this point when she writes:

> ...the choices made in the construction of a particular exhibit structure both what we see and how we understand it. Decisions regarding firstly what merits the attention of a museum exhibit and secondly what artifacts and information should be presented, and in what manner, provide important clues about the cultural assumptions and resources of the decision-makers.[158]

For this reason, it is important to remember that the McCord Museum is a museum of history. As was previously stated, museums of history have been instrumental in supporting and propagating regimes of colonial power and because they are one of society's main sources of information on Aboriginal people and cultures, they have been providing the public with specific cultural assumptions since the nineteenth century. While it is true that the media and educational institutions also provide non-Aboriginal people information about First Nations, museums have held more weight as disseminators of information because they have been seen in a more prestigious light.[159] Further, evidence seems to show that exhibitions are primarily a visual experience or as Michael Ettema writes: "generations of museum visitors have been accustomed to informal, leisurely and primarily visual museum experiences and will not read

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[157]Charles 97-100.

[158]Moira McLoughlin, Museums and the Representations of Native Canadians: Negotiating the Borders of Culture (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999) 4.

[159]McLoughlin 4, 8. Phillip Wright traces this attitude back to the establishment of public museums during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when it was a privilege to be admitted inside the museum and points out that this perception of museums as prestigious remained present until the creation of modern institutions. In Phillip Wright, "The Quality of Visitors' Experiences in Art Museums," The New Museology, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1997) 123.

exhibit texts."[160] And while Elaine Heumann Gurian believes that museum visitors often feel guilty when omitting to read text panels and labels[161], it seems visitors normally do ignore written information, especially if longer than 180 words.[162] Therefore, the positive results springing from an exhibition of Native souvenirs such as *Across Borders*, can easily be downplayed by a negative visual experience of these objects. This is especially the case in museums which are held in high esteem by their visitors, as is the case of the McCord Museum. Negative perceptions of Aboriginal objects are further supported by the preference of non-Native people to encounter First Nations culture in the controlled environment of the museums, rather than acknowledging that Aboriginal people are members of mainstream society. As S. Hume writes: "It has long been clear that we actually prefer our Native culture in museums. We certainly do not prefer it running the Department of Indian Affairs. Nor do we prefer it announcing the news on national television or determining its own political destiny."[163]

It is thus clear that the display of Aboriginal material culture is not without its difficulties, even when Native scholars, artists or communities are members of the

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[160]Michael J. Ettema, "History Museums and the Culture of Materialism," Past Meets Present: Essays About Historic Interpretation and Public Audiences, ed. Jo Blatti (Washington, DC.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987) 77.
[161]Elaine Heumann Gurian, "Noodling Around with Exhibition Opportunities," Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 185.
[162]Peter Vergo, "The Reticent Object," The New Museology, ed. Peter Vergo (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1997) 50.
[163]McLoughlin 5-6.

curatorial staff. As Ruth B. Phillips, one of the curators of *Across Borders* explained, First Nations participants were consulted at all times and on all aspects of the show, including "the grouping of the objects, the colour palette, the case design... etc."[164] However, she pointed out, several changes were made at the last minute because of a lack of funds and for that reason several aspects of the show were not realized as had been initially planned. Also, she mentioned that elements such as the choice of colours for the gallery walls and display cases, was made by all the participants of the exhibition, but that it was up to the designer as well as the McCord staff to make the final arrangements.[165]

However, despite of the equal opportunity to decision making given to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants, the display methods of particular sections of *Across Borders* supported, instead of subverted, major subtexts of colonialism. While this was the exhibition's main drawback, it must be remembered that discussions around the issues of Aboriginal artefacts in Western museums are continuing, including the struggles around representational practices. Display methods which support old stereotypes will not be automatically visible to non-Aboriginal nor to Aboriginal scholars. But even once the negative effects become apparent, immediate remedies are not available.

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[164]Ruth B. Phillips, e-mail to the author, 4 Dec. 1999.
[165]Phillips, e-mail to the author.

At the same time, it must be noted that it is difficult for museums to find alternatives to well established display practices. First, there exist two main display models for non-Western art. According to Vogel, objects from non-Western cultures are either shown "unemphatically...in the style of natural-history museums in a case evenly filled with many objects....[making it] hard to see [them] as great works of art...[or] as valuable treasures protected by Plexiglas and haloed in sanctifying spotlights."[166] Second, there is also a reluctance to shift away from these practices, a reluctance which can be traced back to the origins of public museums. As Michael Ames writes, circumstances such as economic growth brought about an increase of exploration during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Travellers thus acquired many "exotic" goods which ended up forming the basis of European museums. Once the numbers of objects in private collections became too large and diverse, a need for specialized management arose. These collections were eventually moved from the private to the public sector, transferring some level of control from one section of society to another. Because museums were now owned by the public, they had to hold relevance to the people and were expected to reflect their values and beliefs. Being politically and financially powerful, educated classes were especially instrumental in dictating museums' overall approaches to their collections, and according to Ames, have remained so.[167] Because museums are

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[166]Susan Vogel, "Always True to the Object, in Our Fashion," Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 196-197.
[167]Michael Ames, Museums, the Public and Anthropology: A Study in the Anthropology of Anthropology (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press; New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1985) 2-3, 7-8.

not only dependent on private grants, but also on government funding, they have become, in Muise's words "fearful of treating subjects that might provoke the politically centred cultural bureaucrats that control funds [and thus museums] ...refrain from treating the controversial."[168] At the same time, museum visitors accept the ideologies they encounter within an exhibition as fact, and seldom question them.[169] The public also prefers not to be confronted with political, economic and social difficulties, or "aspects of the past that are unpleasant, ugly or reflected poorly on our ancestors,"[170] and while these positions are changing, museums do not want to alienate their audience and sponsors and thus present them with the dominant culture's ideologies.

While acknowledging that museums may believe that they should present the public with versions of history people find acceptable, Anthony Buckley says museums should present the public with an "objective" viewpoint. Because the past is often imitated, museums should provide their visitors with positive examples from history, while also teaching about its negative facets in order to try and prevent them from reoccurring.[171] This, on the other hand, is difficult for museums to tackle. The following case is a good example of this struggle. In

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[168]D.A. Muise, "Museums and the Canadian Community: A Historical Perspective" Toward the 21st Century: New Directions for Canada's National Museums, ed. Leslie H. Tupper (Hull, PQ: The Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989) 23.
[169]Kenneth Hudson, "How Misleading Does an Ethnographic Museum Have to Be?" Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 459.
[170]Trigger, 74.
[171]Anthony D. Buckley, "Why Not Invent the Past We Display in Museums?" Making Histories in Museums, ed. Gaynor Kavanagh (London: Leicester University Press, 1996) 46.

1995, the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum was considering an exhibition of Enola Gay, the plane from which the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The issue at hand was the problem of the bombarding of the city of Hiroshima. Should the event be shown as an act of bravery which prevented the death of many more innocent Americans, or as a catastrophe which should have been avoided?[172] What should the museum have done? From whose perspective should the museum have approached the topic? Or should the museum even attempt to be "objective" in their approach?

I would also like to argue that it is harder for museums of anthropology, ethnology and history to change, because they are so deeply rooted in traditions. Art museums are forced to change their perspectives with new artistic trends and innovations. Mainstream art is based on a constant flux, since each art movement usually springs up as a commentary of the previous one. But the situation is different in the case of anthropology, ethnology and history. Museums of history study our past, while those of anthropology and ethnography study humans and evolution of man respectively and from a museological perspective, focus on the "other," non-Western cultures. While the fields of anthropology and ethnology have undergone many changes since the nineteenth century, Michael Ettema points out that museums of history have mostly changed in the form of the incorporation of new technologies such as computers and electronic innovations used in displays.[173]

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[172]Donald Wright, "Remembering Imperial Canada," Fontanus 9 (1996): 98.
[173]Ettema 71.

Finally, I think it is important to point out that few authors have addressed the issues pertaining to the display of Aboriginal material culture in Western museums. But when these questions are raised, they are not tackled from the perspective of the museum visitors' visual experience, but as criticism of Western taxonomies and value systems. In this literature, as Moira McLoughlin writes, three possibilities are outlined. In the first alternative, a museum possessing a collection of Native objects should adopt what McLoughlin calls a "transactional history." In other words, the museum uncovers the ideologies within which the museum's objects were collected. The histories of the objects are also presented, from the time of their creation to their present state. While this approach may bring attention to many historical constructs, what remains highlighted is the power structure which inscribes the systems of power and the perspective of the "other" is ignored. Also, the author does not explain how this approach should be done in practice. If this process of uncovering the hidden histories of collections is to be done through text panels, then large numbers of museum visitors would certainly not gain much, since long and elaborate exhibition texts are not always read or appreciated. In the second solution, the histories of the "other," prior and post contact, take central stage. This usually takes the form of co-operation between museum staff and Native scholars, artists and communities. While this has been an increasingly common occurrence in the past few decades, First Nations people cannot always offer better solutions to the issues around the exhibition of Native art. These solutions need to be struggled over within Native communities, as well as between Native and non-Native stakeholders. The third

solution McLoughlin offers is an increase in the establishment of Native-run museums, even though it is sometimes argued that Aboriginal objects will thus be isolated and the "opportunity for scientific study and circulation" of these objects diminished.[174] However, some Native-run museums or cultural centres, such as the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford, continue to employ museological methods such as dioramas and display cases typical of natural history museums. And even though the Woodland Cultural Centre is Native run and all its displays, dioramas and texts are presented from a Native perspective, I believe the visual impact of these displays can have a negative impact on the visitor. Yet, there are also examples such as the U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, British Columbia. The centre displays ceremonial objects belonging to a Kwakiutl community in an unique way, by which the work is shown in the order they would appear at a potlatch. The exhibit also addresses issues such as governmental banning of potlatches or the obsessive collecting by Westerners of ceremonial regalia. Further, all the descriptions and explanations of the displayed works have been chosen and written by the members of the Kwakiutl community.[175]

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[174]McLoughlin 37-41.

[175] C. Richard King, Colonial Discourses, Collective Memories, and the Exhibition of Native American Cultures and Histories in the Contemporary United States (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998) 105-106.

CONCLUSION

This thesis began by examining the crusade of David Ross McCord, whose obsession to build a museum glorifying the history of Canada led him to collect several thousand objects between the 1860s and 1920s. While the history of the McCord Museum has been filled with obstacles, the museum's objects and archives have been described as one of the three most important "collections illustrating the history, art and social life of Canada."[176] What was particularly important for this thesis was the McCord Museum's ethnographic collection, not only because of its large number of Aboriginal objects, but also because David Ross McCord's collecting practices reflected many of the nineteenth century perceptions of Aboriginal people. These views were often derogatory, since European and Euro-North American understandings of Native peoples and their material culture were rooted in evolutionary theory. People of European decent were thought to be on a higher scale of human evolution than non-Western societies and Aboriginal objects were seen either as scientific documents or as mere curiosities. While these views persisted well into the 1900s, the mid-twentieth century witnessed a change in the relationship between Canadian museums and Aboriginal peoples. While Aboriginal people had been lobbying in favour of a change in museum policies, the most famous case of a struggle between Native peoples and museums is the 1988 boycott of Glenbow Museum's exhibition *The Spirit Sings*. The discussions which resulted from this battle over the representation of Aboriginal people in Western museums culminated in a

[176]Young 7.

series of conferences and studies, and eventually in the 1992 report "Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples." However, several questions still remain unresolved, as is the case of Native made souvenir arts.

At the time of contact, commoditized objects were already being fashioned by Native peoples who possessed an extensive trade network throughout the American continent. By the 1590s, commerce between Native communities and European traders was well established, especially in the Northeastern Woodlands. Being what Ruth B. Phillips calls a "contact zone," the Northeast came into contact with European traders at an earlier time than other Canadian regions. For this reason, Native peoples of the Northeast adopted European materials and design by the early 1700s and merged them with their own. At first, European travellers appreciated these hybrid objects, not only for their aesthetic and often utilitarian character, but also because hybridity seemed to be evidence of Native "civilizability." However, with the establishment of anthropology as an academic discipline by the end of the nineteenth century, the perception of these items shifted in the eyes of Western scholars and began to be perceived as inauthentic and so hybrid arts (including souvenir objects) were often excluded from serious study.

For this reason, the McCord Museum's exhibition *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* was a unique exhibition. It displayed over 300 beaded Iroquois

objects, most of which were souvenir arts. It was the first time that souvenir arts were given so much attention. Yet, the actual display of these objects was not flattering, since it presented them as archaeological specimens, reminiscent of natural history style showcases. This is important, because exhibitions are primarily a visual experience, in other words, it is the visual impact which is the most significant. Further, because museums are society's main sources of information on Aboriginal people and cultures, they have been supporting specific cultural assumptions about Native people.

However, because museums are, as Bruce Trigger insists: "custodians of a major segment of our common national heritage," they have a "sacred responsibility" to pave the way for the destruction of "the colonial relationship that disgracefully continues to characterize Canada's treatment of its Native Peoples."[177] For this reason, it is important that exhibition practices pertaining to Native material culture, including commoditized art, continue to be addressed. This is especially true in the case of objects such as souvenir arts, since their inclusion within Native art history by Western institution is recent and not fully explored. This presents a difficult task for Canadian museums of anthropology, ethnography and history, because their exhibitions are to a great extent didactic and thus require the use of many labels and text panels. However, more attention should be given to the actual display, in order to fully represent Aboriginal material culture in a more positive light.

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[177]Young 137-138.

ILLUSTRATIONS

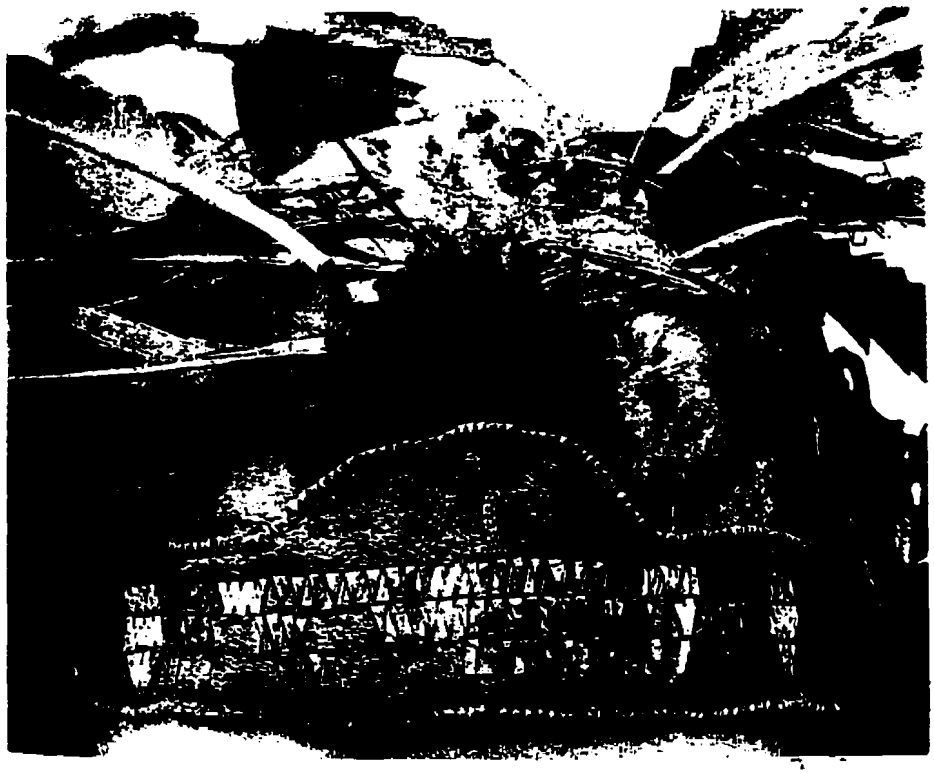

Illustration 1. Iroquois headdress, early nineteenth century, diam. 62 cm. Rpt. in Ruth B. Phillips, Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900 (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998) 241.

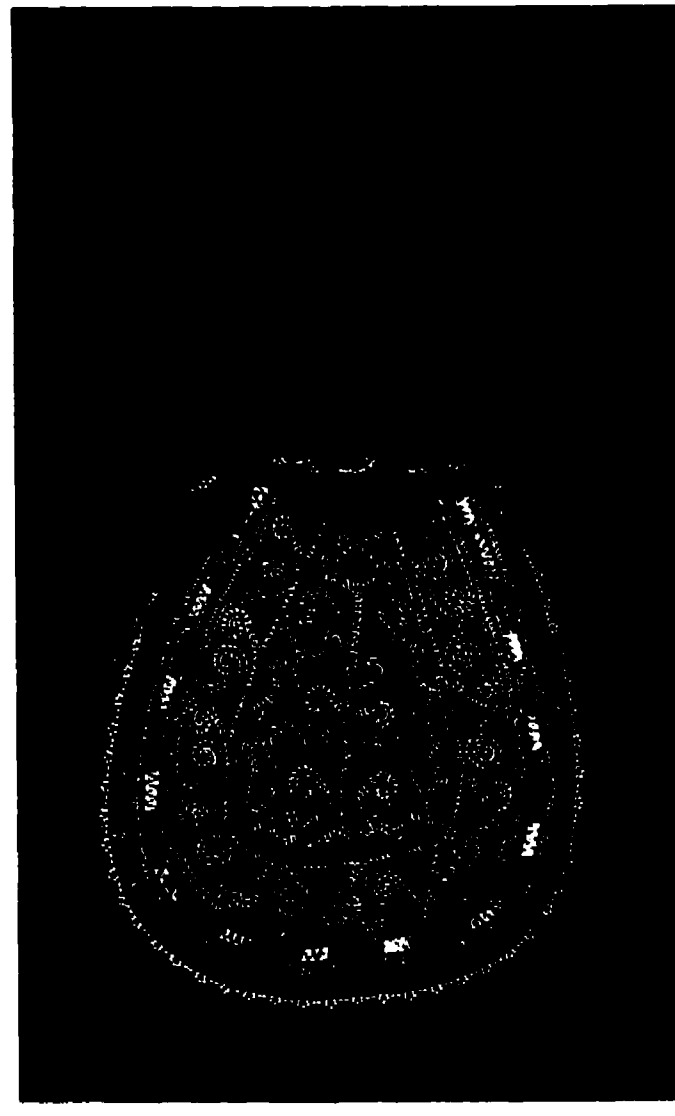

Illustration 2. Quilled pouch, c. first half of the nineteenth century, l. 17.5 x w. 16 cm. Rpt. in Phillips, Trading Identities plate 32.

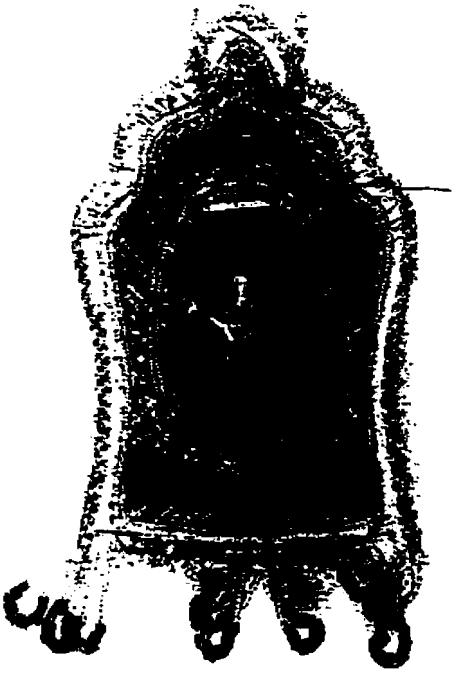

Illustration 3. Iroquois picture frame, late nineteenth century, h. 20 cm. Rpt. in Phillips, Trading Identities 11.

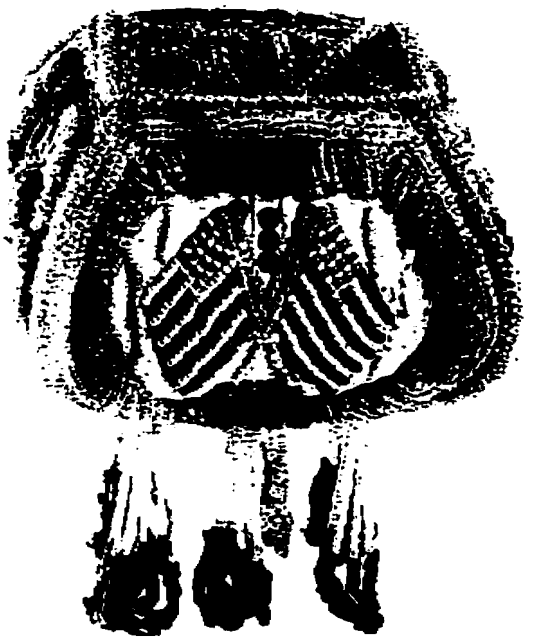

Illustration 4. Mohawk velvet and bead box, c. 1990, w. 16 x h. 10.5 cm. Rpt. in Phillips, Trading Identities 258.

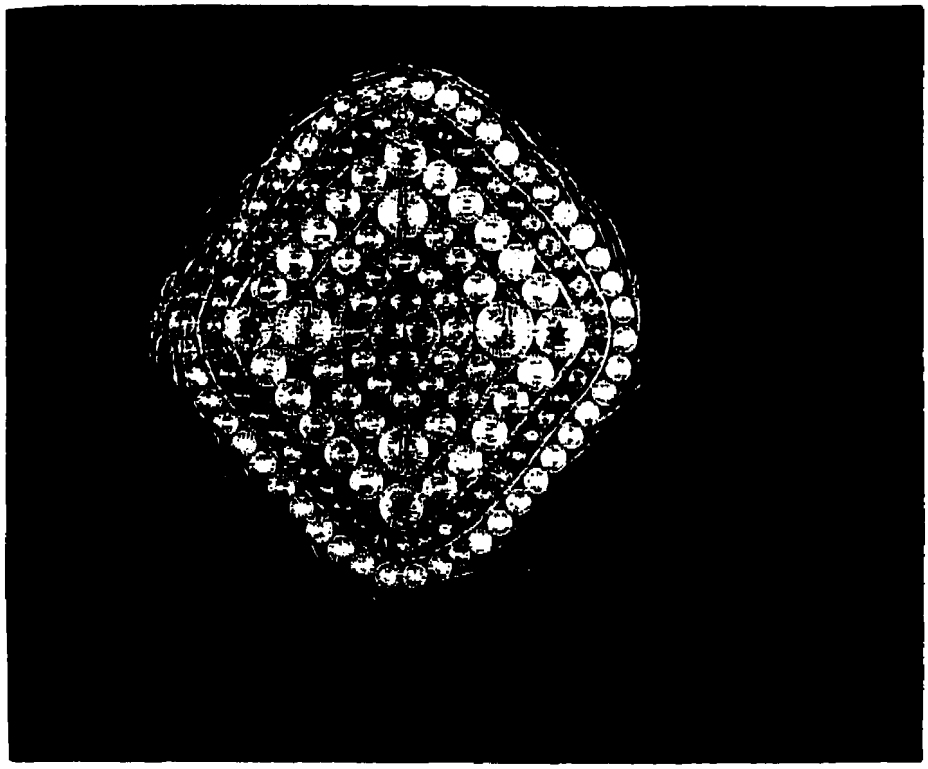

Illustration 5. Rebecca Baird. *A Time Within the Memory*, 1993, h. 122 x w. 122 cm. Rpt. in Phillips, Trading Identities 271.

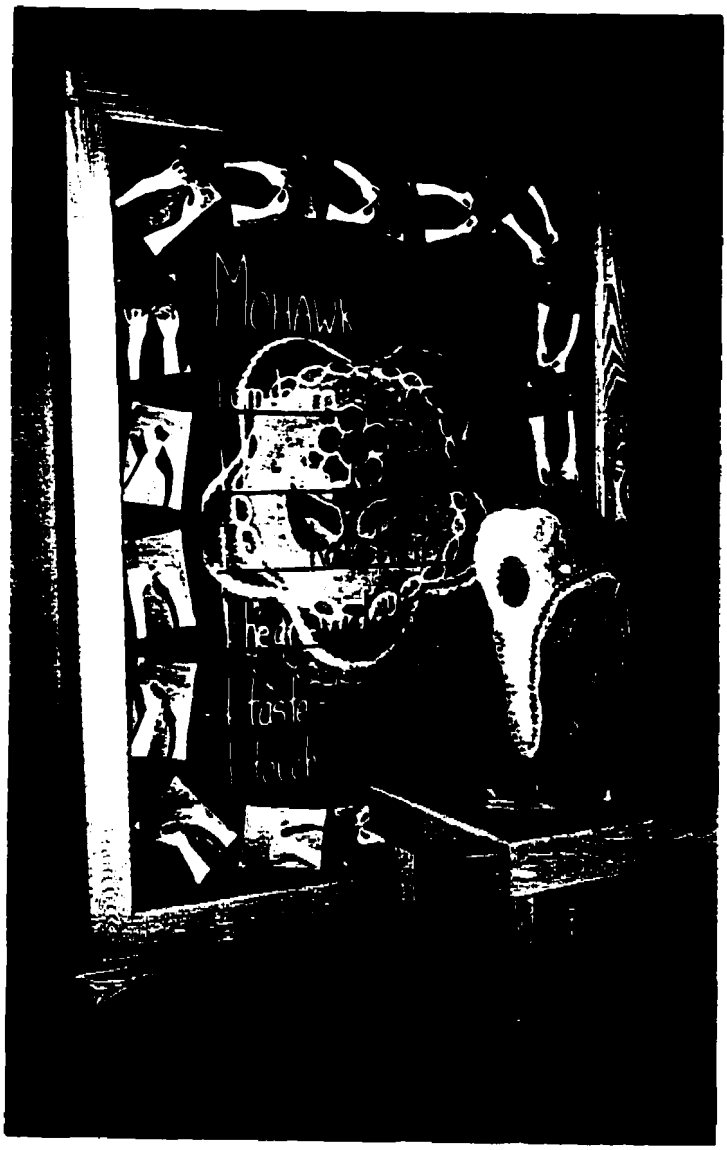

Illustration 6. Shelley Niro. *Thinking Caps*, detail of installation, 1999. *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* exhibition. Photograph taken by the author.

Illustration 7. Iroquois Costumes, 1999. *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* exhibition. Photograph taken by the author.

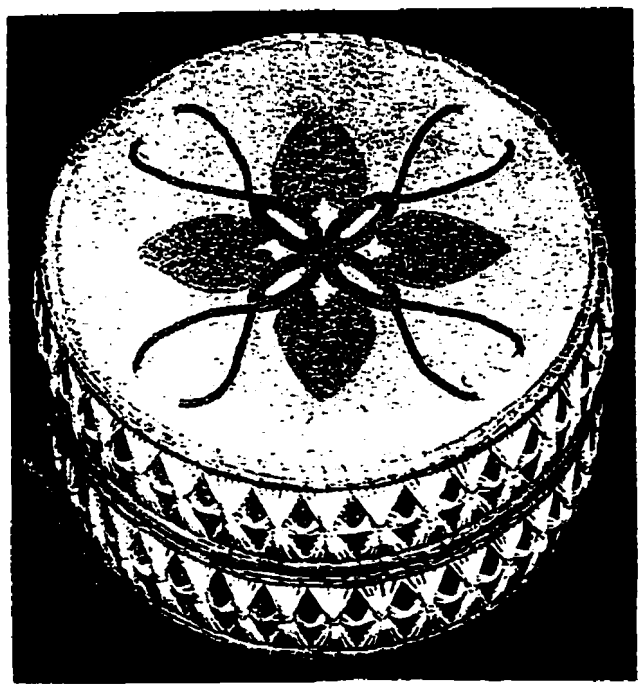

Illustration 8. Blake Debassige. *The Journey Westward*, 1995, h. 8, diam. 17.8 cm. Rpt. in W. Jackson Rushing III, ed., Native American Art in the Twentieth Century (London: Routledge, 1999) 109.

Illustration 9. *Iroquois Universe*, partial view of installation. *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* exhibition. Photograph taken by the author.

Illustration 10. *Iroquois Universe*, detail of installation. *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* exhibition. The beaded birds (1999) are the only contemporary souvenir objects in this installation. Photograph taken by the author.

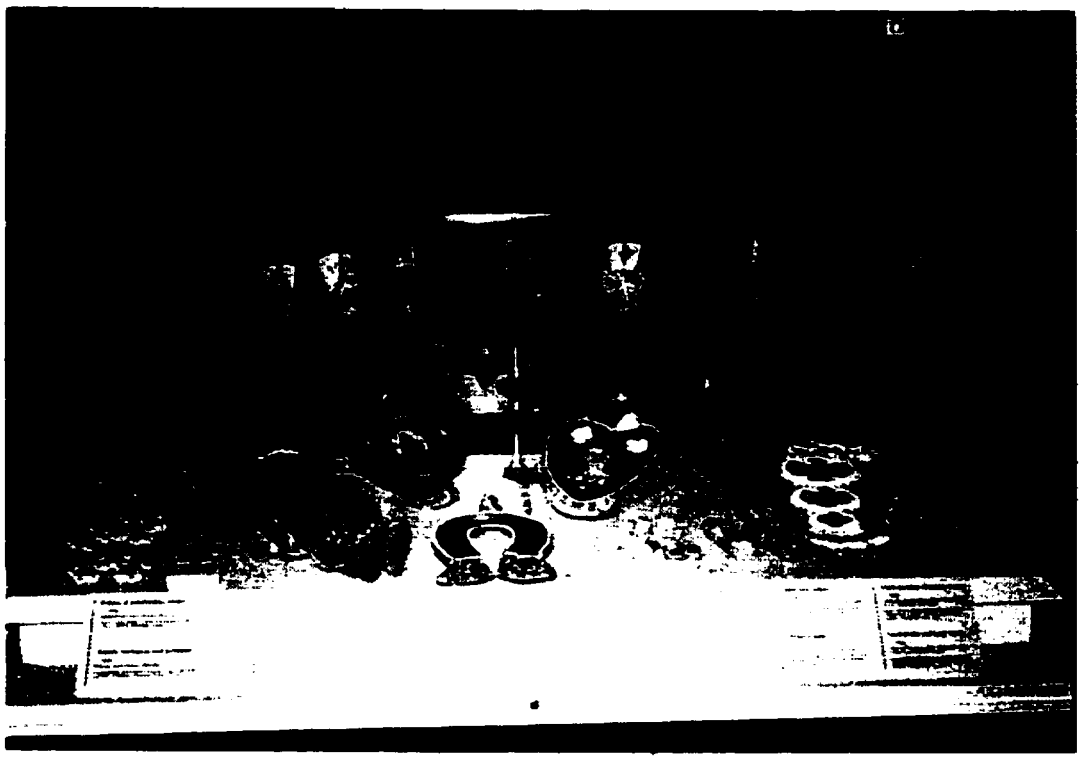

Illustration 11. View of display case. *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* exhibition. Photograph taken by the author.

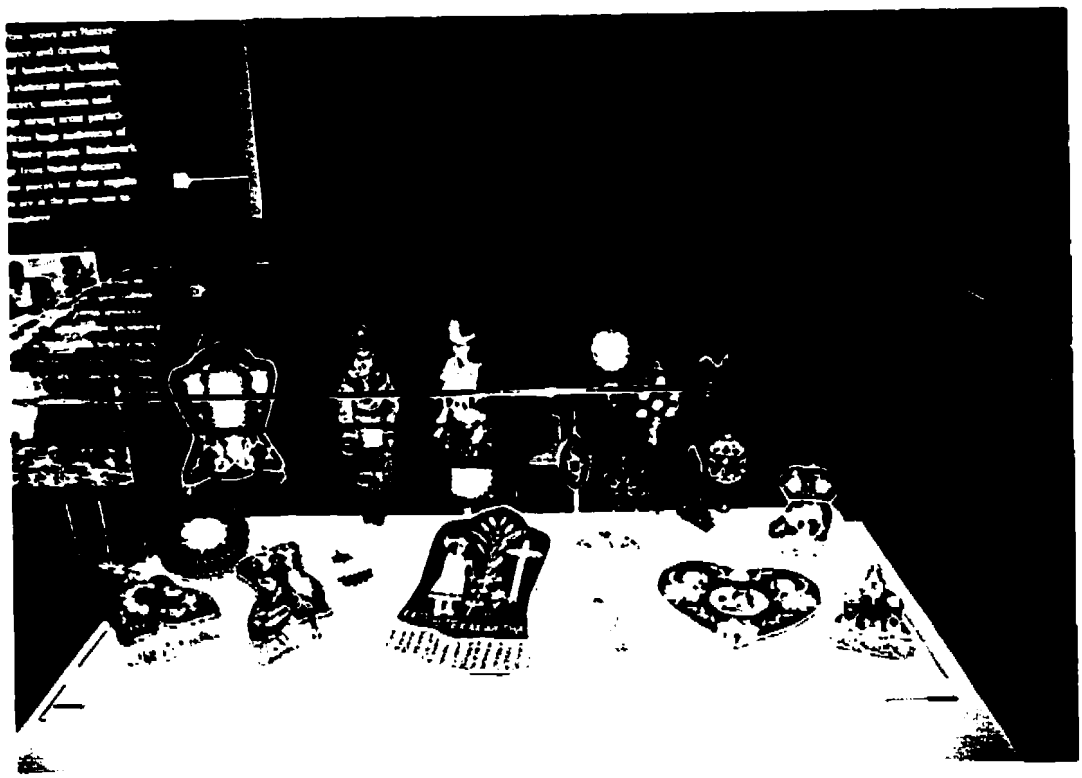

Illustration 12. View of display case. *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* exhibition. Photograph taken by the author.

Illustration 13. Display cases. The following objects all date from 1839 to 1910. Photograph taken by the author.

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