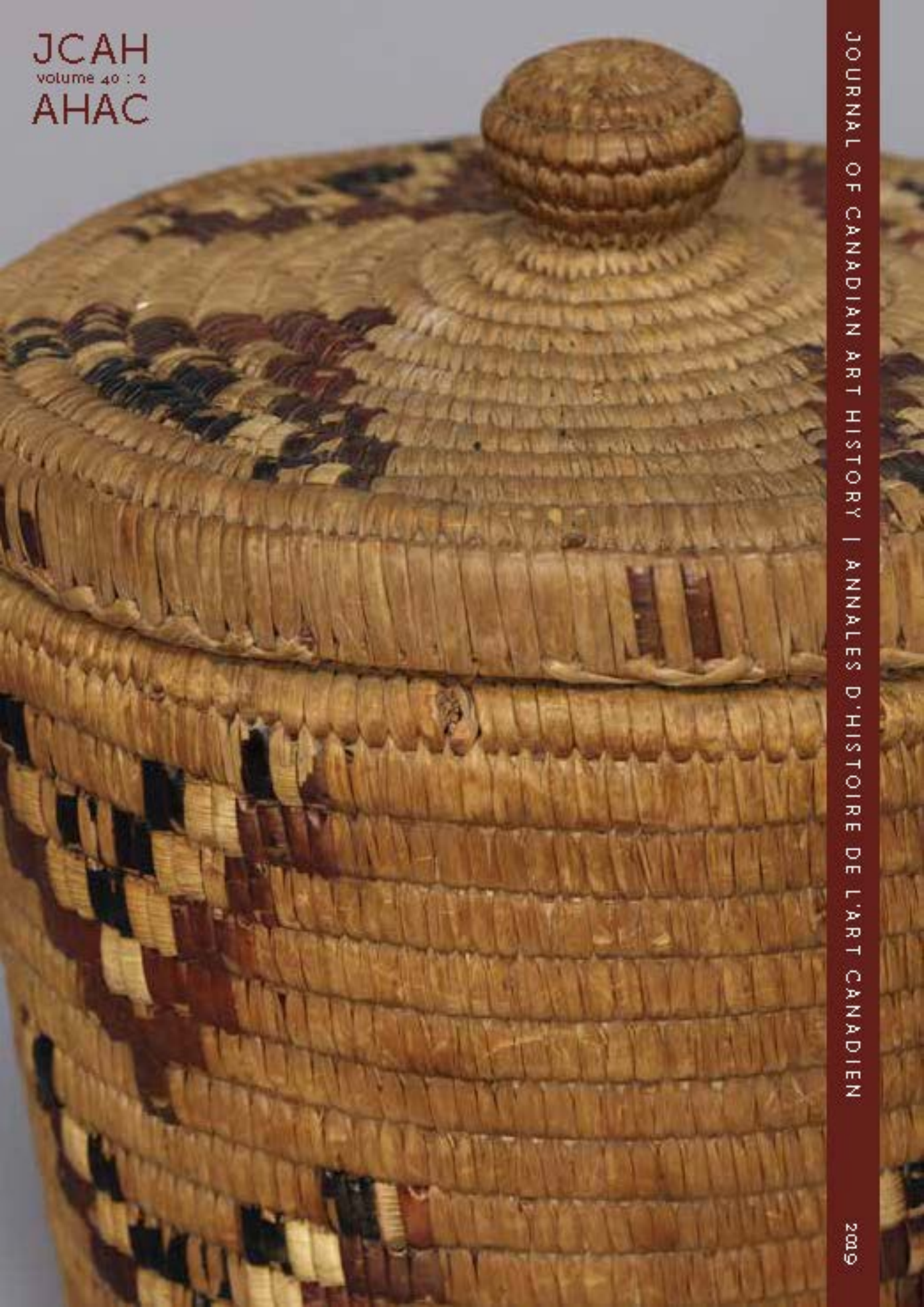
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Leslie Dawn: Art Historian, Contrarian, Colleague

JOHN O'BRIAN

Tribute to Leslie Dawn
19 Oct. 2024

"Nothing but landscapes, landscapes, landscapes," the French critic Marthe Maldidier complained about a large show of paintings in 1927, promoted by the National Gallery of Canada, that had just opened in Paris. "Are there no beautiful women in Canada? Does no one in that country paint nudes? How tired one gets!" The response was not what the Group of Seven, the National Gallery, and other government proponents of a new cultural order focusing on landscape representation wanted to hear.

Leslie Dawn quotes Maldidier in *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s*, published by UBC Press in 2006. The book won the Klibansky Prize from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and the Social Sciences for its originality and scholarship. It also received enthusiastic reviews. Sandra Dyck, in the *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, called it "a remarkable achievement" for rejecting received wisdom about Canadian nationhood and art and for synthesizing a "staggering" array of primary and secondary sources, the Maldidier reference included. Claire Campbell, in the *Canadian Historical Review*, argued that the book demands our closest attention for demonstrating how the Group of Seven functioned as "players on a wider chessboard of strategy and national policies and imperial relations" than had been previously recognized. And Janet M.C. Burns, in the *Canadian Review of Sociology*, noted the presence of "clear protagonists and antagonists" in the book. Although Dawn's narrative formally begins with the formation of the Group in 1920, it properly originates with the colonial dispossession of First Nations land.

In another commentary on the 1927 exhibition, also cited by Dawn, Charles Chassé writes that the Group of Seven "were surprised to discover . . . that they were the sons, not in blood but in heart, of those dusky foes of their forefathers." The genesis of this magical thinking about the Group and First Nations was a supposed shared connection to the land – as if, Dawn remarks acidly, *les Indiens* were not "being erased by these very artists from their representations of the land." Yet another French critic has Tom Thomson being murdered by marauding Indians in Algonquin Park. This was the flip side of Chassé's fantasy about racial harmony between settler populations and their "dusky foes" in Canada.

Leslie Dawn : Historien de l'art, anticonformiste, collègue

JOHN O'BRIAN

Hommage à Leslie Dawn
19 octobre 2024

« Rien que des paysages, des paysages et encore des paysages », déplorait en 1927 la critique française Marthe Maldidier à propos d'une grande exposition de peintures, présentée par le Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, qui venait d'ouvrir ses portes à Paris. « N'y a-t-il pas de belles femmes au Canada? Ne peint-on pas de nus dans ce pays? Comme c'est lassant! » Cette réaction n'est pas celle qu'espéraient le Groupe des Sept, le Musée des beaux-arts et les autres tenants gouvernementaux d'un nouvel ordre culturel axé sur la représentation de paysages.

Leslie Dawn cite Marthe Maldidier dans son livre *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s*, publié par UBC Press en 2006. Ce livre lui a valu le prix Raymond-Klibansky de la Fédération canadienne des sciences humaines pour son originalité et son érudition. L'ouvrage a également été salué par la critique. Sandra Dyck, dans le *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, l'a qualifié de « remarquable réussite » qui rejette les idées reçues sur la nation canadienne et l'art et propose une synthèse « stupéfiante » de sources primaires et secondaires, y compris la référence à Marthe Maldidier. Claire Campbell, dans la revue *Canadian Historical Review*, estime que ce livre mérite notre plus grande attention, car il dépeint les membres du Groupe des Sept comme « des joueurs sur un échiquier de stratégies, de politiques nationales et de relations impériales plus vaste » que ce qui avait été reconnu jusqu'à présent. Pour sa part, Janet M.C. Burns, dans la *Canadian Review of Sociology*, a relevé dans ce livre la présence de « protagonistes et d'antagonistes incontestés ». Bien que le récit de Leslie Dawn commence par la formation du groupe en 1920, il prend sa source dans la dépossession coloniale des terres des Premières Nations.

Dans un autre commentaire sur l'exposition de 1927, également cité par M. Dawn, Charles Chassé écrit que les membres du Groupe des Sept « ont été surpris de découvrir [. . .] qu'ils étaient les fils, non par le sang mais par le cœur, de ces sombres ennemis de leurs ancêtres ». Cette croyance concernant le Groupe et les Premières Nations s'appuie sur un supposé lien commun avec la terre – comme si, note Leslie Dawn avec amertume, *les Indiens* n'étaient pas « effacés par ces mêmes artistes dans leurs représentations de la terre ». Mais voilà qu'un autre critique français évoque l'assassinat de Tom Thomson par des Indiens en maraude dans le parc Algonquin. C'est le revers de la médaille

Les, as he was called by friends, was born on 23 May 1950, in Saskatchewan, likely in the Indian Hospital in Battleford. His mother was Cree, from the Ochapowace reserve. His adoptive parents brought him to live with them when he was still young, and after the family moved to Calgary in the 1960s, Dawn attended Bowness High School. It was not until the 1990s, however, that he applied for Indian status. His wife Frederike Verspoor mentions in correspondence that "he did not want to make a big thing about it." I can vouch for his reticence on the matter. As his dissertation supervisor from 1996–2001, the question of his Indigenous heritage did not arise until the day that he successfully defended the thesis. At a celebratory gathering following the event, Sherrill Grace, author of *Inventing Tom Thomson*, asked if he had any First Nations background. Without saying a word, he pulled out an ID card from his wallet and placed it on the table. "You never told me," I said. "You never asked," he replied.

Dawn had little patience for unified stories on Canadian art and Canadian nationhood, especially when told at the expense of others, notably First Nations and women artists. A self-described contrarian, he began his teaching career at the University of Victoria, became a lecturer and head of Humanities at the Alberta College of Art and Design, and in 1990 moved to the Faculty of Fine Arts at the University of Lethbridge, where he became full Professor. Jeffrey Spalding, his colleague in Lethbridge, observed firsthand Dawn's commitment to contemporary art, about which he wrote and lectured passionately. He cared about the here and now, Spalding writes, about how the present informs the past and vice versa; he made art history "cool" for students. Spalding imagines that Dawn would roll his eyes at such a colloquialism and chastise him for his hyperbole: "A single withering look from Les could disarm an otherwise worthy debate opponent. He was to art history as Terry Thomas was to English humour, droll and scathing." As one might guess, he was a wonderful dinner companion.

Leslie Dawn died on 18 September 2016. Frederike Verspoor and others established the Dr. Leslie Dawn Memorial Award at the University of Lethbridge for students showing a commitment to community engagement in the arts. At the time of his death, Les was working, with difficulty because of failing health, on the article in this volume co-authored with Damian Skinner. It was the last he wrote.

du fantasme de Charles Chassé sur l'harmonie raciale entre les populations de colons et leurs « sombres ennemis » au Canada.

Les, comme l'appelaient ses amis, naît le 23 mai 1950 en Saskatchewan, probablement à l'Hôpital indien de Battleford. Sa mère est Crie, originaire de la réserve d'Ochapowace. Ses parents adoptifs le prennent avec eux alors qu'il est encore jeune et, après le déménagement de la famille à Calgary dans les années 1960, Leslie Dawn fréquente la Bowness High School. Ce n'est toutefois que dans les années 1990 qu'il demande le statut d'Indien. Sa femme Frederike Verspoor mentionne dans sa correspondance qu' « il ne voulait pas en faire toute une histoire ». Je peux personnellement témoigner de sa réticence à ce sujet. En effet, j'ai été son directeur de thèse de 1996 à 2001, et la question de son ascendance autochtone ne s'était jamais posée jusqu'au jour où il a soutenu sa thèse avec succès. Lors de la célébration qui a suivi l'événement, Sherrill Grace, auteure du livre *Inventing Tom Thomson*, lui a demandé s'il avait des origines autochtones. Sans dire un mot, il a sorti une carte d'identité de son portefeuille et l'a posée sur la table. « Vous ne me l'avez jamais dit », ai-je dit. « Vous ne me l'avez jamais demandé », a-t-il répondu.

Leslie Dawn n'appréciait guère les récits unifiés sur l'art canadien et la nation canadienne, en particulier lorsqu'ils étaient racontés au détriment d'autres artistes, notamment des membres des Premières Nations et des femmes. Celui qui se décrit comme un anticonformiste a commencé sa carrière d'enseignant à l'Université de Victoria, avant de devenir chargé d'enseignement et directeur de la Faculté des sciences humaines à l'Alberta College of Art and Design. En 1990, il se joint à la Faculté des beaux-arts de l'Université de Lethbridge, où il deviendra professeur titulaire. Jeffrey Spalding, son collègue à Lethbridge, a été un témoin privilégié de l'engagement de M. Dawn envers l'art contemporain, une passion manifeste qui transparaissait dans ses écrits et son enseignement. Il s'intéressait à l'ici et maintenant, écrit M. Spalding, à la manière dont le présent éclaire le passé et vice versa; il rendait l'histoire de l'art « cool » aux yeux des étudiants. Jeffrey Spalding imagine que Leslie Dawn aurait roulé des yeux devant cette expression familière et lui aurait reproché son hyperbole : « Un seul regard foudroyant de Les pouvait désarmer un adversaire de débat par ailleurs respectable. Il était à l'histoire de l'art ce que Terry Thomas était à l'humour anglais : à la fois drôle et cinglant ». Comme vous vous en doutez, il faisait un merveilleux compagnon de table.

Leslie Dawn est décédé le 18 septembre 2016. Frederike Verspoor, avec d'autres personnes, a établi le prix commémoratif Dr. Leslie Dawn à l'Université de Lethbridge afin de récompenser les étudiantes et étudiants s'illustrant par leur engagement communautaire dans le domaine des arts. Au moment de son décès, Les travaillait, non sans difficulté en raison de sa santé défaillante, sur l'article du présent volume réalisé en collaboration avec Damian Skinner. Ce fut sa dernière publication.

Writing history front to back, and back again

This thematic issue of the *Journal of Canadian Art History/ Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* has its institutional roots in a team-research project initiated by two members of the Department of Art History at Concordia University, Kristina Huneault and Anne Whitelaw. In 2013, they convened a workshop on settler-colonial art history, working with a colleague from New Zealand, Damian Skinner. What they hoped to achieve by bringing scholars together in Montreal was the framing and testing of an emergent methodology for national art history. Settler-colonial history – its theory, methodology, and protocols – seemed a promising alternative to national art histories, as narrated to that point, by complementing the Indigenous art histories being formulated at that time.

In the event, this workshop was the first of several meetings in Canada and elsewhere. If they continued as started in Montreal, these were heuristic conversations, reflexive and patient, engaged and sometimes prickly, as participants from different cultures felt their way. What was particularly compelling and challenging was their cobbling together of ideas at various stages of development and viability. There was chance-taking and there was pushback, as the various participants were energized by the possibility of transforming Canadian art history. All were willing, though some were also worrying about the broad brush of an apparatus that seemed at times to minimize the aggregate nature of Canadian society. One very straightforward – and to some degree unanswerable – question came from an Indigenous art historian: what's in it for us?

The most useful answers came rather more quickly that one might expect, and very much in the spirit of open inquiry that prompted them. A prescriptive handbook for Canadian settler-colonial history was never the objective; rather the outcomes can be appreciated in the subsequent work of the participants, starting with the two instigators: Huneault's monograph, *I'm Not Myself at All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada* (2018), and in Whitelaw's contribution as co-editor with Beverly Lemire and Laura Peers of *Object Lives and Global Histories in Northern North America: Material Culture in Motion, c. 1780-1980* (2021). The workshop and flow of ideas schooled much thinking, including my own.

The collection of articles in this issue has become increasingly important to me as a snapshot of discussions taking place at an extremely vital moment in Canadian art history. In addition to studies by Huneault and Whitelaw, an article by art historian and activist Charmaine Nelson situates the ongoing struggle to even acknowledge the Black presence in British North America, despite its presence in print and visual culture. An article co-written by Leslie Dawn and Damian Skinner underscores the importance of comparative

Revenir en arrière pour réécrire l'histoire

Ce numéro thématique de la revue *Journal of Canadian Art History/ Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* trouve ses racines dans un projet de recherche en équipe entrepris à l'Université Concordia par deux membres du Département d'histoire de l'art, Kristina Huneault et Anne Whitelaw. En 2013, celles-ci ont organisé un atelier sur l'histoire de l'art étudiée sous l'angle du colonialisme de peuplement, en collaboration avec Damian Skinner, un collègue néo-zélandais. En réunissant ainsi plusieurs chercheuses et chercheurs à Montréal, elles avaient pour but de cadrer et de tester une méthodologie émergente applicable à l'histoire de l'art nationale. L'histoire de l'art étudiée sous l'angle du colonialisme de peuplement – sa théorie, sa méthodologie et ses protocoles – semblait être une solution de rechange prometteuse aux histoires nationales qui avaient prévalu jusque-là, car elle apportait un complément aux histoires de l'art autochtone formulées à l'époque.

Cet atelier a été le premier d'une série de rencontres tenues au Canada et ailleurs. Les conversations se sont poursuivies comme elles avaient commencé à Montréal – heuristiques, réflexives et patientes, engagées et parfois épineuses – et ont permis à des participantes et participants de cultures différentes de trouver progressivement leurs marques. Il a été particulièrement captivant et stimulant de voir ces personnes élaborer et formuler des idées à différents stades de conceptualisation et de viabilité. Entre prises de risques et résistances, les participants demeuraient ouverts au dialogue, enthousiasmés par la possibilité de transformer l'histoire de l'art canadien, même si certains s'inquiétaient de l'approche globalisante d'un appareil qui semblait parfois minimiser la nature composite de la société canadienne. Une question très directe et, dans une certaine mesure sans réponse, a été posée par un historien de l'art autochtone : qu'est-ce que tout ça va nous apporter?

Les réponses les plus utiles sont arrivées plus rapidement que l'on aurait pu s'y attendre, et s'inscrivent tout à fait dans l'esprit de la question ouverte qui les a suscitées. L'objectif n'a jamais été de rédiger un manuel normatif sur l'histoire du colonialisme de peuplement au Canada. Les résultats des discussions peuvent être constatés dans les écrits subséquents des personnes participantes, à commencer par ceux des deux promotrices du processus : la monographie de Kristina Huneault, intitulée *I'm Not Myself at All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada* (2018), et la contribution d'Anne Whitelaw dans l'ouvrage qu'elle a codirigé avec Beverly Lemire et Laura Peers : *Object Lives and Global Histories in Northern North America : Material Culture in Motion, c. 1780-1980* (2021). L'atelier et l'échange des idées ont alimenté de nombreuses réflexions, y compris les miennes.

Les articles rassemblés dans le présent numéro ont acquis une importance croissante à mes yeux, car ils constituent un instantané des discussions qui

analysis of the settler-colonial fact – an object lesson in transnational specialization. While Leslie Dawn was prevented by illness from completing his intended modifications to this article, his workshop colleagues felt strongly that the text reflected his important contributions to the discussion. We are very grateful for permission to publish, but readers are advised that portions of the analysis may not reflect Dawn's most developed thinking on the issue.

A tribute to this influential scholar and teacher is offered by John O'Brian, and we dedicate this issue to the memory of Leslie Dawn.

Martha Langford

ont eu lieu à un moment extrêmement vital de l'histoire de l'art canadien. Aux analyses de Kristina Huneault et d'Anne Whitelaw vient s'ajouter un article de l'historienne de l'art et militante Charmaine Nelson qui situe les efforts encore nécessaires actuellement pour faire reconnaître la présence des Noirs en Amérique du Nord britannique, malgré leur apport notable à la culture imprimée et visuelle. Un article co-écrit par Leslie Dawn et Damian Skinner souligne l'importance de l'analyse comparative de la réalité du colonialisme de peuplement – une leçon de choses en matière de spécialisation transnationale. Bien que la maladie ait empêché Leslie Dawn de terminer les modifications qu'il souhaitait apporter à cet article, ses collègues de l'atelier sont convaincus que le texte est fidèle à ses importantes contributions aux discussions. Nous accueillons avec reconnaissance l'autorisation de publier cet article, mais nous tenons à aviser les lecteurs que certaines parties de l'analyse qui s'y trouve sont susceptibles ne pas refléter l'évolution de la pensée de Leslie Dawn sur cette question.

John O'Brian présente un hommage à l'influent chercheur et enseignant qu'était Leslie Dawn, et nous dédions ce numéro à sa mémoire.

Martha Langford



Standpoint: Canadian Art History, Indigenous Sovereignty, and Settler Positionality

KRISTINA HUNEAULT

We can only interpret the world from the place of our experience.
– Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*[1]

Writing Canadian art history has become a far trickier business than once it was. The identity-based narrative that unified the field for the better part of a century is now routinely challenged, as much by those who have been excluded from hegemonic formulations of Canadian art history, as by those who never wished for inclusion in the first place. From beyond Canadian borders, too, the pressures of globalization destabilize the logic of local exceptionalism that so long constituted a defining characteristic of art historical thought in this place.

At the heart of these changes lies the heavily overdetermined place of the nation.[2] Like its European progenitors at the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian art history was founded on nationalist principles, taking wing on the centennial celebrations of 1967 that marked Canadian confederation and the nation's gradual break from its colonial tutelage.[3] The task that historians of Canadian art took upon themselves then was not dissimilar from the challenge that its artists had faced half a century earlier: that of navigating the relation to an international context without appearing hopelessly provincial. In both instances, a unifying rhetoric of Canadian distinctiveness was activated, creating a field that focused on place as an engine for art and experience while effectively pushing Europe into the repressed regions of the national art historical imaginary from whence it returned, from time to time, in the form of a lingering feeling of inferiority that historian Katie Pickles has so aptly termed "cultural cringe."[4] The strengthening of an alternative *Québécois* nationalism within Canada shortly thereafter exerted a certain pressure on the newly-founded field of Canadian art history, but it did not fundamentally shake it. Rather, linguistic, political, and institutional divisions

Detail of Sophie and Jimmy Frank with family at Eslhà7an, c. 1930s, with Sophie Frank in the foreground. The two children in the background are Loretta and Rose Williams. Black and white silver gelatin copy print, 12 × 17 cm. North Vancouver Museum and Archives, inventory no. 7120. (Photo: Courtesy of the North Vancouver Museum and Archives)

produced a Quebec art history running on a largely parallel course of its own, to which Canadianists were able to turn whenever the need for bi-cultural inclusiveness became pressing.

Latterly, however, the ideal of cultural inclusiveness, so long a lynchpin of Canadian national identity, has come under attack. While the population at large debates the extent to which it is willing to welcome immigrants and accommodate their different cultural practices, a growing body of scholarly literature implicates the nation's official policy of multiculturalism in the perpetuation of the very Euro-Canadian privilege that the multiculturalist stance would initially appear to resist.[5] As racialized people protest their continuing exclusion from the Canadian cultural imaginary, they also foreground a diasporic experience that decentres the centripetal thrust of nation-based discourse. Simultaneously, the very project of Canadian art history finds itself troubled by a movement for Indigenous sovereignty that gains in strength from year to year. With First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people claiming political and cultural territories of their own, Indigenous theorists of decolonization have further challenged Canada's "politics of recognition," characterizing it as but the latest refinement in a long history of assimilative techniques.[6]

In the face of such critiques, many Euro-Canadian historians of Canadian art are left wondering how our own positions, priorities, and practices are affected. One way forward – and the way that this essay explores – is to reposition Canadian art history within a larger framework of settler-colonial studies, thus enabling scholars to articulate new ways of speaking back to the discipline's founding colonial/national problematic, as well as forward to the need for resolution of its ongoing decolonial dilemmas. The impact of settler-colonial studies on Canadian art's relation to a larger transnational and global migratory context is taken up by other contributors to this issue. In this essay, I limit my discussion to the utility of a settler-colonial framework for Euro-Canadian scholars of Canadian art who are seeking new ways to understand their relation to a field so powerfully altered by the Indigenous artists, art writers, curators, and art historians who now invigorate the varied contexts in which we work. To write – and to *wish* to write – as a settler scholar is, I argue, not to embrace an ethos of guilt, nor to assume a fixed identity within a restrictive binary paradigm, but rather to claim an historically situated position from which to speak.

Settler Standpoint

The idea of speaking as a settler in the twenty-first century has become increasingly common. Settlement, we now recognize, is not only something

that happened long ago – when my own ancestors came to North America from France and the British Isles, for example. Rather, I too continue to be a settler, and this for the simple reason that colonialism has not ended in Canada. Despite some steps to come to terms with past theft and violence,[7] injustice persists because colonization also persists. As settler scholar Kevin FitzMaurice explains:

> We have created a colonizing state and the state further creates us . . . my very presence in Canada as a voter, taxpayer, and overall contributing citizen is premised upon a primary usurpation of Aboriginal authority. And thus it is a presence which functions to continually reproduce and legitimate the state at the expense of Aboriginal political and territorial sovereignty.[8]

The continuity of settler colonialism positions all those living in Canada within its structure in some way – whether as settlers, as Indigenous peoples, or as migrants, or, increasingly, as mixtures thereof.

At the level of its broadest applicability, then, the settler-colonial framework brings to Canadian art historians of all ethnic backgrounds the power to name and analyse a primary determinant of our cultural field.[9] This is not an insignificant gain. One of settler colonialism's most effective contemporary strategies remains the denial of the persistence of colonialism, and so to some extent, the mere act of claiming ongoing belonging within the structure also constitutes a rudimentary stand against it.[10] For the majority of practitioners of Canadian art history, however, that stand is necessarily complicated by an awareness of our own implication, as Euro-Canadians, in a system that reproduces settler opportunities and advantages at the expense of more recent migrants and Indigenous peoples. If settler positionality is to be more than a self-assuaging opportunity for Euro-Canadians to attempt to reposition ourselves on the right side of history, it must be closely thought through as a standpoint from which to practice scholarly responsibility.

The term "standpoint" will be a familiar one to readers versed in feminism, where it references the epistemological premise that all knowledges are, in Donna Haraway's influential term, "situated knowledges": shifting, partial, and deeply grounded in the material and historical conditions that give rise to experience.[11] A primary consequence of this insight is that consideration of the experiences of marginalized and disempowered groups is likely to disrupt understandings of reality that have been formed in ignorance of them, but there has also been a secondary effect, which is to push researchers to an awareness of how our own backgrounds and status shape the knowledge we produce.

Such notions find resonance in more recent writing on Indigenous methodologies, which also accepts the subjectivity of knowledge-production as a given and emphasizes the importance of situating oneself within one's research.[12] Drawing the link to feminism, for example, Margaret Kovach highlights self-locating as a means to increase awareness of the power differentials that shape society, while also emphasizing the value of self-reflexivity for scholars seeking to maintain an awareness of the purpose and motives that underpin their inquiry.[13] In both Indigenous and feminist cases, personal narratives are often central to the reflexive process. The "grounded" research that Kovach identifies as an important aspect of Indigenous methodology is, as she points out, "best defined within the context of a person's life and relationship with culture," and because story-telling is central to Indigenous ways of knowing and transmitting culture, Kovach advocates both listening to the research stories of others and telling one's own.[14] Feminist researchers, too, often incorporate self-reflexive accounts of their backgrounds and research processes.[15] Taking this overlap between Western and Indigenous perspectives as an auspicious point of departure for an analysis of contemporary settler-colonial practice, I will structure my account of that framework's potential utility for practitioners of Canadian art history through a telling of my own research story, incorporating broader considerations as they intersect with my tale, and drawing methodological conclusions from that intersection. My hope is that my personal narrative will resonate with other Euro-Canadian scholars of Canadian art seeking to conceptualize their practice within a broad spectrum of decolonizing orientations.

Critique, Agency, and Responsibility

Like many of the mid-late career art historians now teaching in Canadian universities, I am a scholarly product of the 1990s, with its enthusiastic challenging of master narratives and mobilization of minoritarian identity politics. The year that I entered grad school was the year that Tsimshian scholar Marcia Crosby first rocked the Canadian art world by laying bare the colonizing implications of the work and reception of one of the nation's most iconic artists, the British Columbia painter Emily Carr (Fig. 1).[16] As Crosby exposed the mechanisms of veiled colonial self-interest that lay behind settlers' aesthetic fascination with First Nations people (the salvage paradigm, authenticity, exoticization), my peers and I responded with a youthful combination of pious outrage at the sins of others and naive optimism in our ability to step outside that history, avoiding its pitfalls altogether. Cognizant of the damage inflicted by Euro-Canadian appropriations of Indigenous



1 | A coiled cedar basket sits in the foreground of Harold Mortimer-Lamb's photograph of *Emily Carr in Her Studio*, 1939, negative, 7 × 6 cm, Collection of the Vancouver Art Gallery. Gift of Claudia Beck and Andrew Gruft. (Photo: Courtesy of the Vancouver Art Gallery)

culture, I limited my sphere of scholarly engagement to artists and artworks I felt authorized to talk about because they were in some way *like me*. In this, I believe myself to be typical of many socially-aware Euro-Canadian scholars, for whom, as FitzMaurice notes, it can readily come to seem that "the only manner of genuinely relating to Aboriginal people as a white person" is

simply to step aside altogether, leaving it to Indigenous people to conduct their own struggles for self-determination.[17]

Initially, I stepped well aside indeed, moving to England to study representations of women within the British culture that had informed my own. On returning to Canada, however, and taking up employment in a department renowned for its focus on Canadian art, such avoidance quickly became untenable; the nineteenth-century Canadian women artists who now became my focus of study had been fascinated by Indigenous peoples, and analyses of their work brought me onto new and sometimes challenging methodological terrain. The challenges were made manageable, however, by the fact that the artists I chose to study all remained British or Euro-Canadian.[18] As I set about exploring their representations of Indigenous peoples, I hoped to contribute to a wider art-historical critique of patterns of colonial representation and the Western ideologies that supported them.

In this, I had powerful models to learn from. Over recent decades, Canadian art writing has been enriched by a wealth of critical scholarship that dismantles the conceptual infrastructure tethering the nation's art to the colonizing project. Calling Euro-Canadian individuals and institutions to account (Emily Carr, the Group of Seven, Marius Barbeau, and the National Gallery of Canada have come in for particular attention), scholars have detailed the practices of representation, collection, and display that have bolstered national identity.[19] From such work, we have come to understand that the forging of settler nationhood happened both by means of Indigenous culture and, too frequently, at its direct expense.

Much as I have learned from the critical project, however, other considerations combined to push me beyond it. One might best be described as a problem of delimitation: a difficulty in keeping subjects in clearly defined places. My inquiry into women and art in Canada had led me to an appreciation of the multifaceted lives and motivations of specific actors, both settler and Indigenous, whose identities were deeply affected by family histories of intermarriage.[20] As the difficulty of separating out settler from Indigenous identities impressed itself upon me, I became dissatisfied with simply reiterating the macro narrative of colonial power; its blunt reality of oppressors and the oppressed began to seem insufficient to the lives I was describing on a micro level. Such a conclusion, of course, offers rather comfortable ground for a settler to inhabit, and doubtless I have taken some consolation in microhistory's complication of a victims-and-villains view of the past. Yet my deep dive into history was as much confounding as comforting, for – as if in a mirror – it also held up the similarities between myself and the settler artists that I was studying. And in so doing, it foregrounded my own implication in the very structure I had thought to critique.

Another consideration, too, prompted me to move beyond the project of critiquing settler representation: namely, the potential for critique to reify, and thus inadvertently to replicate, the very narratives it wishes to unsettle. Indigenous thinkers have long insisted that postcolonial criticism offers only a very partial corrective to the problems surrounding cultural knowledge in settler societies, for it brings with it a tendency to restrict Indigenous people to their role in the narrative of Western (anti)colonialism, passing over in silence those emic aspects of Indigenous cultures that pre-existed the encounter with Western systems of power and which have not subsequently been subsumed by it.[21] Where, I wondered, were the creative concerns and agencies of colonized peoples in art historical accounts that remain focused on colonialism's hegemonic actors and its dominant forms of artistic production?

As I worked through my project on women and art in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada, the relevance of such issues for my own work became increasingly apparent to me. Consider the Beothuk people of Newfoundland: a population whose DNA continues to survive through genetic admixture, but which has been otherwise extinguished by colonization, leaving no language, customs, or communities through which it might be carried forward. In view of the enormity of this loss, I struggled to write about the pictorial record of encounter between British and Beothuk women without re-inscribing the colonizing trope of the "vanishing Indian." Increasingly, and with much reticence, I was drawn to conclude that the devastating virulence of that particular trope made it incumbent upon me to contribute to a counter-narrative through informed discussion of the lively and sophisticated cultural production of Indigenous women themselves.

Here, however, with the prospect of "informed discussion," the ethical and methodological dilemmas facing the settler art historian came more sharply into focus. Most of the Indigenous artists, curators, and critics now having such a profound effect on cultural discourse are working to further the project of Indigenous cultural sovereignty. As such, their labour, even when it is undertaken within the context of settler institutions, is not primarily intended *for* settler or migrant publics. Yet their writings, exhibitions, and public addresses have an impact on those publics nonetheless, as they bring an increasing number of Euro-Canadians to a realization of the depth of our ignorance of Indigenous realities.

Among settler academics, such self-awareness is commonly met by a desire for knowledge, and Stó:lō scholar Dylan Robinson has spoken eloquently of the "hungry listening" that settlers have so often brought to their encounters with Indigenous people.[22] The violence of colonization has left a hole in the settler psyche that, in a crowning irony, it turns to Indigenous people to fill, manifesting as a desire for knowledge that risks

reproducing colonizing relations between knower and known. Absence of knowledge is not always a preferable alternative, however. Decolonial settler scholar Paulette Regan has highlighted how settlers' claims of ignorance of Indigenous realities have functioned as one of our chief mechanisms for avoiding responsibility for injustice.[23] Such ignorance further sustains damaging stereotypes that legitimate colonizing beliefs and subtend the actions of civil and military authorities. As Regan underlines, if Canadian society is to decolonize, one of the pressing needs is for a greater understanding of Indigenous experience on the part of settlers. To leave the responsibility for cultivating this understanding entirely on the shoulders of Indigenous people – on the grounds that only they can authoritatively represent themselves – is, it seems to me, another way of avoiding responsibility. Arguably, then, informed settler discussion of Indigenous *and* non-Indigenous realities is part of the decolonizing project. But how is such informed discussion to be conducted? What, precisely, is involved in occupying settler positionality as a platform for doing decolonial art history?

Allies

One way of inhabiting settler positionality, current amongst Canadian scholars in a range of disciplines, is to situate oneself as an ally. An ally, according to one influential definition, is "a member of an oppressor group [who] works to end that form of oppression which gives him or her a privilege."[24] Settler allies seek a profound understanding of the ideological roots of colonialism, recognize their own implication in these structures, and work to divest themselves of the deeply-embedded mental habits and characteristics of colonizers. Allies enter into partnerships with Indigenous people, working over years and decades to developing lasting ties with Indigenous communities. Above all, as the term has come to be theorized in recent scholarly and activist discourse, allies voluntarily surrender authority, so that these partnerships may be governed by Indigenous cultural frameworks and turned towards Indigenous objectives. Cultural geographer Adam Barker pulls no punches as he outlines the responsibility of the settler ally:

> In order to restore a measure of balance to the inevitable power relationships and imbalances in [settler-colonial] society, Settler people must be willing to take the power that has been granted them by virtue of their "membership" in Settler society and put it at the disposal of those whose power has been violently co-opted or stolen . . . regardless of whether or not [their] goals fit a Settler individual's pre-existing idea of what form the struggle should take.[25]

This understanding of settler responsibility, sometimes known as a "refuser position," is reiterated by Kevin FitzMaurice, who ties it to a process of "indigenizing whiteness" – a process contingent on settler willingness to come together on Indigenous terms.[26]

Amongst historians of art in Canada, allies are most active within the field of Indigenous art history. Again, terminology is important here. Traditionally, the adjectival modifier in the phrase "Indigenous art history" has been taken to modify the kind of art being studied. Understood in this way, Indigenous art history in Canada is the examination and analysis of the expressive cultures of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. But the flexibility of the English language is such that the adjective "Indigenous" may also signify a scholarly orientation towards the art and history in question, and increasingly, decolonial Indigenous art history is being refigured in this fashion. A major symposium held at my university in 2016 brought an impressive range of thinkers together to model Indigenous ways of talking about Indigenous culture.[27] Amongst the few settler scholars who occupied the podium, ally positionality was apparent in a care to prioritize Indigenous modes of address, concerns, and approaches. Notably, the conference was co-organized by an Inuk scholar, Heather Igloliorte, and a settler one, Carla Taunton. The two delivered their opening address jointly, but while Igloliorte also presented her own research, Taunton did not. Her silence was not an empty one, however; rather, it offered eloquent testimony to the ally's willingness to come together on Indigenous terms, facilitating the gathering but not directing the conversation.

Not all settler practitioners of Indigenous art history have been allies, of course. Nor, to make matters still more complicated, do all settler art historians who find themselves writing about Indigenous art consider themselves to be practitioners of Indigenous art history, in either sense of that term. As an historian of women's art focused on the geographical terrain that has come to be known as Canada, I am a case in point. What is the role, function, and responsibility of those who consider ourselves Canadian art historians in relation to Indigenous cultural production? Conventional accounts of Canadian art make no room at all for such production, while more inclusive recent treatments have been criticized as co-optive.[28] Nevertheless, the deeply intertwined histories of the different people who inhabit this land mean that Indigenous art can only be avoided at a cost. In Canada, an art history of place that does not undertake to speak of Indigenous art will necessarily be partial and flawed, even in its telling of the hegemonic culture of the settlers who have been influenced by it.[29] Indeed, the entire premise of Canadian art history has been predicated on a nation-building project that provided both the ideological justification for Indigenous dispossession and an effective means of whitewashing it. The



2 | Sewi<u>n</u>chelwet (Sophie Frank) with her baskets and a child who is possibly Mrs Tina Cole, c. 1919. University of Victoria Archives, Maria Tippett fonds, AR426. (Photo: Courtesy of the University of Victoria Archives)

boundaries of the settler nation-state thus form an unlikely point of departure for an art history told on Indigenous terms. Given this, is it even possible for a "*Canadian* art historian" to be an ally in the same way that a settler-born historian of Indigenous art might be? And what are the alternatives?

Emily Carr and Sewi<u>n</u>chelwet (Sophie Frank)

My personal engagement with these questions began with my decision to write about settler and Indigenous art in relation to each other by devoting a chapter of my book on women and art in Canada to a comparative analysis of the cultural productions of Emily Carr (1871–1945) and her friend Sewi<u>n</u>chelwet (1872–1939), a S<u>k</u>w<u>x</u>wú7mesh (Squamish) basket maker from North Vancouver's Mission Reserve, known to Carr as Sophie Frank (Fig. 2).[30] At the time I began my research, existing writings on Carr and Frank seemed to exemplify the limitations of postcolonial critique that had begun to concern me. Both settler and Indigenous authors had written insightfully about Carr's self-construction through her othering of Frank,

but there was virtually no art-historical research about Sewinchelwet herself. While important attempts had been made to acknowledge Sophie Frank as a person and an artist in her own right, all were fictionalized in nature.[31] Even basic facts, such as her birth name and date of birth, remained unknown to art historians.[32] There had been no attempt to inquire seriously into Frank's basketry, and certainly none that granted it the same aesthetic and spiritual weight that has long been accorded to Carr's painting.[33] This was something I thought I might achieve. Writing about Carr in relation to Sewinchelwet and her art would enable me to meaningfully acknowledge Indigenous agency, while research into basketry would provide an opportunity to interview contemporary Salish makers, thus countervailing the Vanishing Indian trope that was so uncomfortably enmeshed with the Beothuk material earlier in my book. Both of these outcomes I considered to be consistent with the decolonizing project.

As weighty as these considerations are, however, it is possible that on their own they might not have impelled me to take the risks that I knew must attend any effort on my part to speak about a Salish culture of which I was, at the outset, entirely unfamiliar. Simply put, I was afraid. And with good reason. Settler scholars' ignorance of Indigenous culture has a long history of causing harm – a pattern that I did not wish to replicate. But my fear also had a more self-interested side, for in the current academic context, the damage wrought by misguided settler interventions is as likely to befall the scholar herself as those she is writing about. In view of these considerations, only a more closely personal motivation could have convinced me to expose my settler flank in this way. That motivation came with my growing realization that writing about Sewinchelwet's basketry would push the developing theoretical arc of my manuscript in new and highly productive directions.

I want to pause on these words and consider them – but first, some context. The book of which I am speaking was, for me, a major endeavour. Its project was to investigate women's art for what it has to tell us about ways of understanding the self in relation to others and to the world around us. While the early chapters of the book had amply discussed the subjective aspects of settler women's relations with fellow human beings (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous), the matter of subjectively constitutive relations with the non-human world was still largely to be addressed. Enter Emily Carr. I had scrupulously avoided Carr to this point in my research (done to death, and cranky to boot!), but her copious reflections on self and land now emerged as precisely what the project needed in order to think through the impact of the non-human world on subject formation. Writing about a Canadian cultural icon is no easy task, however; one needs, at minimum, something new to say. Enter Sewinchelwet. The desirability of restoring



3 | Emily Carr, *Stumps and Sky*, c. 1934, oil on wove paper, 58 × 90 cm, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift from the Douglas M. Duncan Collection, 1970, acc. no. 70/31. (Photo: Courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ontario)

Sewinchelwet and her work to the art-historical record seemed clear enough. Moreover, the holistic cultural framework at the heart of Salish basketry is rooted in a connectedness between self and land that is both quite similar to and importantly different from Carr's Romantic and panentheistic longing for the dissolution of the self in nature. I hoped that comparison of the two would allow me to understand both better and, as I have said, to push the developing theoretical arc of my manuscript in new and productive directions (Figs. 3 and 4).

I repeat my words because they crystallize a problem, for what they are effectively saying is that Indigenous art had something to offer *me* – that it was *useful* in furthering the development of my own settler ideas as these were embodied in the conceptual trajectory of a project that was dear to me. Indeed, a conference paper stemming from the research went even further in this direction, as I realized that what I had learned about Salish basketry could help extricate Canadian art historical discourse on landscape art from the theoretical impasse of the nature/culture debate into which I considered that it had fallen. Whatever my decolonial good intentions, then, I seemed to



4 | Unidentified Squamish woman from North Vancouver, coiled basket, n.d., cedar root and sapling wood, wild cherry bark, grass, 44 × 21 × 15 cm, Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria, cat. no. 11594. (Photo: Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum)

have been brought up against an instance of one of those deep-seated habits of colonial thought: the habit of using Indigenous culture to advance settler interests and concerns. Marcia Crosby's 1991 charge of settler self-interest and self-absorption rang out again in my head: "For the First Nations reader," Crosby wrote in her comments about Emily Carr and Canadian art history, "there is the uncomfortable recognition of the dominant culture once again engaged in a conversation with itself, using First Nations people to measure itself, to define who it is or is not."[34] And, we might add, to pursue its own needs and development. I was deeply uneasy.

Gradually, however, and by thinking through the behaviours and impacts at play in my chapter on Carr and Sewinchelwet, I have made at least a provisional peace with this anxiety. In the process, I have concluded two things: first, that my scholarly practice with respect to Indigenous art has not been conducted as an ally (at least not as the term has come to be understood in Canada), and second, that this is not necessarily an ethical failing. As I continue with the close telling of my research journey, my aim is to unpack certain points of interest that may suggest a way forward for other non-Indigenous practitioners of Canadian art history seeking to conceptualize their practice within a range of decolonizing orientations. For me, the key to this possibility has been the prospect – opened up by settler-colonial studies – of thinking and writing about multiple cultural

histories in Canada from a settler standpoint that is avowedly and overtly my own. Keeping Crosby's cautionary words at the forefront of my mind, I will examine the character and implications of this standpoint through the lens of intercultural conversation.

Conversations

During the time I spent researching and writing about Sewin̲chelwet and her basketry, many Indigenous people had the generosity to speak with me, including basket makers, weavers, scholars, and curators from a range of different Coast Salish nations, as well as elders and members of the Sḵwx̲wú7mesh Nation that Frank particularly belonged to.[35] In these conversations I found myself adopting the stance of the listener who wishes to learn and endeavours to do so respectfully. While my identity as a Euro-Canadian living within a situation of ongoing colonialism meant that I sometimes found such conversations socially and emotionally difficult, my responsibilities seemed comparatively clear. Guided by colleagues, I attempted to find appropriate ways of returning the generosity that was extended to me; I brought gifts to those who met with me, I shared the archival knowledge I had accumulated when this seemed to be of interest, and I offered those with whom I spoke the opportunity to review my presentation of their words prior to publication. In retrospect, it is clear to me that I could have done all of these things more skilfully and to far greater effect, but the principles of respect and reciprocity that I was endeavouring to be guided by were clear enough. It was only when it came time for me to shift from listening to writing that my confusion began in earnest.

Even the most basic choices seemed to bedevil me. Should I consistently refer to Sewin̲chelwet by the ancestral name that her family had given me permission to publish, thus honouring her Sḵwx̲wú7mesh identity, or would it be more appropriate for me, as a settler scholar, to lean more heavily on the English name that Frank herself used when interacting with Euro-Canadians? To this day, it is a question that I go back and forth on. At the time, I found the new uncertainty about my own authorial voice and position to be destabilizing. A first attempt at a conference paper made it clear that I would need to abandon the expert stance so habitually adopted by scholars in speaking of their research. But if I could not speak of Indigenous art as an expert, how was I to speak of it? How, in particular, was I to navigate the difference between Indigenous voices and perspectives on basketry and my own? Given Crosby's charge of Eurocentric solipsism and the self-abnegating orientation of much ally discourse, was my own perspective even a legitimate one to develop or express? As I pondered these questions, I found

myself going over the methodological implications of three conversations in particular.

First of these was an email exchange with Chief Bill James of the Lummi Nation. I had written to Chief James, who is a weaver, basket maker, and teacher, to ask if he would share his knowledge of weaving with me. Chief James asked me why I wished to learn, and I responded by speaking about my interest in the relationship between people and the land, and my sense that knowing about basketry would elucidate ways of thinking about this topic that are important, not least in the light of our current environmental crisis. Chief James responded to say that he felt this was a story worth telling, and we agreed to meet. Here, then, is one way of thinking through the apparent impasse between my purpose and Crosby's cautionary words, for it is sometimes the case that the interests and desires of settlers and Indigenous people coincide, and that in furthering the one, we may do justice also to the other.

But coincidence of interests brings no guarantee of congruence in approach. Even when we are brought together by shared issues and concerns, settler and Indigenous perspectives on these will not necessarily coincide, and methods for addressing joint considerations will also differ. Moreover, in the context of ongoing colonization, where knowledge is inevitably linked to power, settler ways of knowing remain tied to patterns of harm, and these ties must be broken if settler scholars are to think and speak respectfully about Indigenous art.

I came to a practical appreciation of these considerations in the context of my conversations with Sesemiya Tracy Williams, a Sḵwx̱wú7mesh artist from North Vancouver who has created work modelled on Sewin̲chelwet's basketry designs (see Fig. 2). Together, we looked at the one securely attributed photograph of Sewin̲chelwet and her work. The baskets in that image are larger and far more spectacular than those that survive today (Fig. 5). Looking at them, Williams spoke knowledgeably and passionately about her predecessor's skilful execution, visible in the tight and regular coiling, and most especially in the innovative sense of movement and three-dimensions created by the patterning. As Williams shared her own intimate familiarity with the processes of Salish making, I listened closely and endeavoured to understand what she told me. When she read the draft of my text, however, a potential for harm in my approach to knowledge surfaced, rooted in our different cultural contexts and traditions.

Any non-Indigenous Canadian familiar with the name of Sophie Frank has almost certainly come to that familiarity through the writings of Emily Carr, but Williams had come to Sewin̲chelwet through her own community and culture. Before reading my text, she was not familiar with Carr's account,



5 | Sewinchelwet Sophie Frank, coiled storage basket, n.d., cedar root and sapling wood, wild cherry bark, 25 × 26 cm, private collection, Sechelt. (Photo: Kyla Bailey)

which centres on the tremendous hardships of Frank's life and includes information about their damaging personal consequences. In my review of the existing literature, I had repeated this information as a matter of course. Its inclusion, however, was painful to Williams. The artist articulated to me how hurtful she found it that I was circulating negative statements about a woman who had clearly endured great suffering and yet managed to produce work that inspires emulation even today. She also told me that it was Sḵwx̱wú7mesh custom to speak no ill of the dead.

This custom, of course, also exists in many European cultures, and historians not infrequently find themselves pushing against it. My initial response to Williams was very much that of the historian. Trained to value thoroughness of information, I proposed that by more carefully contextualizing Carr's account I might create a frame for it that would mitigate its harmful potential. Williams was not persuaded, and she reiterated her opinion that my text would cause pain and offense in the Sḵwx̱wú7mesh community. Considering my debt to a community that had welcomed me, I chose to remove the offending material. In doing so, I was aware that I might have acted differently had I been writing about a non-Indigenous artist, but I was also aware that in Sḵwx̱wú7mesh culture families have a particular responsibility for bearing the names and histories of their ancestors forward. For an outsider – any outsider – to come in and tell that history in a way likely to cause pain is to ride roughshod over Sḵwx̱wú7mesh values, but for a settler to do so is also to perpetuate a centuries-old pattern of disregard and cultural violence. Thinking through the requirements of a decolonizing settler art history, then, it seemed fairly clear to me that there are things it is not appropriate for settlers to discuss.

But where is the line of appropriateness to be drawn? And to what extent does it govern not only *what* is spoken of, but *how*? In writing about Sḵwx̱wú7mesh basketry, I also found myself changing aspects of my research methods. For example, as an historian trained in settler institutions, I bring to my scholarship a heightened awareness of the way in which individuals and cultures change over time. For this reason, it would never occur to me to interview a British woman artist of today and expect that her practice might reveal important truths about the ideas and work of female painters in England a hundred years ago. Yet this is precisely what I found myself doing with Sḵwx̱wú7mesh basket makers, asking them questions about the perspectives on self and world that are embodied in contemporary basketry and bringing their responses to bear on my discussion of Frank. When I presented my work at conferences in settler institutions I was occasionally reminded of this discrepancy, called out for the commission of historical anachronism, or, worse, implicitly accused of immuring Indigenous people

in a timeless world that deprived them of historical development. And yet no Indigenous person ever questioned my manner of proceeding in this way, or even appeared to find it strange. In part, this difference can be attributed to the hereditary nature of Salish basketry, which makes a focus on intergenerational transmission logical, but it also speaks to broader differences in Euro-American and Indigenous orientations towards the past: one more attuned to rupture and change, the other more oriented towards continuity and survivance. Engaging this latter perspective was the only way in which I could learn about and convey important truths about the baskets, for the words and ideas of contemporary makers' ancestors had not been included within the historical record created by settlers. To simply accept the silence imposed by those gaps seemed like an admission of defeat in the face of injustice, particularly when an alteration of methodological approach could be so richly productive.

Still, I remained mindful that my method would be difficult for some members of my settler audience to accept. More than that, I understood the cause of that discomfort and even shared some of it. For this reason, a conversation with Chief Bill Williams emerged as particularly important to me, for it enabled me to close this historical gap. Chief Williams, at that time the Sḵwx̱wú7mesh Nation's chief land negotiator, is also the grandson of Sophie Frank's sister, Sut'elut Monica Williams (Figs. 6 and 7). Like her sister, Chief Williams' grandmother had learned her basketry from her mother, inheriting the technical knowledge the craft demanded as well as the spiritual and ecological worldviews that it imbued. But while Sewin̲chelwet had had no surviving descendants to whom she might impart her knowledge, Sut'elut *had* passed her teachings down to her grandson, and these, to the extent that he shared them with me, coincided exactly with the perspectives expressed by contemporary basket makers and weavers. My conviction in the validity of the link between past and present was further reinforced by means of a conversation with weaver Jessica Casey (Sechelt), who led me to anthropological field notes of an interview with Frank's own husband, Jimmy, conducted in the mid-1930s. To my delight, Jimmy's historical observations about the personhood of cedar trees also confirmed the words of contemporary makers. In this way, I was able to have my methodological cake and eat it too: providing the historical specificity and contemporaneity so dear to settler researchers, while benefitting from the culture of intergenerational oral transmission so integral to Salish society. The objections at settler conferences dried up.

So far, then, I had been able to harmonize settler and Indigenous methodological approaches. But when I shared a draft of my text with Chief Williams, asking his approval for my use of the information he had shared,



6 | Unidentified photographer, Sut'elut Monica Williams, with her son David, n.d., private collection. (Photo: Chief Bill Williams)



7 | Sophie and Jimmy Frank with family at Eslhà7an, c. 1930s. *Back row*: Siamelaht (Polly, Mrs. Chief Harry), Loretta Williams, Rose Williams, Marjorie Williams Paul. *Front row*: Sophie and Jimmy Frank., c. 1930s. In 2010, elders from the Squamish community confirmed Sophie Frank's identity during a joint project with the North Vancouver Museum and Archives; Vanessa Campbell of the Squamish Nation has recently confirmed it. Black and white silver gelatin copy print, 12 × 17 cm. North Vancouver Museum and Archives, inventory no. 7120. (Photo: Courtesy of the North Vancouver Museum and Archives)

another difference in perspective emerged. At issue was the question of how I would treat the link between Sophie Frank's holistic sensibility and Carr's longing for an achieved unity with nature. Chief Williams asked me to draw a direct causal relationship between Frank's view of the land and Carr's, explaining that Carr had learned her ideas from his great aunt. The consequence of such a claim would be significant, placing Indigenous wisdom and tradition at the foundation of Carr's landscape painting, and thus at

the heart of some of settler culture's most iconic imagery. It is an entirely plausible scenario. Nonetheless, I did not feel justified in making the claim so strongly, for I knew that Carr was also getting very similar messages from at least five other sources: Transcendentalist poetry, Theosophy, the American New Thought movement (an early version of New Age mysticism), Christian mysticism, and a heavily filtered Hinduism.[36] In view of these other possible sources, I did not feel I could make the causal connection as clearly and exclusively as Chief Williams wished me to make it. Communicating this discomfort to Chief Williams, I suggested two ways forward: I was willing either to present the claim as a hypothesis, while also presenting the evidence for alternate causal chains, or I would simply say that Sophie Frank's family considered that Frank had decisively influenced Carr in this regard. In his reply, Chief Williams commented that, in view of my training, he understood how I would find it difficult to make the causal link, and he asked me to adopt the second course of action.

At a pragmatic level, then, our difficulty was easily resolved. But in the coming days and weeks I found myself brooding over Chief Williams' reference to "my training." Rightly or wrongly, I felt that his words implied an unspoken critique of that training. I worried that he considered me to be so limited by my Eurocentric allegiance to evidentially-supported empirical fact that I could not understand and account for a holistic Indigenous epistemology, where what is prioritized is the larger sense of what the speaker knows from personal experience to be so (in this case, presumably, the incontrovertible reality that Canadian culture generally, and Carr in particular, *did* take from Indigenous cultures, without permission or recognition). And yet, I insisted to myself, it was not a failing to understand this broader view of truth that had led me to write as I did, but rather my unwillingness to privilege it at the expense my own sense of my responsibilities as an historian.

I have not had the opportunity to discuss this aspect of our conversation with Chief Williams, and so I cannot say for sure what he intended. But as I have pondered over the different meanings that his words might have for my practice, another possibility has occurred to me. Perhaps, rather than questioning the breadth or adequacy of my training, Chief Williams was recognizing its validity as a determinant of my own intellectual needs. By asking me to write a text that would acknowledge his claim *as being the perspective of Frank's family* he ensured that his own voice was heard, while not asking me to compromise my perspective as a settler who is governed by different cultural and intellectual traditions. In our brief exchange, it is possible that Chief Williams was authorizing me to develop precisely the kind of art historical approach that I wish to argue for here: a method of

respectful engagement that acknowledges difference and, while demanding both openness to it and sensitivity to the colonial context, does not require a relinquishing of one's own intellectual approaches and priorities, unless these are causing harm.

The Ethical Space of Sovereignty

In Canada, precedents for such a model of intercultural relations are longstanding. The Onkwehonwe two-row wampum, which encapsulates the treaty principle of *Kaswentha*, was perhaps its earliest pictorial articulation. With its two parallel rows of purple beads on a white ground, the wampum is said to symbolize two canoes, Native and newcomer, separate from each other, but travelling together in mutual respect.[37] More recently, Cree ethicist Willie Ermine has elaborated a similar model of intercultural relations as transpiring an "ethical space" that is brought into being by the encounter between two separate entities with different intentions and values, "each claiming their own distinct and autonomous view of the world, and each holding a different account of what they are seeing across the cultural border."[38] This, I think, was the space in which Chief Williams and I found ourselves residing. By navigating it in a way that recognized the needs of each party, we succeeded in honouring the obligations created by that space.

One of the most deeply-rooted needs of Western scholars is to create and put forward our own ideas. To think, to analyze, to draw conclusions according to one's own light – these are the powers that academics most cherish. Fortunately, they are not limited resources. Unlike colonial occupation of Indigenous land, the exercise of such power by one party does not mean that another must be proportionally deprived. Of course, my thinking takes place in an institutional infrastructure that *is* characterised by limited resources: only so many tenure-track positions exist; galleries only mount a certain number of exhibitions annually; not all journal articles are published. If my settler way of speaking about Indigenous art comes at the expense of Indigenous ways of speaking about it, then clearly there is a problem. For this reason, the settler perspective on Indigenous art that I am arguing for here can never be an alternative to a sovereign Indigenous art history. It is that field, far more than settler-colonial studies, that must remain the focus of scholarly development. And yet I wish also to insist that the privilege to pursue one's academic interests by one's own lights is not inherently an assertion of settler power exercised at the expense of Indigenous sovereignty.

Or is it? Again, my conversation with Tracy Williams was instructive. Having settled the point about the circulation of hurtful information, we

moved on to discuss my written treatment of the ideas that she had shared with me during our in-person conversation. Chief among these ideas was the artist's sense that trees have agency, will, and volition in a manner much like human beings: that they are our brothers and sisters in a more than metaphorical way. This idea, expressed by every basket maker I spoke with, was also shared by Emily Carr, and much of my chapter is given over to exploring how the same idea could nevertheless be tied to two quite different perspectives on subjectivity, spirituality, and the natural world. When developing this analysis, I cited extensively from my interviews with weavers, as well as from Carr's journal. I endeavoured to cite accurately and to convey both the words and, however imperfectly, the worldviews of the women I was writing about. Of necessity, however, I found myself doing more than reporting their words. I also put them to work in the context of an argument of my own devising. In other words, I interpreted them, and because interpretation is never neutral, I also changed them. Through framing, I enacted a process of translation, even while the quoted passages themselves remained unaltered.

My greatest intervention was to translate the metaphysical concerns of both Carr and Salish makers from a cosmological to an ontological frame of reference. While my text faithfully recorded their statements about spirituality and the creator, my larger argument repositioned this discourse into a philosophical discussion organized around my own evolving conceptions of being and of life. My reasons for effecting this change had to do with my desire to understand something that was foreign to me but that I nevertheless recognized as at least partially familiar. On the one hand, the spiritual convictions of Carr, Frank, and the makers I spoke with were not ones that I, an atheist, shared. Yet on the other hand, I also felt the truth of their perspective, and so I looked for a different but related way of making sense of claims about, for instance, the personhood of trees as ancestors and the unity of all beings within the creator. I found my way in the language that is natural to me: that of Western philosophy. Slowly, I pieced together an interpretation in which the techniques of Salish baskets and the words of their makers, the brushstrokes of Emily Carr and the writings of her journal, were intermingled with the philosophical perspectives on self and world that they opened to my view, the whole working together in a way that I could understand and considered to be beautiful. As I came to see more clearly what it could mean to call a tree brother, I was enlivened, taking joy in my ability to find a form in which to express what had so inspired me as I learned about Carr's and Frank's overlapping but different perspectives on the world. My translation of their perspectives was not a literal one, yet I had the sense that it was faithful in a meaningful way.

Still, the implications of my actions gave me pause. Over my reframing of Carr, tellingly, I lost no sleep, but with regard to the basket makers, my anxieties were high. The alteration I had effected came on top of centuries of misrecognition, misrepresentation, and violence. Was I continuing this violence by inadvertently implying that Indigenous thought needed Western philosophy to come in and "set it straight"? I worried that in selectively highlighting weavers' words and translating their concepts in a way that made sense to me, I was nonetheless asserting my power over them – colonizing them intellectually. And so, when I received an email from Tracy Williams commenting on the difference between her experience and my way of "intellectualizing" it, I recognized the truth of her words. As Williams and I corresponded further, however, I concluded that unlike my handling of Frank's biography, this difference between our approaches had not been experienced as a hurtful one: "When I am talking about intellectualizing the spiritual," Williams wrote, "I am really only trying to say that there are many ways of knowing – all of which have importance. There are intellectual ways of knowing; spiritual ways of knowing; physical ways of knowing; emotional ways of knowing, etc."[39] My sigh of relief was probably audible. Since heaving it, I have endeavoured further to understand the implications of Williams's observation for my practice.

The propriety of interpretive translation in contexts of ongoing power imbalance is a longstanding matter for debate. Margaret Kovach is characteristically straightforward in her observation that the "attempt to understand tribal stories from a Western perspective (or any other cultural perspective) is likely to miss the point, possibly causing harm."[40] And yet, as Kovach also recognizes, "we can only interpret the world from the place of our experience."[41] Given this, would it not be more respectful for settlers to give up the interpretive tasks altogether and simply listen? Perhaps, when it comes to Indigenous art, the work of Canadian art historians should rather be to facilitate the cultural self-presentations of Indigenous people, so that their voices might be heard by as many Canadians as possible. Would this not be our most effective recognition of Indigenous cultural sovereignty, and our best way of contributing to the decolonial project?

Some stories are simply not ours to tell, and I recognize and honour the paradigm-shifting importance of such acts of allyship by settler scholars who are reconfiguring possibilities for cultural partnerships in enormously productive and transformative ways. But sometimes our stories *are* deeply interconnected, and so I *also* propose that allyship is not the only way for settler art historians to walk the path to decolonization. Breaks with colonial governance happen either through violence or through negotiated settlement. In Canada we have embarked on the latter route. If we are to negotiate new

relationships, however, settlers will be required to do more than listen; we will also need to develop greater *understanding* of what we hear, making the different experiences, priorities, perspectives, and beliefs of Indigenous people meaningful to ourselves, while also recognizing that they mean somewhat differently at their points of origin. The closer these different meanings come to each other, the greater will be the likelihood for success, but because cultural differences erect barriers to such understanding, translations will sometimes be required. As trained interpreters, settler art historians can seek to contribute to this understanding by writing openly from their own perspectives as these are formed in dialogue with those we write about. What is crucial is that such translation not be concealed behind a veneer of ethnographic knowledge but, rather, that it be acknowledged and owned as the standpoint of a settler scholar speaking about subject matter that lies only partially within her sphere of inquiry and which must, accordingly, always partly exceed her grasp.[42] This, at least, is how I have come to think about my discussion of Squamish basketry in my chapter on Carr and Sewinchelwet.

Honouring Each Other's Existence

A decolonial approach to art history accepts responsibility for contributing to social change; that responsibility may be met in different ways. Alliances, partnerships, translations, negotiations – not all will have equal impact, and not all will be possible in all contexts. Settler practitioners of Indigenous art history in Canada continue to develop their own methods for ethical research. Some of the most significant of these – participatory action research, for example – I have not even touched on here.[43] Rather, in this article I have attempted to think through some aspects of the ethical challenges that settler practitioners of Canadian art history encounter while endeavouring to write of the interconnected cultural histories of this particular place. Drawing on my own experience, I have described a mode of writing about the intersection of settler and Indigenous art forms *from a settler positionality*, recognizing that the context of ongoing colonization demands alterations in our habitual manner of proceeding, while also arguing that bringing settler perspectives to bear on Indigenous art does not, of necessity, constitute an infringement of Indigenous sovereignty, but may even make a very modest contribution to its attainment by contributing to a culture of greater mutual understanding in which relationships can be renegotiated.

"If the goals of decolonization are justice and peace," Taiaiake Alfred writes, "then the process to achieve these goals must reflect a basic covenant on the part of both Onkwehonwe and Settlers to honour each others' existences."[44] What then does it mean to honour each other? At the heart

of the matter is this question: are the sufficient conditions for respect to be founded exclusively in a recognition of otherness that acknowledges and accepts alterity on its own terms, or is respect *also* contingent on the perception of some degree of commonality? Philosophical opinions on this point vary, but after centuries of colonialism in Canada, the historical reality is that complete alterity of settler and Indigenous societies no longer exists, if indeed it ever did. Too many people have feet in both camps. If the metaphor of two canoes running parallel to each other is taken as a metaphor for cultural segregation it is untenable. But if it is taken as a metaphor for partnership, much can be achieved. For Alfred, "the only possibility of a just relationship between Onkwehonwe and Settler society is the conception of a nation-to-nation partnership."[45] If Canadian art history is to enter into such partnership with Indigenous art history, it will need to acknowledge its settler character and priorities – not necessarily to abandon these, but to take them as a position from which to participate in respectful dialogue. As settlers reflect on the mechanisms of power that have characterized Canadian art history we can learn to recognize and avoid them. I would suggest, however, that our reflection must not only be limited to inwardly-directed cultural critique of settler representations. If it is to foster increased appreciation, understanding, and respect of Indigenous thought and cultural production it must also take the risk of building understanding by reaching beyond its own boundaries. Moments of cultural intersection, such as the Carr-Frank friendship, offer privileged sites for such explorations to take place.

For some readers, this call will doubtless seem premature. They may well be right. In their considerations of contemporary relations between the settler and Indigenous inhabitants of Canada, both Paulette Regan and Taiaiake Alfred insist on the necessity of restitution before respectful relationships can be established. It is possible that art historical practice must live this moment of restitution, before it can proceed to something new, and that in furtherance of this settler scholars must cede both voice and the power of interpretation to those who were for so long denied them. Indeed, I have held off publishing this essay for a decade, largely in recognition of this possibility. And yet I am not optimistic that restitution will ever come without a greater degree of mutual understanding. If this is so, it is part of the work of Canadian art historians, operating in a settler-colonial mode, to foster this understanding within our own communities. Fortunately, we live in a period where our acts of interpretation no longer exist in a monocultural vacuum. Indigenous artists and scholars have entered into the sphere of scholarly, aesthetic, and art historical discourse, and settler-colonial art history has come into existence as a complement to – *never a substitute for* – Indigenous art history. Settler scholars of Canadian art histories must consider how we

will respond to and engage with Indigenous presence in the art world and the academy.

In espousing the relevance of settler-colonial studies for Canadian art history I propose that part of the work at hand can be to re-engage on a different ground – not "the ground of the Other" (as the recent literature on alliances would have it) but that of informed and respectful interlocution between equals with something in common as well as something held apart. Such dialogue, Ermine notes, requires from both parties an "appropriate exploration of the social constructs and inhibitions that affect communications."[46] It is in this spirit of methodological self-awareness that I offer this account of my own research story, and in this spirit, too, that I see a settler-Canadian art history moving forward.

NOTES

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1 Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 110.

2 For assessments of the legacy of the nation for Canadian art historical thought see: Lynda Jessup, Erin Morton, and Kirsty Robertson, eds., *Negotiations in a Vacant Lot: Studying the Visual in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); and Erin Morton, *Unsettling Canadian Art History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022).

3 J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), v; Anne Whitelaw, "To Better Know Ourselves: J. Russell Harper's *Painting in Canada: A History*," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 26 (2005): 9–15.

4 Katie Pickles, "Transnational Intentions and Cultural Cringe: History Beyond National Boundaries," in *Contesting Clio's Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History*, ed. Christopher Dummitt and Michael Dawson (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London, 2009), 142.

5 The accommodation debates that so divided Quebec in 2007–08 as to prompt a parliamentary commission of inquiry are, in 2017, poised to reassert themselves at a national level as a debate about "Canadian values." On Canadian multiculturalism

see: Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2000); Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); and Eva Mackey, *House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

6 Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). For a settler account of the assimilative politics of recognition, see Avril Bell, "'Deep Colonizing': The Politics of Recognition," in *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities: Beyond Domination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 139–72.

7 These steps include the slow process of negotiated resolutions to land claims, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1992–96), the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (2006), the federal government's 2008 apology for the schools, the related Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008–15), the national inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2016–19), adherence to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2021) and, most recently, the declaration of a National Day for Truth and Reconciliation (2021).

8 Kevin FitzMaurice, "Are White People Obsolete? Indigenous Knowledge and the Colonizing Ally in Canada," in *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*, ed. Lynne Davis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 357–58, 360.

9 For an articulation of settler-colonial studies as it applies to art history generally see Damian Skinner, "Settler-Colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 35:1 (2014): 130–73. For recent cultural analysis that brings a settler-colonial framework to migrant experience, see Iyko Day, *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

10 Thus Prime Minister Steven Harper's now-infamous assertion that Canada "has no history of colonialism." G20 Summit Speech, Pittsburgh, PA, 25 Sept. 2009.

11 The classic source is Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14:3 (Autumn 1988), 575–99.

12 See: Kovach, "Situating Self, Culture, and Purpose in Indigenous Inquiry," in *Indigenous Methodologies*, 109–20; Kathy Absolon and Cam Willett, "Putting Ourselves Forward: Location in Aboriginal Research," in *Research as Resistance*, ed. Susan Strega and Leslie Brown (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 2005), 97–126; and Patricia Steinhauer, "Situating Myself in Research," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 25:2 (2001), 183–87.

13 Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 110.

14 Ibid., 115.

15 The literature here is voluminous. See, for example, Jayati Lal, "Situating Location(s): The Politics of Self, Identity and 'Other,'" in *Living and Writing the Text: Feminist Approaches to Theory and Methodology: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. Sharlene Hesse-Biber, Christina Gilmartin, and Robin Lydenberg (New York: Oxford University Press), 100–137; and Rahel Wasserfall, "Reflexivity, Feminism, and

Difference," in *Reflexivity and Voice*, ed. Rosanna Hertz (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997), 150–68.

16 Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," in *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1991), 267–91.

17 FitzMaurice, "Are White People Obsolete?," 361.

18 Examples include my chapters "Always There: Aboriginal People and the Consolation of Miniature Portraiture in British North America," in *Art and the British Empire*, ed. Timothy Barringer, Geoff Quilley, and Douglas Fordham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 288–308; and "Placing Frances Anne Hopkins," *Local/Global: Women Artists in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Deborah Cherry and Janice Helland (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 179–200.

19 For example: Leslie Dawn, *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); Anne Whitelaw, "Placing Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery of Canada," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 31:1 (2006): 197–214; Bruce Braun, "BC Seeing/Seeing BC Vision and Visuality on Canada's West Coast," in *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture and Power on Canada's West Coast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 156–212; Lynda Jessup, ed., "Bushwhackers in the Gallery: Antimodernism and the Group of Seven," in *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 130–52.

20 Kristina Huneault, "Miniature Paintings as Transcultural Objects? The John Norton and Peter Jones Portraits," in *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*, ed. Julie F. Codell (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 39–57.

21 Thomas King, "Godzilla vs. Post-colonial," *World Literature Written in English* 30:2 (1990): 11. See also: Judith Leggatt, "Native Writing, Academic Theory: Postcolonialism across the Cultural Divide," in *Is Canada Postcolonial?: Unsettling Canadian Literature*, ed. Laura Moss (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2003), 111–26; and Areen Rasheed, "A New Beginning: Beyond Postcolonial Cultural Theory and Identity Politics," *Third Text Reader: On Art, Culture and Theory* (London: Continuum, 2002), 333–45.

22 Dylan Robinson, "Against Hungry Listening" (symposium presentation, *Teachings: Theories and Methodologies for Indigenous Art History in North America*, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada, 11–12 Nov. 2016).

23 Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 41–42.

24 Anne Bishop, *Becoming an Ally: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression* (New York: Zed Books, 2002), 12.

25 Adam Barker, "From Adversaries to Allies: Forging Respectful Alliances between Indigenous and Settler Peoples," in *Alliances*, 323–24. See also Lynn Gehl's *Ally Bill of Responsibilities.* Accessed 25 June 2017, https://www.lynngehl.com/uploads/5/0/0/4/5004954/ally_bill_of_responsibilities_poster.pdf.

26 FitzMaurice, "Are White People Obsolete?," 364.

27 *Teachings: Theories and Methodologies for Indigenous Art History in North America*, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada, 11–12 Nov. 2016. The symposium was one of the foundations for Heather Igloliorte and Carla Taunton, eds., *The Routledge*

Companion to Indigenous Art Histories in the United States and Canada (New York: Routledge, forthcoming 2023).

28 See Whitelaw, "Placing Aboriginal Art at the National Gallery of Canada."

29 My choice to focus this article on the settler-indigene encounter suspends the additional complexities involved in assessing the interconnected histories of Indigenous people and non-European migrants to Canada. For one perspective on this encounter see: Malissa Phung, "Are People of Colour Settlers Too?" in *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the Lens of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Ashok Mathur, Jonathan Dewar, and Mike DeGagné (Ottawa, on: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2011), 289–98.

30 Kristina Huneault, *I'm not myself at all: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018). That each woman considered the other to be a friend is a claim supported by Carr's diary (Library and Archives Canada, Emily Carr fonds, mg 30 d 215, mf c13525, c13526) and Frank's letters to Carr (bc Archives, Emily Carr fonds, ms 2763.273, and Edythe Hembroff-Schleicher fonds, ms 2792.2.2).

31 Carr wrote about Frank on different occasions, most notably her chapter "Sophie," in *Klee Wyck* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2003 [1941]), 55–65. Her relationship with Frank was first publicly critiqued by Edythe Hembroff-Schleicher in her book *Emily Carr: The Untold Story* (Saanichton: Hancock House, 1978). For contemporary reconstructions of Frank's voice and concerns see: Shirley Bear and Susan Crean, "The Presentation of Self in Emily Carr's Writings," in *Emily Carr: New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*, ed. Charles C. Hill, Johanne Lamoureux, and Ian M. Thom (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada; Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery with Douglas & McIntyre, 2006), 62–91; and Jovette Marchessault, *Le voyage magnifique d'Emily Carr* (Montréal: Leméac, 1990).

32 I am grateful to Jamie Williams, Sewin̲chelwet's grand-niece, for her permission to use the ancestral name that she now bears.

33 This task is made considerably more difficult by the fact that there are no securely identified baskets by Sewin̲chelwet in public collections. While the innovative designs shown in the Tippet photograph would make Sewin̲chelwet's work readily identifiable, museum collectors at the time sought baskets with traditional patterns that bore no sign of modernity or transcultural encounters; most were collected without recording their makers' names.

34 Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," 271.

35 In addition to those thanked at the outset of this paper, I would also like to recognize Vanessa Campbell and the elders of the Squamish Nation, Vanessa Baker, Bob Baker, Sharon Fortney, Fran James, Lila Johnston, Dionne Paul and William Baturin, Joanne Natrall, Susan Pavel, Annie Ross, Isabel Rorick, Selilye, Deborah Sparrow, Shirley Toman, and Lorna Williams.

36 Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote of the unity of God and Nature in essays and poems Carr knew well, and her archive contains annotated copies of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Holistic aspects of Hinduism and Buddhism came to Carr filtered through P.D. Ouspensky's *Tertium Organum* and conversations with Lawren Harris, and later through the Christian mysticism of the Indian subcontinent, which she knew through lectures by Raja Singh of the Indian Christian Missionary Society and a reading of B.H. Streeter and A.J. Appasamy's *The Sadhu: A Study in Mysticism*

and Practical Religion (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1921). Carr's remaining copy of Ralph Waldo Trine's *In Tune with the Infinite* is heavily underlined, and her biographer, Maria Tippett, notes that she was an avid audience member at a series of lectures on the New Cycle Philosophy which trained adherents to perceive the "living energy" inherent in all matter.

37 Paul Williams and Curtis Nelson, "Kaswentha," in *For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* [CD-ROM] (Ottawa: Libraxus, 1997); Penelope Edmonds, "'Polishing the chain of friendship': Two Row Wampum Renewal Celebrations and Matters of History," in *Settler Colonialism and (Re)conciliation: Frontier Violence, Affective Performances, and Imaginative Refoundings* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 29–60.

38 Willie Ermine, "Ethical Space: Transforming Relations: A Discussion Paper" (presentation, National Gatherings on Indigenous Knowledge, Wanuskewin, Saskatchewan, 25–27 May 2005), 4. My thanks go to Sherry Farrell Racette for introducing me to Ermine's work.

39 Tracy Williams, email correspondence with author, October 2012.

40 Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 97.

41 Ibid., 110.

42 Sara Ahmed, "Who Knows? Knowing Strangers and Strangeness," *Australian Feminist Studies* 15:31 (2000): 60. On the importance of settler self-reflexivity and the limits of settler knowledge, see Avril Bell, "Ethical Obligation and Relationality," in *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities,* 173–97, esp. 182–91.

43 See Joan Ryan and Michael P. Robinson, "Implementing Participatory Action Research in the Canadian North: A Case Study of the Gwich'in Language and Cultural Project," *Culture* 10:2 (1990): 57–71; and Jacques M. Chevalier and Daniel J. Buckles, *Participatory Action Research: Theory and Methods for Engaged Inquiry* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

44 Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 156.

45 Ibid.

46 Ermine, "Ethical Space," 4.

Point de vue : histoire de l'art canadien, souveraineté autochtone et positionnalité coloniale

KRISTINA HUNEAULT

Écrire l'histoire de l'art canadien est devenu une affaire beaucoup plus délicate qu'elle ne l'était. Le récit basé sur l'identité qui a unifié le champ pour la majeure partie d'un siècle est aujourd'hui régulièrement contesté, autant par ceux et celles qui ont été exclus des formulations hégémoniques de l'histoire de l'art canadien que par les personnes qui n'ont jamais souhaité en faire partie. Au-delà des frontières canadiennes également, les contraintes de la mondialisation déstabilisent la logique de l'exceptionnalisme local qui a pendant si longtemps constitué ici une caractéristique déterminante de la pensée en histoire de l'art.

Au cœur de ces changements se trouve la place lourdement surdéterminée de la nation[1]. Comme ses ancêtres européens à la fin du 19e siècle, l'histoire de l'art canadien est fondée sur des principes nationalistes, et il a pris son envol lors des célébrations du centenaire en 1967 qui a marqué la confédération canadienne et la séparation graduelle de la nation de sa tutelle coloniale[2]. La tâche entreprise par les historiennes et historiens de l'art canadien n'était pas très différente du défi qui s'était posé aux artistes un demi-siècle plus tôt : se ménager une relation dans un contexte international sans avoir l'air désespérément provincial. Dans les deux cas, une rhétorique unificatrice du caractère distinctif du Canada a été mise en action, créant un champ articulé autour du lieu comme moteur de l'art et de l'expérience, tout en repoussant efficacement l'Europe dans les régions reculées de l'imaginaire d'une histoire de l'art nationale d'où elle est revenue, de temps à autre, en prenant la forme d'un sentiment d'infériorité persistant que l'historienne Katie Pickles a si justement qualifié de « servilité culturelle[3] ». Le renforcement peu après d'un autre nationalisme, québécois celui-là, au Canada a exercé une certaine pression sur le champ nouvellement fondé de l'histoire de l'art canadien, mais n'en a pas secoué la base. Plutôt, les divisions linguistiques, politiques et institutionnelles produisirent une histoire de l'art québécois, suivant un cours largement parallèle vers lequel les canadianistes ont pu se tourner quand le besoin d'une inclusivité biculturelle s'est fait sentir.

Cependant, l'idéal d'inclusivité culturelle, si longtemps un pilier de l'identité nationale canadienne, a récemment fait l'objet d'attaques. Alors

que la population en général discute de la mesure dans laquelle elle souhaite accueillir des personnes immigrantes et accommoder leurs différentes pratiques culturelles, une partie croissante de la littérature savante souligne l'implication de la politique officielle de la nation en multiculturalisme dans la perpétuation du privilège euro-canadien même auquel la position multiculturaliste semblait initialement résister[4]. Alors que les personnes racisées protestent contre leur exclusion continue de l'imaginaire culturel canadien, elles mettent également en avant une expérience diasporique qui décentre l'idée maîtresse centripète du discours basé sur la nation. Simultanément, le projet même d'une histoire de l'art canadien se voit perturber par un mouvement prônant la souveraineté autochtone qui gagne en force d'année en année. Avec les Premières Nations, les Inuits et les Métis qui revendiquent leurs propres territoires politiques et culturels, les théoriciens autochtones de la décolonisation ont mis encore plus au défi la « politique de la reconnaissance » du Canada, la caractérisant comme étant le dernier raffinement dans une longue histoire de techniques d'assimilation[5].

Devant ces critiques, plusieurs historiennes et historiens euro-canadiens de l'art canadien se demandent maintenant comment nos positions, nos priorités et nos pratiques sont touchées. Une façon d'avancer – et c'est celle qui est explorée dans le présent essai – est de repositionner l'histoire de l'art canadien dans le cadre élargi des études en colonialisme de peuplement, permettant ainsi aux spécialistes d'articuler de nouvelles manières de réagir à la problématique coloniale/nationale de la discipline, de même que d'avancer en répondant au besoin d'une résolution des dilemmes décoloniaux en cours. L'impact des études en colonialisme de peuplement sur la relation de l'art canadien dans le plus vaste contexte migratoire transnational et mondial est abordé par d'autres collaborateurs et collaboratrices dans ce numéro. Dans cet essai, je limite ma discussion à l'utilité d'un cadre sur le colonialisme de peuplement pour les spécialistes euro-canadiens qui sont à la recherche de nouvelles manières de comprendre leur relation à un champ si puissamment changé par des artistes, des autrices et auteurs en art, des commissaires, des historiens et historiennes autochtones qui revigorent maintenant les divers contextes dans lesquels nous travaillons. J'avancerais qu'écrire – et *souhaiter* écrire – en tant que spécialiste issue du colonialisme de peuplement n'est pas embrasser une éthique de culpabilité, non plus qu'assumer une identité fixe au sein d'un paradigme binaire restrictif, mais plutôt revendiquer une position historiquement située à partir de laquelle il est possible de s'exprimer.

Cet essai est une tentative de penser certains aspects des défis éthiques rencontrés par les praticiennes et praticiens en histoire de l'art canadien issus du colonialisme de peuplement dans leur entreprise d'écrire des histoires culturelles en lien avec cet endroit particulier. Puisant dans ma propre

expérience, je décris un mode d'écriture sur l'intersection des formes d'art colonial et autochtone à partir d'une positionnalité de colon, reconnaissant que le contexte de colonisation en cours demande d'apporter des changements à notre manière de procéder habituelle, tout en avançant que les points de vue coloniaux portant sur l'art autochtone ne constituent pas, par nécessité, une transgression de la souveraineté autochtone, mais qu'ils peuvent même constituer un modeste apport à sa réalisation en contribuant à une culture de plus grande compréhension mutuelle dans laquelle des relations peuvent se négocier.

En embrassant la pertinence des études en colonialisme de peuplement sur l'histoire de l'art canadien, je propose qu'une partie de notre tâche est de nous réengager sur un nouveau terrain – pas le « terrain de l'Autre » (comme la littérature récente sur les alliances le propose), mais celui d'une interlocution informée et respectueuse entre égaux qui ont quelque chose en commun tout comme ils ont quelque chose qui les sépare. Ce dialogue, comme le note Willie Ermine, requiert des deux parties une « exploration appropriée des constructions et des inhibitions sociales qui touchent les communications[6] ». C'est dans cet esprit de conscience méthodologique que j'offre ce compte rendu sur ma propre histoire de recherche et, dans cet esprit également, que je vois l'histoire de l'art canadien colonial avancer.

NOTES

1 Pour des évaluations de l'héritage de la nation pour la pensée en l'histoire de l'art canadien, voir : Lynda Jessup, Erin Morton et Kirsty Robertson (dir.), *Negotiations in a Vacant Lot: Studying the Visual in Canada,* Montréal et Kingston, Presses universitaires McGill-Queen's, 2014 ; et Erin Morton, *Unsettling Canadian Art History*, Montréal et Kingston, Presses universitaires McGill-Queen's, 2022.

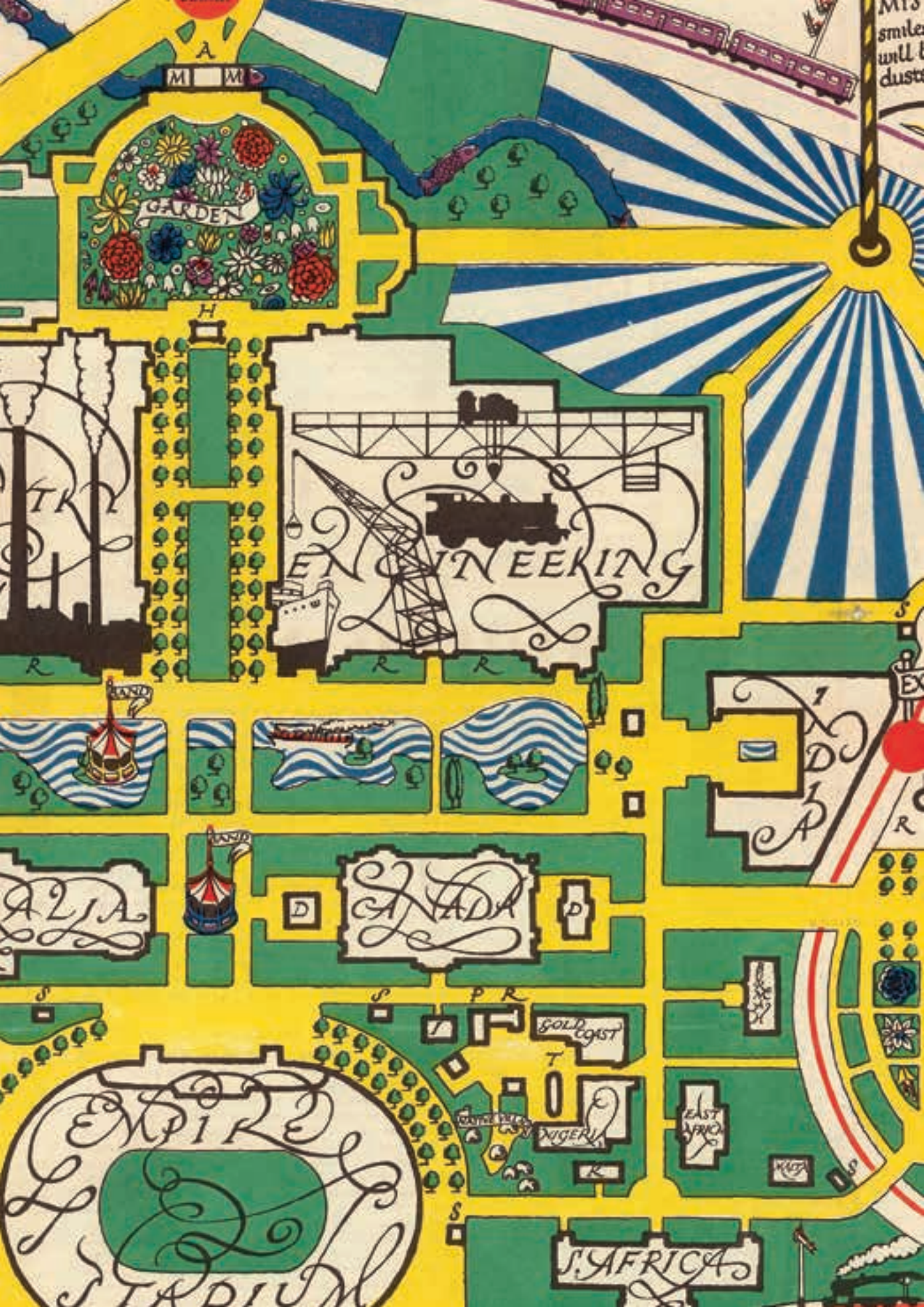
2 J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967, p. v ; Anne Whitelaw, « To Better Know Ourselves: J. Russell Harper's *Painting in Canada: A History* », *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, vol. 26, 2005, p. 9–15.

3 Katie Pickles, « Transnational Intentions and Cultural Cringe: History Beyond National Boundaries », dans Christopher Dummitt et Michael Dawson (dir.), *Contesting Clio's Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History*, Londres, Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London, 2009, p. 142.

4 Sur le multiculturalisme canadien, voir : Himani Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*, Toronto, Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2000 ; Eve Haque, *Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 ; et Eva Mackey, *House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002.

5 Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2014. Pour un compte rendu colonial de la politique d'assimilation, voir Avril Bell, « "Deep Colonizing": The Politics of Recognition », dans son ouvrage *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities: Beyond Domination*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. 139–72.

6 Willie Ermine, « Ethical Space: Transforming Relations: A Discussion Paper » (présentation, National Gatherings on Indigenous Knowledge, Wanuskewin, Saskatchewan, 25–27 mai 2005), p. 4. [Notre traduction.]


GARDEN
ENGINEERING
GOLD COAST
NIGERIA
EAST AFRICA
S. AFRICA
EMPIRE
STADIUM

Displaying Settler, National, and Imperial Identities in Early Twentieth-Century Art Exhibitions

LESLIE DAWN AND DAMIAN SKINNER

In this essay, a series of art exhibitions that took place in the first half of the twentieth century provide an opportunity to consider the networks that connect the colonial cultures of Canada and New Zealand. The British Empire was constituted by the horizontal links and connections that fashioned interdependence between colonies, as well as the vertical networks and exchanges between colony and metropole. Colonial developments were "shaped by a complex mesh of flows, exchanges and engagements that linked New Zealand to other colonies as well as to Britain, the heart of the empire."[1] The empire is better conceptualized as a web than a spoked wheel. As settler-colonial societies with an imperial relationship to Britain, Canada and New Zealand are most obviously connected through the mediation of the metropole of London, but there are also links that connect these two countries directly. The exhibitions we have chosen demonstrate both types of connection.

Taking place in London and in various cities in Canada and New Zealand, these exhibitions are also a case study of the ways in which settler-nationalist identities are constructed in relation to the disappearing (or disappeared) native. These exhibitions involve a sequence of implicating and excluding Indigenous art and peoples in order to address shifting demands of national, settler, and imperial identities during this period. Different strategies of settler-nationalist identity circulate through the settler-colonial networks of the first half of the twentieth century; and settler-nationalist identities were required to perform differently in the settler colonies and the metropole.

We propose that a model of settler-colonial art history provides a way to think differently about the settler-nationalist art and ideology that has been, until relatively recently, the primary study of art history in settler societies like Canada and New Zealand. Our essay begins to complicate and unsettle

Detail of *British Empire Exhibition 1924, Wembley Park, April – October. Dobson Molle & Co., Ltd, colour printers, Edinburgh, Liverpool & London*. Offset lithograph on sheet, 51 × 76 cm, Edinburgh, Liverpool & London. Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Reference: eph-D-EXHIBITION-1924-01-map. (Photo: National Library of New Zealand)

the standard and solipsistic nationalist art histories of Canada and New Zealand by starting the process of bringing them into contact with each other. A comparative study of Canada and New Zealand indicates the presence of a series of parallel phases in settler societies that are helpful in understanding national histories, as well as demonstrating that the sequence and relationship of settler nationalisms and Indigenous art is neither necessarily linear nor progressive.

By accepting settler colonialism's legacy as a transnational phenomenon, and assuming this also applies to art practice and art historiography, it becomes possible to undermine the claims of uniqueness that sustain nationalist art histories and to reveal how parallel strategies of identity construction operate in various settler societies in strikingly similar ways. Bringing Canada and New Zealand into a single analytic frame is both comparative (exploring the similarities in settler dynamics) and connective (identifying the direct and indirect transfer of knowledge and practices). This transnational method allows us to reconsider the impact of settler colonialism on the presentation and reception of settler and Indigenous art practices in the first half of the twentieth century by foregrounding aspects that have been lost, excluded, or misrepresented because they expose the exalted narratives of settler nationalism as fragile constructions in need of continuous reaffirmation thorough incantations of faith rather than fact.

This essay begins from the proposition that analyzing the cultural production of settler-colonial societies within a single frame can reveal fascinating and important information about the relationships between art and settler colonialism that is rendered invisible when these histories are kept separate. We propose that bringing nationalist art histories into contact with each other will complicate and unsettle these narratives and reveal their investment in the ongoing project of settler colonialism. Much is gained by approaching art practice and art historiography in settler societies as a necessarily transnational practice.

Indigenous Art and Settler Nationalisms

In the late nineteenth century, settler-colonial societies such as Canada and New Zealand were sites for the construction of an iconography that adopted Indigenous art, flora, and fauna to construct national identities for settlers within the larger category of the British "race." Settler societies did not desire to secede from the empire, but to establish their separate nationhood. As Nicholas Thomas suggests, this was an entwined process, since political autonomy was often argued as following a sense of distinctiveness, but it in turn called this very distinctiveness into being, producing a demand for a

national character that could be made explicit and visible in high and popular culture.[2] Indigenous art was valuable because of its distinctive difference from the visual traditions of British and European art.

In New Zealand, the process of extensively incorporating Indigenous art into popular culture and design began in the late nineteenth century. There was a history of Europeans responding positively to Māori bodies, society, and art, in line with racial hierarchies that placed Māori high on the list of non-Western peoples, and the popularity of what Thomas calls "settler-produced creole design" was supported by publications such as Augustus Hamilton's *Maori Art*, serialized in publication between 1896 and 1901, which appealed to commercial artists and designers as well as its ostensibly anthropological audience.[3] The curvilinear patterns of the Māori rafter patterns called kōwhaiwhai, for example, appeared in book design, on currency and fabrics, in furniture, and on ceramics.

This primitivism needs to be distinguished from the modernist primitivism that was beginning to affect European art at the same moment in the early twentieth century. The settler appropriation of Indigenous art was primarily concerned with localization and indigenization, a form of romanticism rather than a modernist battle against academic art. As Jane Stafford and Mark Williams write of "Maoriland," which became a literary synonym for New Zealand from the late 1880s to the 1910s, the contradiction that attends this term "is that its archaism cohabits with and compensates for the colony's sense of its own modernity."[4] "Maoriland" belongs neither entirely to the Victorian or the modern period, but is a kind of meeting ground that partakes of nineteenth-century romanticism and sometimes anticipates twentieth-century modernism. The primitivist interest in Māori art was not accompanied by a critical attitude towards the flaws of civilization as was common in the rhetoric of modern art. As Thomas argues, "This nationalist primitivism is not critical and ironic but tendentious and earnest. It proceeds not by contrast but rather by conflation: the aim is to assimilate an ancient, or another, society to one's own."[5]

And in turn, this settler nationalism operated by constructing national narratives that relegated Indigenous Peoples to the past, while at the same time identifying settlers with the modern and contemporary. A narrative of succession enabled settler-colonial societies to deal with the paradox of affirming themselves as local through the appropriation of native cultures: as Thomas puts it, "future is to past as settler is to savage."[6] Endless forms of cultural production, from high to popular culture, were responsible for this temporal construction of the colonial relationship, by celebrating the complexity and interest of ancient Indigenous practices and disparaging contemporary Indigenous life. Māori art appeared frequently in New

Zealand settler culture, a culture almost exclusively created by, and intended for, settlers. "Maoriland," for example, denied what it appeared to state: rather than being a term for a land that belonged to Māori, it instead referred to a land of settlers who felt comfortable enough to borrow the name (and culture) of those they had supplanted. Māori were transformed into ghosts by settler artists and writers exalting their primitive nature as a way of denying them a stake in modernity, a manoeuvre that transformed New Zealand from a Māori society where a place must be found for Pākehā settlers, to a Pākehā society where a place must be found for the Indigenous Māori.[7]

Canada, following its own path temporarily, would at first pursue a policy that went beyond decrepitude and disappearance into the exclusion and erasure of Indigenous Peoples – strategies that would shape the nation's self-presentation at the *British Empire Exhibition* held in Wembley, north London, in 1924 and 1925.[8] In Canadian art historical narratives, this is primarily noted for the two large collections of Canadian art, primarily painting, presented in the Palace of Arts, along with works from the rest of the empire.[9] The Canadian exhibitions were organized by Eric Brown, the British director of the National Gallery of Canada (NGC), whose brother, the artist Arnesby Brown, had been instrumental in formulating a British national landscape aesthetic. Eric Brown's goal was to seek ratification for the empty wilderness landscapes popularized by the Group of Seven, whose members the NGC had been promoting since 1913 as the "modern" image of the nation. These landscapes were based on a *juste milieu* synthesis of familiar and century-old British picturesque compositional conventions overlaid with more recent French post-impressionist facture and colour, both ostensibly derived from the "natural" rugged features of the Canadian Shield.[10]

The Palace of Arts provided the opportunity to show the art of Britain and all the dominions under one roof. In doing so, it would reaffirm cultural ties, demonstrating the ways in which the British tradition was continued by recent art from the dominions. The *Official Guide* stated this explicitly: "the masterpieces of Hogarth and his contemporaries lead up to the ultra-modernists and the characteristic work of the Canadians and Australians."[11] This unifying agenda on the part of the imperial hosts was the backdrop for the "competitive nationalisms" of the dominions, which were staged around and through landscape. As Christine Boyanoski writes, "British critics clearly wanted to see the difference that location made to their stock, particularly in the fine arts, and evidence of independent national schools would be taken as signifying the possibility of regeneration and robust continuity of the race in new lands, thus alleviating the fear of decline or even of extinction that had been exacerbated by the First World War."[12]

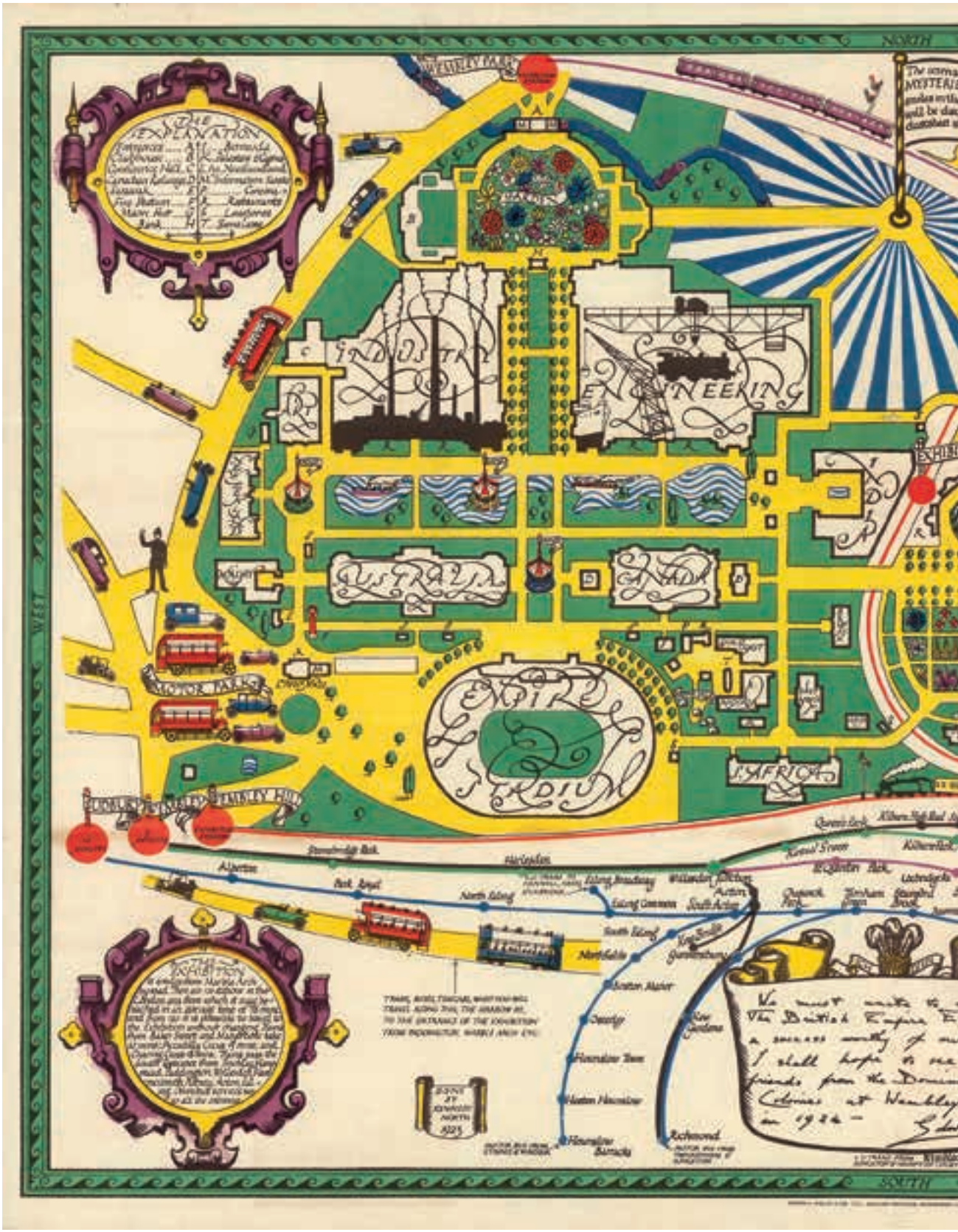
Given their familiarity with both the language and the claims that landscape could embody national identity, the British critics at Wembley

were capable of discerning the works' complex coding which, somewhat paradoxically, declared both difference and similarity with the empire.[13] The NGC collected these reviews and published them in its Annual Reports to confirm for Canadian audiences the success of the Group at the imperial centre, a recognition that would give them heightened authority and validity at home.[14] So effective was this manoeuvre that its triumph is reaffirmed as a climactic moment in every narrative of the Group of Seven and Canadian art.

Concurrently, in both the Canadian pavilion and the dominion's presentations of its history in a series of pageants, Canada's representations were, like the Group's landscapes, noted for their evacuation of Indigenous presence from the nation's image. This followed a policy adopted after the diplomatic fiasco at the Columbian Exhibition held in Chicago in 1893 when the American ethnologist Franz Boas brought a troupe of Kwakwaka'wakw people to animate a replica Northwest Coast village which included both houses and totem poles. Their performances of traditional ceremonies received worldwide attention, scandalizing Canadian officials who were dedicated to showing the success of the policy of assimilation, which involved a legislated ban on Indigenous ceremonies such as the potlatch.[15] Thus, despite the fact that Northwest Coast objects and peoples were big draws at expositions in St. Louis (1904) and Portland (1905), by 1910 Canada had begun to purposefully prohibit Indigenous Peoples' attendance at such events.

The other dominions proposed similar policies, and the question of representing Indigenous populations and cultural practices was a tricky dynamic to manage. Conflicting visions for the New Zealand display at Wembley demonstrate this tension. The display included a Māori whare whakairo (meeting house) called Mataatua, first built and opened by the Ngāti Awa people in 1875, and then subsequently sent overseas for the *British Empire Exhibition* in Sydney in 1879, as an example of the excellence of Māori material culture. As the government put it in a telegram to the Ngāti Awa owners of the meeting house in 1878, "the object of the Government is to show the world the work which the Maori people were capable of doing in the erection of carved dwellings over a long time before the arrival of the Pakeha."[16] The inclusion of Mataatua was greeted by the International Commissioners in Sydney with great satisfaction, who hoped that this might encourage similar ethnological exhibits from other Pacific Islands,

1 | (*overleaf*) *British Empire Exhibition 1924, Wembley Park, April – October. Dobson Molle & Co., Ltd, colour printers, Edinburgh, Liverpool & London*. Offset lithograph on sheet, 51 × 76 cm, Edinburgh, Liverpool & London. Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Reference: EPH-D-EXHIBITION-1924-01-map. (Photo: National Library of New Zealand)


NORTH
WEST
SOUTH
EXPLANATION
INDUSTRIAL
ENGINEERING
AUSTRALIA
CANADA
EMPIRE STADIUM
AFRICA
MOTOR PARKS
WEMBLEY HILL
Wembley Park
Alperton
Park Royal
North Ealing
Ealing Broadway
Ealing Common
South Ealing
Acton Main
Kew Gardens
Richmond
Hounslow Barracks
Hounslow West
Hounslow Town
Hounslow Central
Osterley
Gunnersbury
Willesden Junction
South Acton
Queen's Park
Kilburn Park Road
Kensal Green
Kilburn
Queen's Park
Brondesbury
Kilburn High Road
Harlesden
Stonebridge Park
Wembley Hill
Wembley Park
THE EXHIBITION
TRAMS, BUSES, TROLLEY, MOTOR BUS WILL TRAVEL ALONG THIS THE AVENUE RD. TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE EXHIBITION FROM PADDINGTON, MARBLE ARCH ETC.
STONE BY EDWARD NORTH 1925
We must make the British Empire E a success worthy of it I shall hope to see friends from the Dominions Colonies at Wembley in 1924 –


BRITISH
EMPIRE
EXHIBITION
1924
WEMBLEY PARK
APRIL-OCTOBER
ITS SITUATION DESCRIBED
IN RELATION TO THE
RAILWAYS OF LONDON



2 | Mataatua (*above*) with the New Zealand pavilion (*facing page*) at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, London, 1924. Collection, Department of Industries and Commerce record group, Archives New Zealand AEFN 19106 IC10 1/1 (R14982229). (Photo: Licensed under the Creative Commons)

thus "leading to the formation of a more interesting ethnological collection than has been brought together at any previous International Exhibition in Europe or America."[17] Included in the section called "Education and Science," Mataatua was, to save money, erected inside out, with the carvings, weavings, and paintings facing outwards. This physical transformation marked a conceptual shift in the status of the meeting house, from a "living" building used by people to an "ethnological curiosity for strange people to look at the wrong way and in the wrong place."[18]



After Sydney, Mataatua went to the Melbourne International Exhibition in 1880 and was then sent to London, with the intention that the meeting house would become part of the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum). Having been accepted by the museum, Mataatua was on display by 1882 or 1883 and then subsequently dismantled and stored in the museum basement until 1922, when planning began for the Wembley exhibition and it was proposed that Mataatua could become part of the New Zealand Court.[19] British officials made this suggestion and urged that the meeting house be included, contradicting the New Zealand organizing committee's ideas about what would be most appropriate for a London audience. Anthropologist Gilbert Archey's idea of displaying "past handicrafts of the Maori race" at Wembley was rejected by the committee, who believed

that it was inappropriate because the exhibition was not historical, and because British audiences would not be interested in anthropological collections. As reported in the *New Zealand Herald* newspaper, the committee was also concerned at the idea of Māori people attending as this would undermine "the idea of the Dominion being 'up-to-date' and give the 'impression that New Zealand is mostly populated by them to the disadvantage of the Dominion.'"[20]

That it was the British officials who proposed that Mataatua should be part of New Zealand's display is important; it relates to larger shifts in the way dominions like New Zealand and Canada wished to present themselves on the international stage. By 1924 farming had overtaken scenic beauty and cultural exoticism as the primary focus of the New Zealand presentation at international exhibitions such as Wembley, and the spectacle of commodities dominated: the sublime wonder of mountains were supplanted by mountains of New Zealand wool, meat, and butter, and Māori art was mostly relegated to the margins, appearing in the form of kōwhaiwhai and painted representations of carving on the walls of the New Zealand tearooms.[21]

Even more than Canada, New Zealand banished Māori from its official image. The large refrigeration cases in the New Zealand Court included butter sculptures of a life-size cow and a scale model of a farmhouse, with little butter sailing ships linking butter maps of Britain and New Zealand. Canada began with a life-size butter sculpture of the Prince of Wales posed on a Canadian ranch, but this was later re-sculpted into what the London *Times* described as "Big Chief Morning Star" standing among butter sculptures of members of the Tschantoga tribe with their horses and dogs.[22] The Canadian press reacted badly, arguing that it was time that Canada stopped being represented by "Indians in war paint."[23] To be modern was more important than being distinctive, especially since distinctiveness tended to involve references to Indigenous cultures, thus pointing attention to what the Dominions increasingly saw as their peripheral past.

At Wembley, New Zealand strove to present itself as a white settler society, represented alongside but also apart from the "exotic" members of the British Empire. At the same time, it was also necessary to differentiate New Zealand from the other dominions such as Canada in order to encourage immigration and trade, and to satisfy local pride. As Felicity Barnes suggests, "The need for both separation from and identification with the other white settler dominions was a general problem: New Zealand largely resolved this paradox by promoting 'settled' New Zealand, imaged by its essentially 'British' character, but buttressed and most widely promoted through its developing role as Britain's farm."[24] This left Indigenous cultures, as obvious signs of difference, in an awkward position; too much, as in the case of the

Canadian butter sculptures, ran the risk of repositioning these dominions as frontier fragments rather than Great Britain translated to other parts of the globe. In the case of the New Zealand Court, Māori people and culture had to be contained, so as not to unsettle the official representation of New Zealand as a white country populated by British people, up-to-date and with its colonial past firmly behind it. Importantly, the meeting house Mataatua was placed outside the New Zealand Court, so as not to disrupt the idea of New Zealand as a modern farm. Equally telling, in the second year of the *British Empire Exhibition*, the meeting house was replaced by a pen of live sheep.[25]

While the New Zealand Court had Māori art thrust upon it by the desires of British exhibition officials, the New Zealand contribution to the Palace of Arts more closely followed the Canadian model in minimizing the signs of Indigenous art and cultural practice. Among the many landscapes of scenic wonders and fertile farmland transformed by settler industry, and the fewer cityscapes with their timid impressionist effects, a very few works engaged with Māori subjects: these were all portraits of Māori, apart from one still life composition titled *Maori Curios*.[26] If the appropriated signs of Indigenous Peoples were unable to perform adequately in this context to indicate a separate nationhood within the context of empire, it was necessary to find alternatives, such as the distinctive effects of nature that made Canadian landscape art so special. It was widely agreed that the selection of New Zealand art largely failed in this task.[27] As the *Times* reviewer put it, "Rightly or wrongly, one supposes that landscape and climate play the chief part in modifying the British tradition of painting overseas."[28] In this respect, the New Zealand art at Wembley was condemned precisely because it offered no sense of transformation: "it is in the room devoted to New Zealand – where, we are told, the conditions are most like those of these islands – that the home-keeping visitor will feel most at home . . . The pictures are pleasant rather than striking, with soft colour and plenty of atmosphere."[29]

The success of Canadian art in constructing the perfect settler nationalism was noted in New Zealand, as it was in the other dominions of Australia and South Africa. New Zealand newspapers frequently reported on the hierarchy of artistic achievement at the *British Empire Exhibition* and reinforced the importance of the Group of Seven's accomplishment. A typical example is an article published in the *Evening Post* newspaper in July 1924, which suggested that Canada was a country that had attained a singular artistic maturity: "The late Tom Thomson sought the hills and forests of Canada, determined not to be guided by outside influence, and his art evolved along bold, intense lines which seemed most suitably to represent the landscape of the country. Others have followed in his footsteps, and thus we have to-day a national style which stands distinct from the art of all other countries."[30] The article

quoted the *Morning Post*, which argued that "Australia, New Zealand, South Africa are in the main content to follow the ideas and methods of the Mother Country artists. Not so Canada, in landscape, at any rate."[31] Nature provided the perfect invigorating difference without invoking problematic ideas of race and outdated colonial culture that came with references to Indigenous art and culture. Canadian landscape painting provided a perfect solution to the paradox of settler nationalism within the empire (different but not too different), and was powerful because it established a sense of distinctiveness while achieving the assimilation and disappearance of Indigenous Peoples.

Settler Nationalism in the Metropole

The erasure of Indigenous art in Canadian exhibitions in Canada between the years 1929 and 1938 followed as a consequence of two important exhibitions from 1927 that displayed Indigenous and settler art alongside each other. The *Exposition d'art canadien* opened in the spring of 1927 at the Musée du Jeu de Paume adjacent to the Louvre in Paris. This large collection, based on the best of the two previous shows of Canadian art at Wembley, was also organized by Eric Brown from the NGC to proclaim Canadian nationhood at the acknowledged centre of modern art and was based, like the *British Empire Exhibition*, primarily on the work of the Group of Seven.[32] At the insistence and intervention of the French hosts, the *Exposition d'art canadien* also prominently featured James Wilson Morrice, a recently deceased Canadian expatriate who had painted more in a "French" modernist manner. It also included, through the machinations of Marius Barbeau, an ethnologist and folklorist at the National Museum (now the Canadian Museum of History), a small, but significant selection of Haida and Tsimshian objects, including masks, model poles, and argillite carvings.

The response was not as Brown and the Group expected. Unlike the positive reception of the Canadian art at the *British Empire Exhibition*, the French critics, in keeping with their understanding of modernism, nationalism, and primitivism, refused to ratify the Group's work and instead favoured Morrice and the Northwest Coast material as the best Canada had to offer. The reviews, again collected again by the NGC for the purpose of publication, were at first met with disbelief and then suppressed.[33] Considered in terms of the hegemonic narrative of settler nationalism that it was meant to enshrine, the exhibition was a traumatic disaster, and has consequently been largely erased from, or misrepresented in, recitations of the Group's history or Canadian art histories.[34]

The second exhibition in 1927, *West Coast Art: Native and Modern*, was organized by Brown and Barbeau for the NGC, and shown in Ottawa,



3 | J.E.H. Macdonald, Catalogue cover design for *Exposition d'art canadien, Musée du Jeu de Paume*, 1927. Pen, brush, and black ink with gouache in sepia and white on card, 37.1 × 28.6 cm. E.P. Taylor Library and Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario, A-28231. (Photo: © Art Gallery of Ontario)



4 | Installation view: *Canadian West Coast Art: Indigenous and Modern*, 7 January 1928 – 29 January 1928, Art Gallery of Ontario, E.P. Taylor Library and Archives, Art Gallery of Ontario. E-22085. (Photo: © Art Gallery of Ontario)

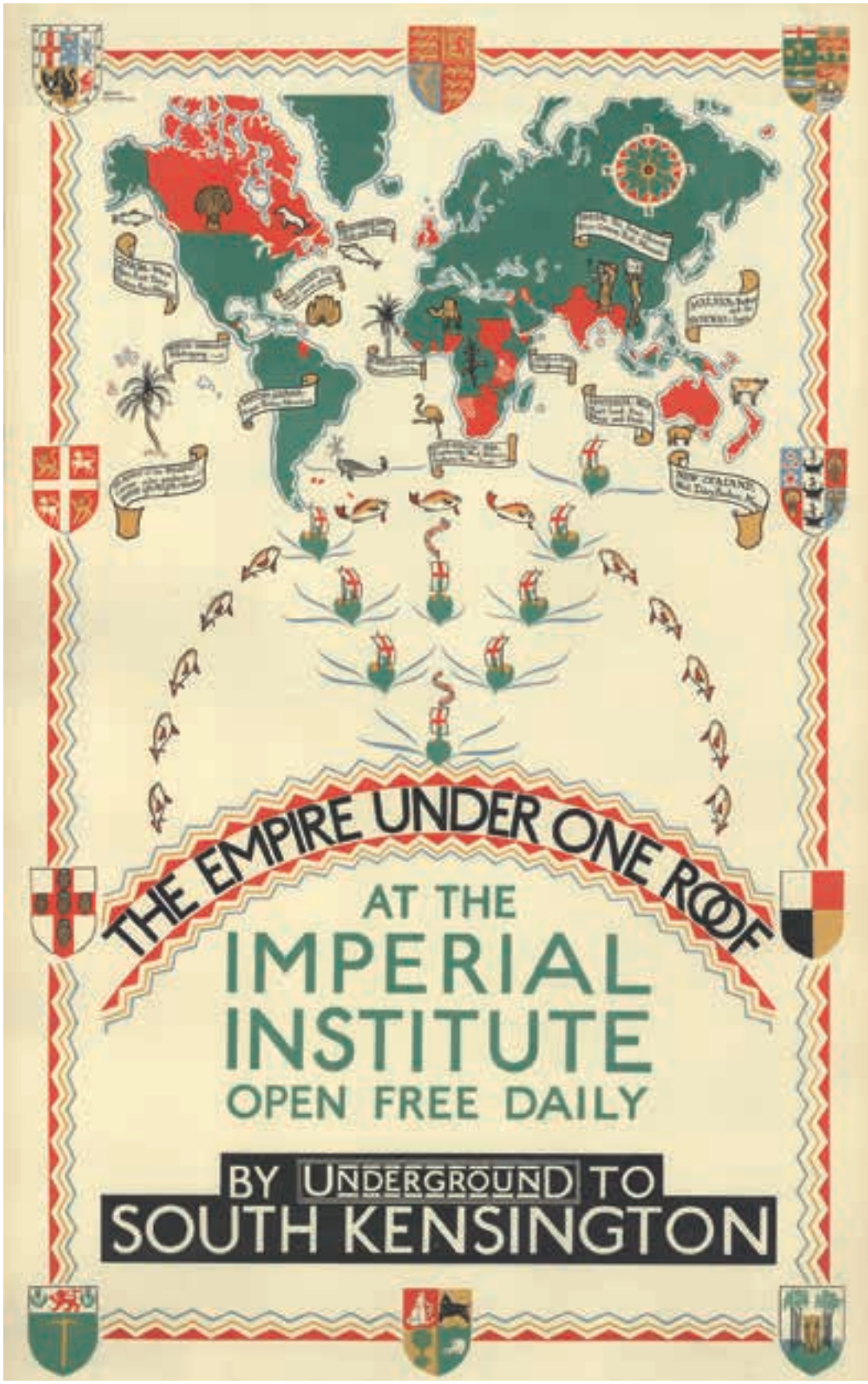
Toronto, and Montreal. It mixed "modern" paintings of Indigenous subjects by settler artists, including Emily Carr, members of the Group of Seven, and an American artist, Langdon Kihn, who had worked alongside Barbeau, with a large and varied collection of Northwest Coast Indigenous objects, including monumental carvings, bentwood boxes, dance screens, masks, bowls, silver and argillite work, weaving, and basketry. Barbeau used the exhibition in an attempt to demonstrate how Northwest Coast First Nations villages, totem poles, and territories, especially those of the Gitxsan, a group residing in the Upper Skeena River valley in northwestern British Columbia, could be appropriated as a new subject of a modern Canadian national art. As with Māori art in New Zealand, the Indigenous objects were discursively portrayed as coming from a disappearing culture and race,

which allowed them to be reassigned as emblems of nationhood. The title clearly distinguished between the "Native," which was from the past, and the "modern" which was Western.

Given that the theme of the exhibition confronted and conflicted with the principle of the emptied landscape evacuated of Indigenous presence, Eric Brown from the NGC was understandably not on side. He was, however, outmaneuvered by Barbeau who went over his head by enlisting the support of a powerful figure who sat on the boards of trustees of both the Art Gallery of Toronto and the National Gallery, Vincent Massey, the heir to an industrial fortune who was an ardent anglophile with an interest in culture, and who went on to serve as high commissioner of Canada in 1935. Barbeau's innovative initiative exposed a rift in the Canadian position that indicated that the issue of Indigenous art and the nation was not yet resolved.[35]

This gap played out in *The Studio* largely around the issues of Indigenous presence and disappearance, and the current vitality of Indigenous Peoples. An article by Eustella Burke, who seemed unaware of the conflict in Canada, appeared concurrently with the exhibition in 1927. She spoke of Northwest Coast Native arts as "art" and described them and the cultures and peoples which produced and ceremonially employed them as both present and vital.[36] A corrective from Ottawa was obviously in order. Douglas Leechman, a British employee of the National Museum in Canada, immediately penned a response which referred directly to the Burke article, and echoed her claim that the work constituted a distinct "school of art," but while placing this Indigenous art as part of Canada's cultural and artistic heritage, he concluded categorically, if incorrectly, that the cultures that produced it were "rapidly dying out and once dead . . . can certainly never be revived."[37] Leechman's assessment of Northwest Coast peoples, culture, and art would not be proven incorrect until 1938, when a "revival" program in Canada would begin.

In the face of the problematic issues that Barbeau's innovative initiatives exposed, these exhibitions were not immediately followed up in Canada. Rather, those in charge of Canada's national image and self-representation retrenched and returned to a position of excluding Indigenous arts from the nation's visual and cultural identity. During the ten years from 1927 to 1937, Northwest Coast art remained more or less invisible as art, especially at the NGC. But the same was not true in London. The first of the Imperial Institute exhibitions in London featuring Northwest Coast Native arts immediately followed the *West Coast Art: Native and Modern* show in Canada and occurred during the moment at which the latter was receiving significant coverage in *The Studio* magazine. This critical recognition cemented the nascent link between Northwest Coast art and Canadian identity at the imperial centre, despite the antipathy of Brown at the NGC for this same


THE EMPIRE UNDER ONE ROOF
AT THE
IMPERIAL
INSTITUTE
OPEN FREE DAILY
BY UNDERGROUND TO
SOUTH KENSINGTON

project at home. People in London, in fact, would have been unaware of the conflicts between Brown and Barbeau, as well as the tendentious relationship between the Group of Seven and Indigenous arts,[38] and proceeded under the assumption that this connection underwrote Canadian identity.

The role of the Imperial Institute has been overlooked, assisted by the fact that the Institute, although a major entity for almost a century, almost disappeared materially. The Institute was initiated in 1887 as an extension of the Colonial Exhibition of 1886 at the behest of the Prince of Wales, and the foundation stone was laid by Queen Victoria in the year of her Golden Jubilee. Opening in 1892, it occupied an impressive stone and brick edifice in South Kensington designed by Thomas Edward Collcutt in the eclectic historicism of the era. Although it seems initially to have been dedicated to showing and educating its audiences on the diverse commercial products of the colonies and dominions, the Institute's precise role was never clearly defined and it went through several changes in direction, and ultimately faltered. Beginning in 1957, most of the building was demolished in stages to make way for London University, and in 1962 the functions of the Institute were taken over by the rebranded Commonwealth Institute, which opened in a new modernist building in Kensington.[39]

As part of attempts to reinvent itself within the shifting definitions of the empire, the Institute took on the role of a museum. In 1929, under the direction of Sir William Furse, a large exhibition of Northwest Coast First Nations art opened in the Exhibition Hall. The material was drawn from Alfred Bossom's private collection, which had just become available. Bossom was an architect from inauspicious origins in England, who emigrated to the United States in 1903, where in 1910 he married advantageously and, with the help of his oil magnate and financier father-in-law, had a remarkable if abbreviated career designing skyscrapers.[40]

Bossom's collection of Northwest Coast objects was primarily assembled in the late 1910s and 1920s after he was financially established in America. He seems to have spent little time on the Northwest Coast, aside from a single visit undertaken shortly after his arrival in North America, in which he acquired a large carving of a Thunderbird at Alert Bay, which impressed him with "the decorative value of the carving."[41] This, in turn, inspired him "to start gathering specimens for a permanent collection."[42] Yet although his interest in and motives for his further acquisitions remain obscure, other than that he "was overpoweringly impressed by the fascinating work of these Indians" which "had more craft and skill than most if not all others of

5 | Herry Perry, Poster; *At the Imperial Institute: Empire under One Roof*, 1927, 102 × 64 cm, ©TfL from the London Transport Museum collection, 1983/4/2299. (Photo: London Transport Museum)

our Empire's aboriginal people," the sheer scale on which he subsequently collected was beyond question.[43] The entirety, in which he "started selecting particular specimens that would well illustrate their divers[e] abilities and interests" was apparently obtained through G.T. Emmons, an American naval lieutenant who took an interest in Indigenous cultures of the Northwest Coast, and in its later stages, by W.A. Newcombe of Victoria, the son of Charles Newcombe, who, with Emmons, was one of the major sources for such materials in the late 1800s and early 1900s.[44] Over four decades, Bossom acquired more than 1,500 objects, ranging from archeological stone shards to a thirty-foot Haida pole. Not without justification, Bossom and others claimed it to be one of the largest public or private collections in the world, on a par with the Rice Collection in Chicago, the Museum of Natural History in New York, and the Rasmussen collection in Portland.[45]

Yet despite its scale and its long and important history, this collection remains understudied, even ignored. Cole's book on collecting Northwest Coast art, *Captured Heritage*, generally considered detailed and definitive, gives the Bossom collection barely a mention, possibly because its existence contradicts his primary premise that the golden age of collecting was over by the point Bossom began his massive acquisition program.[46] In 1926, Bossom returned to England, taking his collection (which he was still augmenting with new acquisitions) with him. Abandoning his architectural practice, he acquired a castle as his principal residence, became a member of parliament in 1931, and was given a baronetcy in 1953 and a life peerage in 1960.

In 1929, however, the objects in Bossom's Northwest Coast collection had been languishing in storage in the British Museum, where there was no space for them to be displayed. The Imperial Institute provided an answer to this lack. The exhibition did not go unnoticed. A report of the opening ceremonies in the *Times* of March 1929 suggested a number of problems in how this material was viewed and understood. The headline declared the show was of the "Arts of British Columbia," elevating the material above the ethnographic. The opening paragraph, however, undercut this aesthetic status when it identified the material as "art and crafts of the British Columbia Indians," an ambiguous designation that, like Bossom's name, as Winston Churchill pointed out, was neither one thing nor the other. The journalist did not see any national traits, but rather noted "the 'Polynesian' character of

6 | Poster, Exhibition, Native Art from British Columbia, Imperial Institute; Designed by Edward McKnight Kauffer (American, active England, 1890–1954); Printed by Waterlow & Sons, Ltd.; Client: Underground Electric Railways of London Company Ltd.; USA; offset lithograph on paper, lined; 102 × 63 cm, ©TfL from the London Transport Museum collection, 1983/4/2735. (Photo: London Transport Museum)


EXHIBITION
NATIVE ART FROM BRITISH COLUMBIA
IMPERIAL INSTITUTE
MARCH 27th MAY 20th
ADMISSION FREE
NEAREST STATION
SOUTH KENSINGTON

the designs. The totem poles are obviously related to those of New Zealand." The author extended the formal connections to China and elsewhere to substantiate "a 'Pacific' school of art," that appeared here in an "arrested" stage of later development. Yet in conflict with this placement of the material in a primitive past, the writer also saw a connection to modernism, even the avant-garde, noting that "one totem pole . . . is quite 'cubistic' in principle."[47]

The exhibition was diverse, with the author describing frontlets, baskets, textiles, and shale (argillite), which was "beautifully carved."[48] But, as a matter of course, this appreciation of its refined aesthetic qualities could not be countenanced without rehearsing the narrative of fatal impact. The rhetoric of cultural decrepitude was delivered by F.A. Pauline, Agent-General for British Columbia who, in addressing a host of titled dignitaries at the official opening, said the work "could not possibly be duplicated to-day, because there were very few native Indians alive who could produce the same kind of handicrafts, which showed a high degree of skill."[49] The claim was repeated in a note on the exhibition in *Museums Journal*, which also reported that "Mr. Bossom emphasized the value of the exhibition galleries of the Imperial Institute in bringing home to us some idea of the British Empire."[50] By this estimation, Bossom proposed that his collection was as much an emblem of the empire as it was of Canada, giving the work a new and elevated status it did not enjoy in its home country.

The first exhibition of Bossom's collection was brief in duration, running from late March to 20 May 1929. In 1934, items from his collection were again on display for the occasion of the meeting of the Anthropological Conference in London.[51] But the initiative of showing Northwest Coast art in London did not end with the closing of Bossom's collection show in 1929. Almost immediately, Furse sent a request to the New Zealand-born and Oxford-educated Diamond Jenness at the National Museum in Ottawa to borrow a quantity of "ethnographic material" for display in the Canadian galleries at the Imperial Institute.[52] The museum obliged, sending three crates of which by far the greatest preponderance was Northwest Coast material, and of that, primarily Tsimshian. In 1936 the Museum requested its return, but later agreed to extend the loan for "a year or eighteen months," that is, to almost the opening date of *A Century of Canadian Art* at the Tate.[53]

The Tate show featured historical as well as contemporary works in a bid by the NGC to establish a purely Canadian genealogy and history

7 | Poster; A century of Canadian art; Tate Gallery, unknown, 1938. The painting displayed in the poster is a reproduction of *Ludivine* (1930) by Canadian painter Edwin Holgate (1892–1977). The original painting is part of the collections at the National Gallery of Canada. ©TfL from the London Transport Museum collection, 1983/4/5141. (Photo: London Transport Museum)

AT THE TATE GALLERY



A CENTURY OF

CANADIAN ART

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extending back to Paul Kane and to early French-Canadian sculpture. It also included a small sampling of Northwest Coast art as part of Canada's national image. However, it had to negotiate new critical terrain. The exalted settler-nationalist narrative of an inevitable historicist progression leading to the rejection of European "foreign" influences and, concomitantly, landscapes based on the essential features of a mythologized Canadian northland, which had worked so well at Wembley, was now rendered problematic both at home and in England. In Canada, not only had the Group of Seven dissolved six years earlier, but there was a growing rejection of the link between art and nationalism, which was seen by many at this time as either exhausted or irrelevant.[54] In England, a separate critical reaction against nationally-based art had appeared because of its adoption by Stalinist Russia and fascist Italy and Germany. In 1935 Clive Bell, the noted London critic who coined the term "significant form," published an article deploring this tainted connection in *The Studio* magazine.[55]

Graham McInnes, the Australian émigré responsible for publicity and promoting the show for the NGC, and the author of a survey of Canadian art history that was soon to go to press, found himself on unstable ground in his preliminary article on the exhibition in *The Studio*, which coincided with the show's opening. He diplomatically attempted to reconcile the conventional "romantic nationalist" narrative, which he placed as a necessary stage in the young nation's past, with a current demand for an autonomous, non-national "purely plastic approach," albeit an approach based on a "new" realism rather than abstraction. He concluded with the caveat that "Canadian art has its limitations . . . to those educated in the French tradition," but noted that "if it has not attained to a universal stature, it has made a genuine mark . . . and its future lies ahead."[56] Elsewhere and for a different audience, but on the same topic, he was not so circumspect, stating that "the discoveries of the Group later degenerated into tedious mannerisms."[57]

Even given the precarious state of the critical discourse, the members of the Group and Tom Thomson were given primacy of place, as they had been in previous shows. There were seven works by Thomson, who was featured on the catalogue cover, four by Lawren Harris, five by J.E.H. MacDonald, five by A.Y. Jackson, four by Franklin Carmichael, three by A.J. Casson, and four by Edwin Holgate. Conversely, the only abstract was Bertram Brooker's *Sounds Assembling*. In this regard, the catalogue foreword by Sir Evan Charteris, Trustee of the Tate, rehearsed a by-now common refrain that the "main current of Canadian painting . . . is getting away from exact representation while avoiding abstraction and the more sensational ventures of modern art in Europe."[58] The cautious list of primarily English-speaking painters was also probably due to Eric Brown's desire to avoid any of the

undesirable responses associated with the shows in London and Paris, as well as his deep antipathy to anything remotely modern after post-impressionism.

It was undoubtedly the inherently conservative, even anti-modernist, nature of the show that led Frances Spalding to dismiss the exhibition as "uninteresting" in her history of the Tate Gallery.[59] Spalding's assessment has however been challenged. Karen Finlay has demonstrated its importance in establishing Canadian presence in London as a follow-up to the Wembley shows, especially in the context of Vincent Massey, who, from his position as High Commissioner for Canada, took an active role in organizing the exhibition and in loaning twenty works from his private collection as part of a program to bring it to the attention of the world.[60] More recently, Andrew Horrall has reaffirmed its pivotal position in strategically establishing solidarity between England and Canada just prior to the Second World War, a solidarity now based on a partnership of equals rather than one of colonial periphery soliciting recognition from the imperial metropole.[61]

None of these, however, explain its most radical feature, namely the inclusion of the six Northwest Coast objects, including four model totem poles in wood and argillite (identified as Haida, although no artist's names were given), and, rather oddly given the national focus of the exhibition, two Chilkat blankets from Alaska. Nor do they mention these works' relationship to the *West Coast Art: Native and Modern* exhibition of 1927. Part of the reason that the importance of this material is overlooked is archival. Neither the extensive files at the NGC nor those in the Tate contain material explaining the presence of the Indigenous material. The only mention of it seems to occur in a letter from Eric Brown to John Rothenstein, who had taken over as director of the Tate while the exhibition was being assembled. It states only that, "I think all arrangements are well forward and that the show will be the best exhibition ever got together. It will include a few West Coast Indian carvings and some Quebec ones and about thirty sculptures."[62] In this archival absence of evidence, we must look beyond Gallery archives for explanations.

The first of these sources is contextual. It cannot be coincidence that the presence of the Native art in *A Century of Canadian Art* exhibition occurred immediately following its heightened visibility at the Imperial Institute between 1928 and 1938. It thus effectively maintained the project of founding settler nationalism on Northwest Coast art even when this project had faltered back in Canada. The second is personal and could have been the result of the involvement of Massey, who had taken a personal interest and actively intervened in the content and message of the exhibition. It can also be safely supposed that in his role as High Commissioner he had visited the Imperial Institute and seen firsthand the recognition given at the imperial

centre of Northwest Coast art both as "art" and as symbol of the nation. He would not have been insensitive to this ratification at the imperial centre.

Despite this prominence in London, the six Northwest Coast objects were relegated to the back page of the catalogue. The brief text describing them was very similar to that of the *Exposition d'art canadien* and the *West Coast Art* shows, but noticeably lacked any reference to being sources of subject matter for Canadian artists or mention of disappearance. Instead, it emphasized their aesthetic qualities and firmly established them as "decorative arts [that] have achieved world-wide fame."[63] It then went on to rank them with other primitive arts at the top of a cultural Darwinian order, citing the *Exposition d'art canadien* catalogue.

The show was significant in that it marked an end of one stage and the beginning of another in the settler/Indigenous/imperial relationship. It also resolved the problematic false start of *West Coast Art: Native and Modern* by reintroducing Native art as "Canadian" after the ten-year hiatus in Canada but in keeping with its exhibition in London at the Imperial Institute. But it also introduced a new relationship in that this year was also the official beginning of a program in Canada to "revive" the "lost arts" of Native peoples, which would produce dramatic changes in the following decades.

The fact that from 1929 to 1938, a period precisely spanning the hiatus in Canada during which time Northwest Coast First Nations art was rendered invisible, it was prominently displayed at the Imperial Institute in London, is important. It demonstrates that settler-nationalist identities are not always controlled by homegrown national narratives but may be negotiated in relation to shifting networks of stakeholder and forces outside the borders of the nation state. The larger history of exhibitions recited in this text also proves that to be true. As Christine Boyanoski concludes of the *British Empire Exhibition*, a typical characteristic of settler societies is that "the struggle for national cultural identity in the visual arts took place within the bounds of imperial discourse, and that these nations could hold a position of independence while still being part of a transforming Empire."[64]

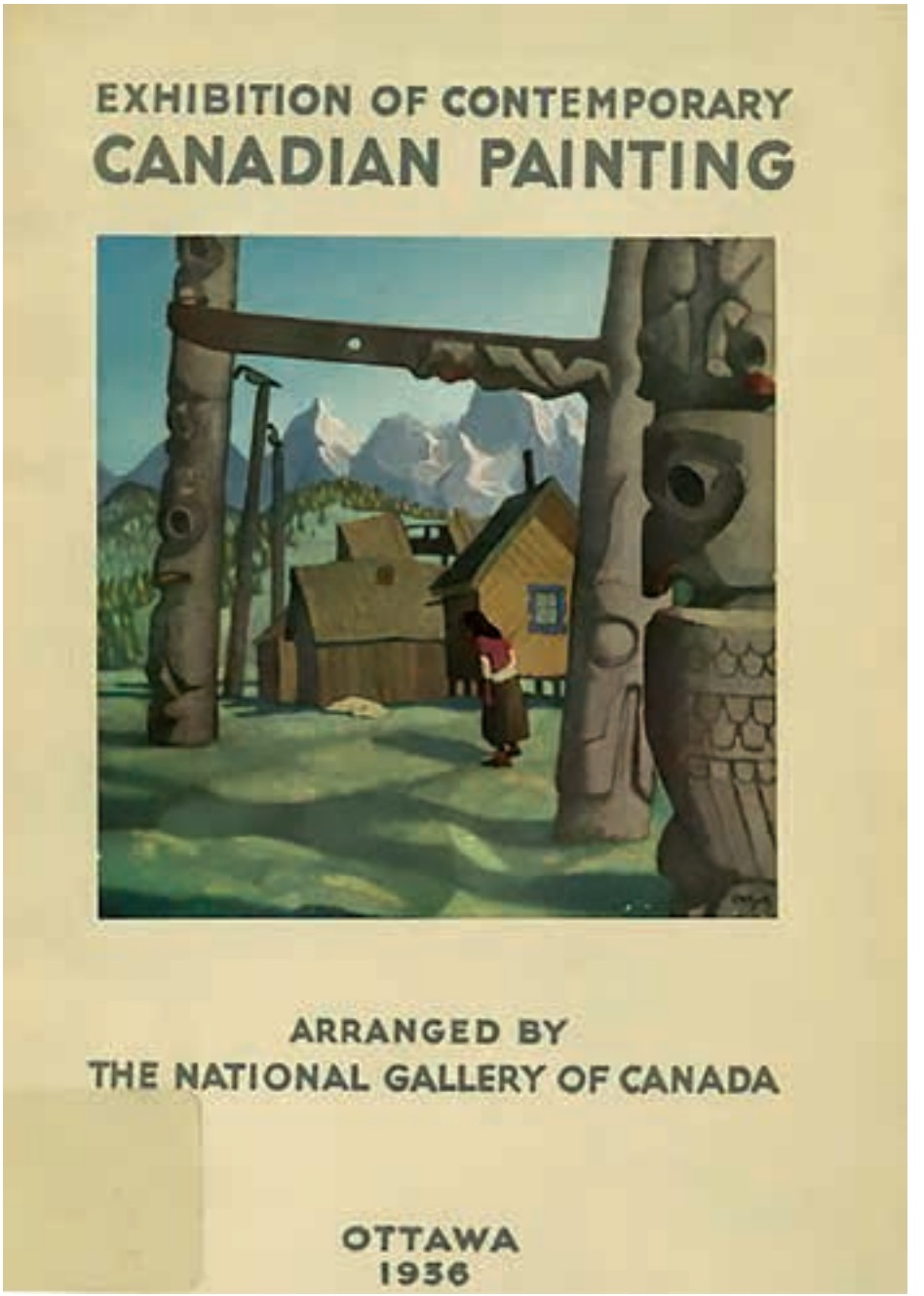
A modest coda to this narrative extends the story to New Zealand. The exhibition catalogue of *A Century of Canadian Art* was the model for the display of New Zealand art at the new National Gallery in Wellington, which opened in 1940.[65] The notable difference is that the New Zealand exhibition excluded Indigenous art. In this context, there was no reason to disturb the settler nationalism that was safely protected from the disruptive potential of Māori art by the clear division of cultural practice: art was located in the National Gallery upstairs, while "artefacts" were located in the National Museum downstairs.

Canadian Settler Nationalism on Tour

The final exhibition in our case study links Canada and New Zealand directly. In 1935, the Carnegie Corporation of New York invited Eric Brown and the NGC to organize a touring exhibition of Canadian art as part of an exchange of art exhibitions between the dominions of the British Empire and the United States; it was intended to be the first in a series of national art exhibitions that would also feature art from Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.[66] As Eric Brown wrote to J.S. MacDonald, the director of the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney, "So far there has not been sufficient exchange and co-operation between the Dominions directly and we hope this proposed exhibition will start an improvement in this respect."[67] *Contemporary Canadian Painting: Southern Dominions Exhibition* toured from 15 September 1936 to 16 April 1939, opening in Johannesburg, South Africa, to coincide with the Empire Exhibition, then travelling to cities in Australia and New Zealand before concluding its tour in Honolulu, Hawaii.

A memorandum dated 30 April 1936 suggested that the "Invitation is recognition of splendid work done by National Gallery of Canada in successfully organizing and circulating exhibitions throughout the Dominion and abroad."[68] While it isn't mentioned specifically, this "splendid work" must have included the success of Canadian art at the *British Empire Exhibition* in 1924 and 1925, and its power as a model for settler nationalism in the other dominions – precisely because the empty land filled with the indigenized signs of settler subjectivity so adroitly managed the balancing act of asserting regional difference in artistic terms that were easily recognized by the metropole.

The intention of the project was to proselytize the achievement of Canadian landscape painting; it was an opportunity to bring the lessons of Canadian settler nationalism to the sister dominions of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. As Arthur Lismer, who travelled with the exhibition, wrote to Eric Brown in 1936, "I hope the South Africa show is going to be a good one. At Johannesburg they know something and the whole art situation there would be encouraged by a live modern show by Canadian [artists] – as fresh and lively as it can be made. It would encourage a lot of real talent that is waiting to come through and might be the means of bringing about a revival there similar to which happened here in Canada in 1924, or earlier."[69] For Brown, the exhibition demonstrated the strength of Canadian painters in forging a distinctive approach: "now a generation of artists is at work that has no roots in the British and continental art schools, we are getting the Canadian country painted with pure and natural vision



8 | Catalogue cover for the Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting, arranged on behalf of the Carnegie Corporation of New York for circulation in the southern dominions of the British Empire, Ottawa 1936, National Gallery of Canada Library coll., ND 245 0836 1936. (Photo: National Gallery of Canada)

and imagination – a most hopeful state. We only hope the domination of the School of Paris will not overlay it."[70]

Brown had clearly learned from the experience of the *Exposition d'art canadien* in 1927, and *Contemporary Canadian Painting* acknowledged the artistic achievements of James Wilson Morrice along with those of a group of Montreal painters whom he characterized as loosely following Morrice's example in the 1930s.[71] As well as singling Morrice out in the catalogue essay, Brown, who was chairman of the selection committee, made sure that a number of contemporary artists who represented this trajectory of Canadian art were included in the exhibition.[72] But Brown's essay left no doubt as to the identity of the true heroes of Canadian art, and the "very distinct Canadianism" that had appeared in painting around 1911 and broke loose from the domination of European art trends. As he wrote, "It was not long before they were penetrating such regions as the wilds of northern Ontario, the western prairies, the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast which had never before been artistically explored and all of which yielded fresh and characteristically Canadian material for their canvasses."[73]

If Morrice and the Montreal painters had to be acknowledged, the same was not true of the Indigenous art that had also attracted the attention and praise of the French reviewers in 1927. *Contemporary Canadian Painting: Southern Dominions Exhibition* did not include any examples of Indigenous art, and the settler nationalism it promoted was primarily of the empty-land variety. There was only a small nod in the direction of settler nationalisms that appropriated Indigenous art in the pursuit of settler indigeneity. Notably, the exhibition catalogue featured a colour reproduction of Edwin Holgate's *Totem Poles of Gitsegiuklas* on the cover; but apart from his *Indian Grave Houses*, also included in the exhibition, the emphasis was on the empty landscapes of the kind popularized by the likes of Arthur Lismer, Lawren Harris, and A.Y. Jackson and slightly expanded in the paintings of members of the Canadian Group of Painters, such as Charles Comfort and Albert Robinson. The tilled earth, small towns, churches, and signs of settler agricultural pursuits gently altering the land preoccupied the more geographically diverse members of the Canadian Group of Painters who sought to uphold the aims of the Group of Seven to "paint Canada" but through a significantly expanded range of landscapes and figures.[74] Such subject matter has strong parallels in the regional realism that can be found in many settler societies in the 1930s and 1940s, and was also becoming prominent in New Zealand art around this time.

Unsurprisingly, given the context, Brown also rehearsed Canadian art's success (by which he meant the Group of Seven) at the *British Empire Exhibition* a decade previously; without being gauche enough to say it

directly, Brown reminded his readers from Canada's sister dominions that the comparison between art from Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa had not been to the advantage of the other countries. Perhaps, he concluded, it didn't deserve the title national, taking into consideration the immensity of the country, but it was "nevertheless a tribute to a quality which is definitely Canadian and neither British, Continental nor American in its content."[75]

Generally, New Zealand reviewers were appreciative of the exhibition, and sometimes they were rapturous in their praise. "It is not too much to say that no more stimulating influence has ever been brought to bear on New Zealand art," reported one newspaper, representing the ecstatic end of the spectrum of response. "Canadian painters, like those of Australia and New Zealand, have been confronted with the task of depicting a natural environment in which European conventions are wholly foreign. The younger generation of artists has met the challenge with vigour and determination, and the results make the average of contemporary New Zealand work seem hesitant or merely conventional."[76] The exhibition was, the reviewer concluded, a challenge to New Zealand artists to emulate this artistic achievement. Ellen Melville, who opened the exhibition at the Auckland Art Gallery, also praised the exhibition as a representation of the national art that Canadian artists had managed to achieve in their work. "It might be said that the Canadian painters in the last two or three decades have emancipated themselves from foreign influences and founded a school which derives from the soil of Canada," she said, channeling Brown's observations in the exhibition catalogue. "To a sister Dominion such an art must have both an appeal and a significance."[77] The painter Roland Hipkins went further: "This exhibition is of more than passing interest to this Dominion," he wrote in the journal *Art in New Zealand*. "It will prove a stimulus to our artists, many of whom are also striving to interpret the spirit of their own country."[78]

For one reviewer, offering an "unacademic opinion" in an Auckland newspaper, the exhibition was one of the most striking that had ever been shown in New Zealand: "Above all, it is alive; neither freakish nor too derivative, yet moving forward." The success of the paintings was to be found in how the artists had come to terms with the environment in which they lived and worked, as geography and climate undoubtedly leave their mark on artistic production. "Do you imagine that artists living in a cosy English landscape, say, would possibly produce paintings so stark, of such dramatic tension and size? This work has a genuine tang and punch," he wrote. Form rather than atmosphere dominated; frequently the images were so simplified that they resembled posters. The landscape had a strong anatomy, with rock and mountain structures and vast spaces, along with the frequent presence

of snow, destroying conventional approaches and calling for a different treatment. Canadian painting was "honest, strong work with surprisingly little of the blight of cleverness or slickness."[79]

All of these qualities ascribed to Canadian art were desired for New Zealand art, which had, in the 1930s, begun to reveal a new self-consciousness about the possibility of a New Zealand art that would truly represent a national style in the same way that Canadian art did.[80] There was a movement to invent a unique aesthetic in art and literature that would turn away from the colonial past and the bonds that tied New Zealand to England. What would replace it would be informed by the distinctive qualities of the New Zealand landscape – such characteristics as the "harsh clarity of New Zealand light," which in the words of poet A.R.D. Fairburn banished the golden mists and soft warm colours of British art: "Hard, clear light reveals the bones, the sheer form, of hills, trees, stones and scrub. We must draw rather than paint, even if we are using a brush, or we shall not be perfectly truthful."[81]

Canadian painting was admired in New Zealand because of the way in which it could be argued these artists channeled the spirit of the country – a fidelity to the local. *Art in New Zealand*, for example, published an article by Canadian Eduard Buckman in 1942, which claimed that the Group of Seven were successful because rather than being "complacently imitative of European and American trends" they "went directly to the Canadian scene and let it dictate the technique best suited for its representation in paint," and that A.Y. Jackson "allows the country itself to create the basic lines and colours of his canvasses."[82] And just like the Group of Seven, whose regionally specific paintings were transformed into a national style, the "regional realism" of a group of painters based in the central regions of the South Island of New Zealand became representative of the nation as a whole.

Contemporary Canadian Painting was also favourably viewed in New Zealand because the art it included was neither "freakish or too derivative," as the *Auckland Star* put it. Difference without too much difference, or the wrong kind of difference, was exactly what Canadian art had been praised for achieving at the *British Empire Exhibition* in 1924 and 1925. It was perfect for a country like New Zealand, which needed to establish a sense of distinctiveness within the network of dominions, but in no way put into question its adherence to the empire, and ultimately to the leadership of the metropole – including its artistic currents. The settler nationalism of Canadian art was perfectly aligned with the settler nationalism of New Zealand art, including the rhetorical strategy of evacuating the land of Indigenous presence in favour of an "ahistorical" representation of a rural simplicity that deliberately naturalized cultural and political processes. "The effects of culture, of human acts in a specific historical time, and of the ideals

and privileges of a dominant class, are made to seem a Nature – a given and unquestionable permanence," writes Francis Pound. "This, for Pakeha, is a matter of deep reassurance. The land's appropriation from Maori is thrust back into an unrepresented, and so forgettable, past."[83]

In all of the press coverage related to the exhibition, there is almost nothing about the other parallel between Canada and New Zealand, which as settler societies shared a particular relationship to Indigenous Peoples. One of the few times this was mentioned in relation to *Contemporary Canadian Painting* was at the opening of the exhibition in Wellington, by W.F. Bull, the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner. After rehearsing the scenic wonders and diversity of the Canadian continent (the mountains behind the prairies had been described as "thirty Switzerlands in one"), Bull mentioned "the coastal Indians who, with their picturesque ways, provided a happy hunting ground for the picture-maker," and the Eskimos of the Arctic regions. "To these regions artists sometimes penetrated, but he regretted that there were no Eskimo pictures available for the exhibition, for the Canadian was as proud of the Eskimo as the New Zealander was of the Maori."[84]

As late as 1966, artist and director of New Zealand's National Art Gallery, Stewart Bell Maclennan, could, after dismissing Māori art with the statement that "The process of integration has isolated the Maori of today from the living meaning of the arts of his forefathers, and his culture must, from now on, be one with that of his European neighbours," write approvingly of the Group of Seven, who "with one urgent gesture, established a basic national idiom which in colour, rhythm, and texture incorporated elements of impressionism and post-impressionism, and which foreshadowed expressionism."[85] In a direct paraphrase of Eric Brown's comments in the *Contemporary Canadian Painting* catalogue, Maclennan proposed that the exhibition "was designed to demonstrate, or perhaps rather to celebrate, the arrival of a school that was neither British, Continental, nor American but truly Canadian."[86] This was an art both Canadian and modern, a perfect solution to the paradox of settler nationalism, and powerful because it created distinctiveness while also allowing for the assimilation and disappearance of the native.

Conclusion

In both Canada and New Zealand, there was a need to create an exalted narrative of emerging nationhood, which would mark the local polity as similar to (concurrent with), but also different and independent from the imperial centre – that is, as a distinct part of a unified empire. Two conflicting strategies emerged to achieve this: a settler nationalism that

filled a land emptied of Indigenous presence with the myths and tropes and histories of an adapted settler consciousness (in which the signs of Britishness were transformed through an intense contact with local nature); and a settler nationalism that moved from the erasure to the embrasure of Indigenous arts, redefining them as the products of past and disappearing cultures that could be appropriated as the inherited trophies and emblems of an emerging autonomous and unique national identity.

There are various mechanisms by which knowledge and practices – and objects – flowed between colonies: newspapers in New Zealand carried stories about Canadian art, especially when it was shown in the metropole (in 1924–25, for example); magazines like *The Studio*, published in Britain, articulated a pan-dominion cultural scene, letting artists in Canada and New Zealand see what was happening in the other countries; exhibitions also transferred artworks around the network, often meeting in the metropole, but also sometimes coming direct to the colony.[87] This demonstrates why national art histories are inadequate, since a country's art cannot be seen in isolation but will always be affected by the network of links established through settler colonialism.

National borders, or the allegiance of art history and the nation state, also raises significant problems from a settler-colonial perspective. Dynamics in settler societies are shared, and strategies for dealing with these dynamics – such as settler nationalism – are also shared. To make this point is to undermine the claims of nationalist art history. For example, it isn't the unique light of the New Zealand landscape that produces regional realism in New Zealand art, but the particular problems of settler belonging, and the power of the empty landscape to articulate a connection to place that works so well from a dominion perspective (different but familiar). This also reveals the centrality of settler-colonial agendas in nationalist art practice: the erasure of Indigenous Peoples and culture.

NOTES

1 Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), 14.
2 Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 95.
3 Ibid., 101.
4 Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872–1914* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), 11.
5 Thomas, *Possessions*, 108.
6 Ibid., 109.

7 Stafford and Williams, *Maoriland*, 20.
8 For an overview of this exhibition, see Christine Boyanoski, "Selective Memory: The *British Empire Exhibition* and National Histories of Art," in *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, ed. Annie E. Coombes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 156–70.
9 The Canadian art at the *British Empire Exhibition* was presented in two separate exhibitions. The first ran for six months from April to October 1924; the second exhibition opened the following spring. As a result, Brown organized two distinct displays of Canadian art for one exhibition.
10 See Leslie Dawn, *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s* (Vancouver: ubc Press, 2006), 31–54.
11 Quoted in Boyanoski, "Selective Memory," 158.
12 Ibid.
13 This aesthetic outcome was in fact a parallel and related dynamic to the wider social and political agenda of the *British Empire Exhibition*, which was effectively a trade fair designed to re-orient British commercial policy, enhancing international markets for British goods through the existing networks of the British Empire. Along with goods, Britain was keen to populate the dominions with British settlers, redistributing the white population of the empire by moving Britains from crowded metropolitan areas to the dominions, creating access to natural resources and forming new markets at the same time. It was important in this respect that what prospective settlers encountered at the British Empire Exhibition was appealing, and not too different. Ibid., 157–59.
14 National Gallery of Canada, *Press Comments on the Canadian Section of Fine Arts, British Empire Exhibition, 1924* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1924).
15 See chapter 2, "'The March of the Aborigine to Civilization': Live Exhibitions and the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893," and chapter 3, "Theaters of Contact: The Kwakwaka'wakw at the Fair," in Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 15–33 and 34–73.
16 Quoted in Hirini Moko Mead, *Nga Karoretanga o Mataatua Whare: The Wanderings of the Carved House, Mataatua* (Whakatāne: Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 1990), 62.
17 Quoted in ibid., 69.
18 Ibid., 72.
19 Ibid., 81.
20 Quoted in Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007), 71.
21 Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012), 14.
22 Quoted in ibid., 142.
23 Quoted in ibid.; see Anne Clendinning, "Exhibiting a Nation: Canada at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924–1925," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 39:77 (May 2006): 79–107.
24 Barnes, *New Zealand's London*, 148.
25 Ibid., 152.
26 *Catalogue of the Palace of Arts: British Empire Exhibition* (London: Fleetway Press, 1924), 86–88.

27 For a discussion of the different ways in which the dominions distinguished their "typical" landscapes within the empire, see Boyanoski, "Selective Memory," 164–65.
28 "New Zealand art: Empire contributions at Wembley – A comparison," *Christchurch Press*, 12 July 1924, 14. The article published in the *Press* was essentially a compendium of quotes by British critics, providing local audiences with a sense of how the New Zealand exhibition had been received in London.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
32 See Dawn, *National Visions*; and Charles Hill, *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada), 1995.
33 Ibid., 81–89.
34 For recent examples, see Ross King's attempt to link the Group to French modernism, which avoids the issue by stopping just short of the Jeu de Paume fiasco. Ross King, *Defiant Spirits: the Modernist Revolution of the Group of Seven* (Kleinberg: McMichael Canadian Art Collection; Kleinberg and Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010); David Silcox's *The Group of Seven and Tom Thomson* (Toronto: Firefly Books, 2003) mentions Wembley and the Canadian critical responses, but omits any reference to the Jeu de Paume exhibition or its critical appraisals; Hill, *Art for a Nation*, 216, dismisses the French reaction as "poor and uninformed."
35 While the overall theme of this essay was the result of conversations between Damian Skinner and Leslie Dawn, the Canadian sections of the text were largely authored by Leslie Dawn. Unfortunately, he passed away before his contributions could be appropriately footnoted. The decision was made to move ahead with publishing this essay, given Dawn's substantial archival research and deep knowledge of these exhibitions, and this period in Canadian art historiography, as demonstrated in his book *National Visions, National Blindness*.
36 Eustella Burke, "Indian Dramatic Masks," *The Studio* 94 (1927): 417–18.
37 Douglas Leechman, "Native Canadian Art of the West Coast," *The Studio* 96 (1928): 331–33.
38 Lawren Harris, for example, believed "that representation of Native presence could not peaceably coexist with claims that the Group of Seven's works depicted repossessed, 'empty' landscapes," and he actively tried to discourage Emily Carr from painting such subjects. Dawn, *National Visions*, 300.
39 Mark Crinson, "Imperial Story-lands: Architecture and Display at the Imperial and Commonwealth Institutes," *Art History* 22:1 (March 1999): 99–123; see also G. Alex Bremner, "'Some Imperial Institute': Architecture, Symbolism, and the Ideal of Empire in Late Victorian Britain, 1887–93," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62:1 (March 2003): 50–73. For more information about the Commonwealth Institute, see Ruth Craggs, "The Commonwealth Institute and the Commonwealth Arts Festival: Architecture, Performance and Multiculturalism in Late-Imperial London," *The London Journal* 36:3 (2011): 247–68.
40 Wikipedia, Alfred Bossom. Accessed 13 Sept. 2017, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred_Bosom,_Bossom.
41 Alfred Bossom, *Some Reminiscences* (privately published, 1939), n.p.
42 See "Some personal notes. . . ," Box 701, f 12, Bossom Collection, Misc., Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec.

43 Bossom, *Some Reminiscences*.
44 "Some personal notes. . . ."
45 A.C. Bossom, review of *Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest from the Rasmussen Collection of the Portland Art Museum*, in *Man* 51 (July 1951): 102.
46 Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985), 243.
47 *The Times*, 28 Mar. 1929, 12.
48 For an inventory of the material loaned, see Ethnology Archives B899, f2, 1929–1936 The Imperial Institute (London, England), Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec.
49 Ibid.
50 "Arts and Crafts of British Columbia Indians at the Imperial Institute," *Museums Journal* 28 (May 1929): 349–50.
51 John L. Myers, "International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences; proceedings of the first session, London, 30 July – 4 August 1934," *Man* 34 (September 1934): 137.
52 See also Box 646, f23, Imperial Institute 1929, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec.
53 Acting Director to Sir Harry Lindsay, Director, Imperial Institute, Ottawa, 21 May 1936, Ethnology Archives B899, f2.
54 See Sandra Paikowsky, "Modernist Representational Painting Before 1950" in *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Anne Whitelaw et al. (Don Mills: Oxford, 2010).
55 Clive Bell, "What Next in Art?" *The Studio* 109 (January–June 1935): 183.
56 Graham McInnes, "A Century of Canadian Art: Exhibition at the Tate Gallery, London," *The Studio* (December 1938): 294–95.
57 Graham McInnes, "Canadians in London," *Magazine of Art* 31:10 (October 1938): 589.
58 Sir Evan Charteris, "Foreword," in Anon, *A Century of Canadian Art, Exhibition Catalogue* (London: Tate Gallery, 1938), 7.
59 Francis Spalding, *Tate: A History* (London: Tate Publishing, 1998), 75.
60 Karen Finlay, *The Force of Culture: Vincent Massey and Canadian Sovereignty* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 170–74.
61 Andrew Horrall, "'A Century of Canadian Art': The Tate Gallery Exhibition of 1938," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 27:2 (Fall 2014): 149–62.
62 Eric Brown to John Rothenstein, 23 June 1938, Tate Archives, TG 92/41, Tate Records, A Century of Canadian Art (14 Aug. – 31 Dec. 1938).
63 Anon, *A Century of Canadian Art, Exhibition Catalogue*, 36.
64 Boyanoski, "Selective Memory," 168.
65 See Rebecca Rice, "Transforming the 'unimaginative and literal' into an Art for the Nation: Writing and Exhibiting New Zealand's Art History in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Art Historiography* 7 (December 2012).
66 For information about this exhibition, see Southern Dominions Exhibition 1936–1939 File 1, NGC Box 152, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
67 Eric Brown to J.S. MacDonald, 29 Aug. 1935, Southern Dominions Exhibition 1936–1939 File 1.
68 Anon, "Memorandum re Exhibition to Tour Southern Dominions," 30 Apr. 1936, Southern Dominions Exhibition 1936–1939 File 1.

69 Arthur Lismer to Eric Brown, 25 Apr. 1936, Southern Dominions Exhibition 1936–1939 File 1.
70 Eric Brown to Mr Brackenreg, 4 Jan. 1938, Southern Dominions Exhibition 1936–1939 File 5, NGC Box 153, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
71 Eric BROWN, "Introduction," *Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1936), n.p. These artists included Prudence Heward, Mabel May, Kathleen Moir Morris, and Adrien Hébert – all now associated with the Beaver Hall Group.
72 The committee included Brown, Sir Wyly Grier, president of the Royal Canadian Academy, Professor John Alford, the Carnegie-funded head of the fine arts department at the University of Toronto, Martin Baldwin, curator at the Art Gallery of Toronto, and Paul Rainville, associate director of the Museum of the Province of Quebec.
73 BROWN, "Introduction," 6.
74 Alicia BOUTILIER, *A Vital Force: The Canadian Group of Painters* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 2013).
75 BROWN, "Introduction," 7.
76 "Canadian art: Loan exhibition," *The Daily Telegraph*, 5 Aug. 1938.
77 "Canadian art: Exhibition opened," *New Zealand Herald*, 24 June 1938.
78 Roland HIPKINS, "Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting," *Art in New Zealand* 10:4 (June 1938): 198.
79 J.D., "Canadian painting: Honest and strong," *Auckland Star*, 2 July 1938.
80 For a detailed discussion of these issues, see Francis POUND, *The Invention of New Zealand: Art and National Identity 1930–1970* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010).
81 A.R.D. FAIRBURN, "Some Aspects of New Zealand Art and Letters," *Art in New Zealand* 6:4 (June 1934): 215.
82 Eduard BUCKMAN, "Canadian Landscape: Film of an Artist at Work," *Art in New Zealand* 14:4 (June 1942): 173.
83 POUND, *Invention of New Zealand*, 201.
84 "Canadian art: Wide field of subjects," *Evening Post*, 12 Mar. 1935.
85 Stewart Bell MACLENNAN, "Art in New Zealand: Survey, Trends, and Influences, 1938 to Present," in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, ed. A.H. McLintoch (Wellington: Government Printers, 1966). Accessed 14 Sept. 2017, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/art-in-new-zealand/page-2.
86 Ibid.
87 One of the legacies of the *Contemporary Canadian Painting* exhibition is that a number of Canadian artworks entered into South African, Australian, and New Zealand collections. In New Zealand, for example, the following paintings were acquired: A.Y. Jackson's *Winter in Quebec* for the National Gallery in Wellington; Gordon Webber's *Bode Lane* for the Auckland Art Gallery; Paraskeva Clark's *Snow Fall* for the Napier Art Gallery; and F.C. Hennessey's *River Driver* for the Bishop Suter Art Gallery in Nelson. (Southern Dominions Exhibition 1936–1939 File 6, NGC Box 153, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa)

RÉSUMÉ

La présentation d'identités coloniales, nationales et impériales dans des expositions d'œuvres d'art au début du XIXe siècle

LESLIE DAWN ET DAMIAN SKINNER

Dans cet essai, une série d'expositions d'art ayant eu lieu dans la première moitié du xixe siècle offre l'occasion de se pencher sur les réseaux qui relient les cultures coloniales du Canada et de la Nouvelle-Zélande. L'empire anglais était constitué de relations et de connexions horizontales qui ont façonné l'interdépendance entre colonies, de même que de réseaux et d'échanges verticaux entre colonie et métropole. Les développements coloniaux étaient « modulés par un tissu complexe de courants, d'échanges et d'engagements qui liaient la Nouvelle-Zélande aux autres colonies de même qu'à la Grande-Bretagne, le cœur de l'empire[1] ». L'empire se conceptualise mieux sous forme de réseau que de roue à rayons. En tant que sociétés issues du colonialisme de peuplement ayant une relation impériale avec la Grande-Bretagne, le Canada et la Nouvelle-Zélande sont le plus manifestement reliés par la médiation de la métropole de Londres, mais il existe également des liens reliant directement ces deux pays. Les expositions que nous avons choisies démontrent ces deux types de connexion.

Se déroulant à Londres et dans différentes villes du Canada et de la Nouvelle-Zélande, ces expositions constituent également une étude de cas des manières dont les identités nationalistes coloniales sont construites en lien avec les Autochtones en voie de disparition (ou disparus). Elles comportent une séquence consistant à impliquer et à exclure l'art et les peuples autochtones de manière à répondre aux demandes changeantes en matière d'identités nationales, coloniales et impériales durant cette période. Différentes stratégies d'identité nationaliste coloniale circulaient dans les réseaux issus du colonialisme de peuplement durant la première moitié du XIXe siècle ; et des identités nationalistes coloniales ont été requises pour se comporter différemment dans les colonies et la métropole.

Nous proposons qu'un modèle d'histoire de l'art coloniale offre une manière de penser différemment l'art et l'idéologie nationalistes coloniaux qui ont constitué, jusqu'à relativement récemment, l'étude primaire de l'histoire de l'art dans des sociétés coloniales comme le Canada et la Nouvelle-Zélande. Notre essai entame la problématisation et l'ébranlement des histoires de l'art nationalistes standards et solipsistes au Canada et en Nouvelle-Zélande en lançant un processus consistant à les mettre en contact. Une étude

comparative du Canada et de la Nouvelle-Zélande indique la présence d'une série de phases parallèles dans les sociétés coloniales qui contribuent à comprendre les histoires nationales, de même qu'à démontrer que la séquence et la relation des nationalismes coloniaux et de l'art autochtone ne sont pas nécessairement linéaires ou progressives.

En acceptant que l'héritage issu du colonialisme de peuplement est un phénomène transnational et en supposant que cela s'applique également à la pratique artistique et à l'historiographie de l'art dans les sociétés coloniales, il devient possible d'ébranler les affirmations d'un caractère unique qui étayent les histoires de l'art nationalistes, et de révéler comment des stratégies parallèles de construction de l'identité coloniale opèrent de manières étonnamment semblables dans diverses sociétés coloniales. Réunir le Canada et la Nouvelle-Zélande dans un seul cadre analytique est à la fois un geste de comparaison (explorer les similitudes dans les dynamiques coloniales) et de connexion (identifier le transfert direct et indirect des connaissances et des pratiques). Cette méthode transnationale nous permet de reconsidérer l'impact du colonialisme de peuplement sur la présentation et la réception des pratiques artistiques coloniales et autochtones dans la première partie du XIX^e^ siècle, en mettant en relief des aspects qui ont été perdus, exclus ou déformés parce qu'ils exposent les récits exaltés du nationalisme colonial comme autant de constructions fragiles ayant besoin d'être constamment réaffirmées par des déclarations de foi plutôt que par des faits.

Cet essai commence à partir de la proposition que l'analyse de la production culturelle au sein de sociétés issues du colonialisme de peuplement dans un seul cadre peut révéler des renseignements fascinants et importants sur la relation entre l'art et le colonialisme de peuplement, laquelle demeure invisible lorsque ces histoires sont maintenues à l'écart les unes des autres. Nous proposons que le fait de mettre en contact des histoires de l'art nationalistes problématisera et ébranlera ces récits, révélant leur investissement dans le projet toujours en cours de colonialisme. Il y a beaucoup à gagner en approchant la pratique de l'art et l'historiographie de l'art dans les sociétés coloniales en tant que pratique nécessairement transnationale.

Au Canada comme en Nouvelle-Zélande, il y avait un besoin de créer un récit exalté à propos de la naissance d'une nation, qui marquerait le régime politique local comme étant semblable (concomitant) au centre impérial, mais aussi différent et indépendant – soit une partie distincte d'un empire unifié. Deux stratégies conflictuelles ont émergé pour ce faire : un nationalisme colonial emplissant un territoire vidé de sa présence autochtone de mythes, de tropes et d'histoires composant une conscience coloniale adaptée (dans lequel les signes du caractère britannique étaient transformés par un contact intense avec la nature locale) ; et un nationalisme colonial passant de l'effacement des

arts autochtones à son inclusion, en les redéfinissant comme les produits du cultures passées et en voie de disparition pouvant être appropriés en tant que trophées et emblèmes hérités d'une identité nationale autonome et unique en émergence.

Il existe divers mécanismes à travers lesquels les connaissances et les pratiques – et les objets – circulaient entre les colonies : des journaux en Nouvelle-Zélande publiaient des commentaires sur l'art canadien, en particulier lorsqu'il était exposé dans la métropole (en 1924-1925, par exemple) ; des magazines comme *The Studio*, publié en Grande-Bretagne, parlait des scènes culturelles à travers le Dominion, laissant les artistes du Canada et de la Nouvelle-Zélande voir ce qui se passait dans d'autres pays ; des expositions ont également transféré des œuvres dans le réseau, se rencontrant souvent dans la métropole, mais venant aussi parfois directement dans la colonie[2]. Cela démontre pourquoi les histoires de l'art nationales sont inadéquates, puisque l'art d'un pays ne peut pas être considéré isolément, puisqu'il sera touché par le réseau de liens établi par le colonialisme de peuplement.

Les frontières nationales, ou l'allégeance de l'histoire de l'art à l'État-nation, soulèvent également des problèmes importants du point de vue du colonialisme de peuplement. Les dynamiques dans les sociétés coloniales sont partagées tout comme le sont les stratégies – comme le nationalisme colonial – pour les traiter. Faire valoir ce point, c'est miner les affirmations d'une histoire de l'art nationaliste. Par exemple, ce n'est pas la lumière unique de son paysage qui produit le réalisme régional dans l'art néo-zélandais, mais les problèmes particuliers d'appartenance coloniale, et le pouvoir d'un paysage vide d'articuler une connexion avec le lieu qui fonctionne si bien du point de vue du Dominion (différent mais familier). Cela révèle également la centralité des agendas du colonialisme de peuplement dans la pratique artistique nationaliste : l'effacement des peuples autochtones et de leurs cultures.

NOTES

1 Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012, p. 14. [Notre traduction.]

2 Un des héritages de l'exposition *Contemporary Canadian Painting* est que plusieurs œuvres canadiennes sont entrées dans des collections en Afrique du Sud, en Australie et en Nouvelle-Zélande. Dans ce dernier pays, par exemple, les tableaux suivants ont été acquis : *Winter in Quebec* d'A.Y. Jackson pour la National Gallery à Wellington ; *Bode Lane* de Gordon Webber pour l'Auckland Art Gallery ; *Snow Fall* de Paraskeva Clark pour la Napier Art Gallery ; et *River Driver* de F.C. Hennessey pour la Bishop Suter Art Gallery à Nelson. (Southern Dominions Exhibition 1936-1939 File 6, NGC Box 153, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.)

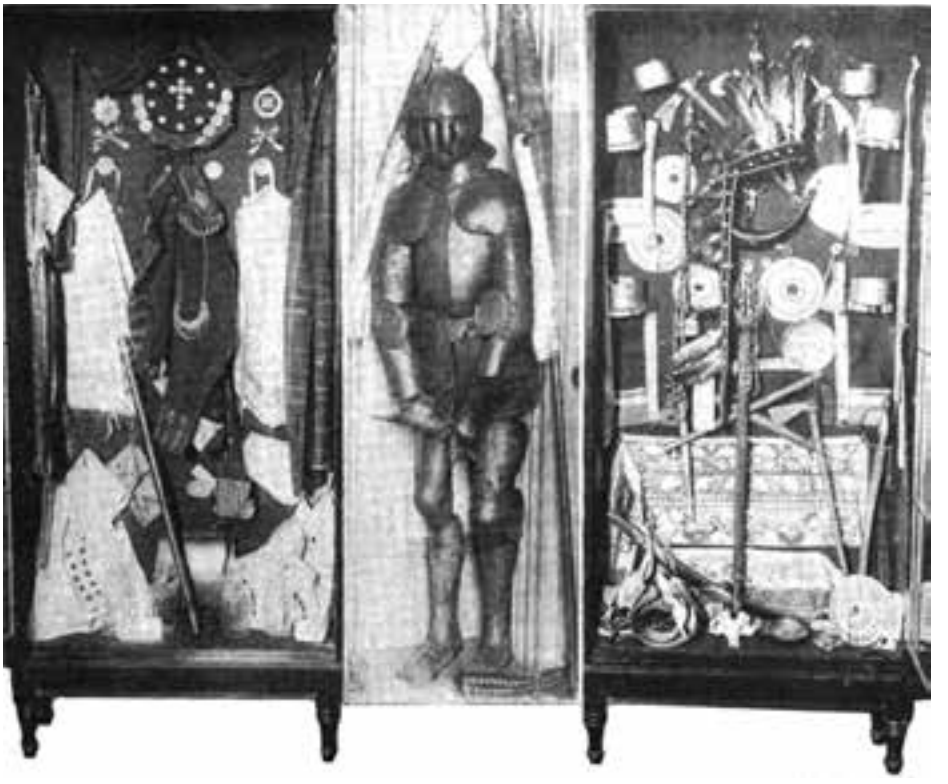
David Ross McCord: Settler-Colonial Collector

ANNE WHITELAW

An Archipelago of Memories

In March 1914, readers of Canada's foremost English-language news magazine, *Maclean's*, would have come across a well-illustrated article describing the vast collection of "a Montreal lawyer" as "the trappings of a storied past, rich, varied and priceless."[1] One of the photographs accompanying the article documents two cabinets in the collector's home, nearly bursting with objects (Fig. 1): in one of the cases, the sword of General Sir Isaac Brock, British hero of the War of 1812, hangs to the left, accompanied by the uniform, sabre-tack, and sword of Colonel Clerk, a member of the 40th Regiment who was a great favourite of the General. Continuing the presentation of relics connected to a central moment in Canadian independence, the case also contains decanters given by the Duke of Kent to Colonel Montague; spoons from the mess plate of the 100th regiment and used during the War of 1812; pieces of plaid made three hundred years earlier and likely connected to one of the Scottish regiments fighting alongside Brock; and a badge at the centre made with original buttons of the 49th regiment. The cabinet on the right contains what the article describes as "a very small portion of a great wealth of Indian relics" owned by the collector, including "the war bonnet of a Micmac chief of great antiquity" and some of Tecumseh's arrows. Closer examination of the case reveals three pairs of silver armbands of Kanien'kehà:ka origin, several gorgets, mostly Haudenosaunee, numerous pipe-tomahawks, also Haudenosaunee, and an Anishinaabe powder horn. The "war bonnet" in the centre of the case is a headdress thought to be part of a Wəlastəkwewiyik (Malecite) "war dance" outfit, while the arrows accompany a bow, leaning sideways to the right of the case, are described as belonging to Tecumseh.[2] In between the two cabinets stands a suit of armour, identified by the article's author as belonging to a soldier who fought in the War of the Roses.

Looking at this photograph more than one hundred years later, what can we learn about the nature of collecting in Canada at the turn of the twentieth century, and what do these objects, and their mode of display in the early



1 | From C. Lintern Sibley, "An Archipelago of Memories," *Maclean's Magazine* (March 1914): 9. (Photo: Courtesy of Maclean's)

twentieth century, tell us about their owner and his view of himself and his status in the world at that time? How do these "trappings of a storied past" enable us to think about the nature of settler colonialism in Canada? The owner, David Ross McCord, lawyer, collector, and self-proclaimed "Indian chief," was part of the elite English-speaking upper class in Montreal, one of the last members of an Anglo-Irish family that settled in Canada in the eighteenth century, who, as merchants, lawmakers, and jurists, played significant roles in establishing the new nation-state.[3] Mindful of affirming his family's legacy, McCord's collecting focused on objects that could be described as witnesses to the emergence of Canada as an autonomous nation within a strong British empire – notably through the British Conquest and the War of 1812. While objects connected to British military victories were at the heart of the collection, McCord also sought out objects marking the contributions and activities of French settlers, alongside what would have been viewed as the more exotic objects produced by Indigenous cultures. This collection, destined to form the core of the McCord Museum of Canadian History, maps the particular history of settler colonialism as it occurred

in Quebec, and as such diverges from other settler collections in Canada, for example, the collection of John Clarence Webster in Saint John, New Brunswick, and the slightly later collection of Torontonian Sigmund Samuel.

While the settler's relation to Indigenous peoples remains the defining motor of settler colonialism in Canada as in other British colonies, the liminal place of French-Canadians within this matrix must be considered. In a reflection in the pages of this journal, Dominic Hardy underlined the complexity of the term "settler" within the Quebec context, noting how the difficulties in translation (settler as "*colon*"? as "*immigrant*"?) reflects its potential application to the original arrival of settlers from France in the sixteenth century, the state-sponsored development of the Northern areas of the province in the 1930s, and even more recent waves of migration.[4] For many Québécois, the narrative of the history of colonization in Quebec has been a story of British forces dominating the French-speaking population, casualties of ongoing battles between Britain and France over ownership of the colonial territories. Writing about recent interpretations of the Conquest in the province, Alexis Lachaine has noted that with the emergence of decolonization movements around the globe in the 1960s, Quebec nationalists formulated narratives "to overthrow what they saw as the shackles of their own colonialism and assume their full *globalité*, or totality, as a people and a nation in the world."[5] The rhetoric of colonization described by Lachaine takes on an additional layer of complexity, for as the analysis of McCord's collection and its display reveals, the relations of power underscoring settler-Indigenous interactions are complicated by the different relations of power at play between English- and French-Canadians, and between French-Canadians and Indigenous peoples. An advocate for a Canada with strong British values and traditions, the Montreal-based McCord nonetheless remained attentive to the historical contribution of French settlers during the Ancien Régime and to the romance of an Indigenous past ostensibly on its way to extinction. Like other settler collectors across the British Empire, McCord used his acquisitions to present a glorious history of the nation that privileged the assimilation or the erasure of what was assumed to be inferior peoples while simultaneously reinforcing the nation's ability to overcome its colonial past. That Canada's colonial past is doubled, requiring the containment of both the Indigenous inhabitants as well as the first French settlers, is a particular characteristic of the nation, establishing its exceptionalism amongst the other British Dominions. McCord's activities as a collector clearly speak to an impetus to highlight his (and his family's) role as "makers" of Canada – as significant contributors to the formation of an autonomous nation within a strong British Empire. What might be written off as a reflection of the interests of an individual settler subject, however, is affirmed through the

public display of the collection and its reification in what was to become the McCord National Museum in 1921.[6]

David Ross McCord: Settler Collector

Born in Montreal in 1844, David Ross McCord was the eldest son of a wealthy,[7] upper class, English-speaking family: a lawyer who had no need to distinguish himself, he had enough of a fortune that he could indulge his passion for collecting and build a museum that would house what he had amassed. Of Scottish-Irish stock,[8] the first McCord came to Quebec shortly following the British Conquest in 1760 and settled as a merchant in Montreal. Near-bankruptcy forced the next generation to return to Ireland in 1796, but the family re-emigrated in 1805. Establishing his family's status as members of the Anglophone merchant class, Thomas McCord (1750–1824) bought property west of Montreal in Nazareth Fief,[9] negotiating a 99-year lease with the Congrégation des Religieuses Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph, as well as another lease with the Congrégation de Notre-Dame for which he received ground rent. As the area's population expanded in response to the increasing industrialization of Montreal, the McCord family fortune grew apace. Professionally and socially, the male members of the family entered the legal profession and strategically married the daughters of similarly established (largely Anglophone – but not exclusively) families; the McCord daughters entered similar marriages or joined benevolent societies, working for such organizations as the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum, sometimes both.[10]

McCord began collecting as a child when he accompanied his father to meetings of the Montreal Natural History Society, but his interest increased with the death of his father and his assumption of the role of head of the household. What Brian Young has described as his "obsession with death, imperialism and society's disregard for the critical events of Canadian history"[11] resulted in the acquisition of hundreds of objects by the early 1900s, in addition to paintings, prints, and other items of historical value already in the family home. The goal of creating a public museum – the McCord National Museum – was first envisioned by McCord in his notebooks and became the subject of active correspondence with his peers in Montreal, including Frederick Williams-Taylor, head of the Bank of Montreal, and McCord's great friend W.D. Lighthall, an amateur historian and a well-known figure in Montreal historical circles. While the museum only opened to the public in 1921 after years of negotiations with public institutions, including McGill University, it aligned closely with McCord's vision of Canadian history as expressed through the objects he accumulated.

McCord's collecting activities fell into three broad categories of interest: significant individuals and events in the formation of Canada (including

the McCord family itself); the history of Quebec; and Canada's Indigenous Peoples. Within these categories, McCord was catholic in his tastes, being equally interested in paintings, prints, written documents such as letters and autographs, and cultural and human artefacts (he claimed to possess Kanien'kehà:ka leader Thayendanegea Joseph Brandt's skull[12]), as well as china, jewelry, and furniture. Trained as a lawyer, McCord pursued a legal career only insofar as it provided funds – and contacts – for collecting. As a result of some legal work he undertook on behalf of the Six Nations Confederacy in 1890, he was given the name "Rononshonni," which he translated as "the builder." He made use of this honorific to cement his authority as the most logical (and deserving) repository for the historical artefacts of Canada's past. In a 1919 letter to then-Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden and Frank D. Adams, Acting Principal of McGill University, McCord wrote: "I have the honour of being an Indian Chief, and I have brought out amazing loyalty from my brethren in order to show the 'pale-faces' what we once were when we were owners of the forest and prairie."[13] McCord often used similar language with collectors as well as with Indigenous leaders and dealers in an attempt to establish his legitimacy to own Indigenous-made objects.

The first display of McCord's collection occurred in Temple Grove, his classical Greek mansion on the sides of Mount Royal. Originally built by his father as a summer house, the family moved there permanently in 1844 to escape the increasingly insalubrious conditions of downtown Montreal (the area around St. James Street where the family previously lived). The move had the added benefit of placing the McCord family alongside other wealthy Anglophone Montrealers keen to establish an enclave in the upper reaches of the city. Following his marriage and the death of his mother, McCord began to take over the entirety of Temple Grove, his growing collection providing an ever-encroaching backdrop to both the public and private rooms of the house. In the 1914 article for *Maclean's Magazine*, C. Lintern Sibley wrote that "even [the upstairs apartments] are being invaded by relics, and the family, retreating before them, will apparently soon find itself on the roof, so rapidly is the collection growing."[14] Once the collection was moved to its own quarters at McGill University,[15] a more formal arrangement of objects was produced, with McCord working closely with W.D. Lighthall (who would go on to oversee the collection upon McCord's institutionalization and eventual death[16]) but largely determining the disposition of objects himself. Despite the more public nature of the museum, the arrangement of objects there closely mirrored the display narrative at Temple Grove, grouping objects thematically to present a narrative of Canada's glorious history, its (British) heroes and their compassionate recognition of the contribution of the less advanced races to the formation of the nation were included.

Photographs from Sibley's article in *Maclean's* give a sense of the display at Temple Grove and the evident cohabitation of McCord, his wife, and the collection. Figure 1, described at the outset of this essay, reveals the aesthetic of accumulation that characterizes the style of display favoured by turn-of-the-century collectors and prevalent in museums of the period.[17] Another photograph (Fig. 5) shows a corner of a room containing paintings by Henry Bunnett of battle sites and fortifications connected to the Conquest, as well as the level used by John Franklin to lay the first lock of the Rideau Canal, and what the photograph's caption describes as "an Indian scalp."[18] A later photograph from c. 1916 (Fig. 2), illustrates McCord's collection more clearly within the context of his own home, allowing us to appreciate the consonance between the objects and McCord's own sense of his place within the material stuff of Canadian history, elements of which can be seen covering the console table in front of the window. While for McCord these were objects to be venerated and identified as key relics and records of Canadian history, they were also familiar and very personal objects – artefacts of his and his family's place in the story of the nation.[19] Read through the lens of settler-colonialism, these objects, acquired as vestiges of British success in possessing the land, connect that history of occupation directly to the McCord family by taking up space in their home. With the move to the public museum in 1921, the intimacy of the collection – the link between McCord and "his" objects – is less evident: the armchairs, rugs, and the Victoriana are gone, replaced by the formal display cases and ordered classification of the museum (Fig. 3). Yet, the link to McCord, the presentation of his family *as* history, is preserved through the inclusion of a whole room displaying objects connected to the McCord family located between a gallery dedicated to McCord's extensive collection of "Wolfiana"[20] (material connected to General James Wolfe, hero of the Plains of Abraham) and another presenting the contribution of "Protestant Spiritual Pioneers." The visitor to the McCord National Museum in the first years of its opening in effect replicated a visit to McCord's own home, paying homage to the interest and importance of the collection as well as to the man who put it together and the values he and his family embraced.[21]

In an essay on McCord and his collection, historian Kathryn Harvey describes his collecting practice as a "repetitive act of remembering,"[22] underscoring the imbrication of history and personal memory in both the acquisition and presentation of objects. And indeed, McCord's "authorship" of the museum as both collector and curator is evident in the organization of the display and in the identification of objects. In the museum, McCord wrote all object labels himself – a contribution of which he was particularly proud and which he mentioned to several of his correspondents. Labels were written in English and in French and focused on the affective value of the object – its



2 | Armour and flags, interior "Temple Grove", D.R. McCord's House, Montreal, QC, c. 1916. Notman Photographic Archives, MP-0000.2135.2N. (Photo: McCord Stewart Museum)

place in history, its role in building the nation, its function as evidence of the collector's prowess. While sometimes the maker's skill was referenced, most object descriptions revealed little understanding or explanation of an object's material character. Labels frequently included poetic references or quoted writings on, or correspondence from, the figure to which the object was linked to better capture its relevance and to stimulate the imagination of the viewer. Given the close association between McCord and the museum, the



3 | Ethnology Display Cases, McCord National Museum, Joseph House, Montreal, QC, c. 1927. Notman Photographic Archives, MP-0000.181.2. (Photo: McCord Stewart Museum)

authorship of the labels would have been apparent to most viewers. And in at least one letter where McCord was negotiating with possible takers for his museum, he categorically states his ongoing authority in the museum: "I will be the Honorary Director, and of course, free, and I am not to be interfered with in any way."[23] The presence of the collector in museums created from personal collections has been explored in a number of publications, captured most effectively in Carol Duncan's description of such institutions as "donor memorials" – museums that say as much about the original collector and their contributions as a collector, as they do about the works exhibited within their walls.[24] At the McCord National Museum, the collector's presence was evident far beyond the institution's name: his active role in the acquisition of the objects, the echo of his voice in the label text, as well as the integration of his family's history into the national narrative, all contributed

to the visitor's acknowledgement of McCord's authority and the legitimacy of his relationship to the objects on display.

The Settler Collector and National History

In *The White Possessive*, Aileen Moreton-Robinson probes what she describes as "the possessive logics" underpinning the establishment of settler states. As European settlers developed arguments cementing their legitimacy as owners of already inhabited land, whiteness inevitably became a form of property "as white people are recognized within the law primarily as property-owning subjects."[25] Since, as Foucault reminds us, knowledge and power are produced in and through systems of classification and discursive ordering, the collections of settlers and their display in museums furthers the logic of white possession by creating narratives where Indigenous-made objects are acquired and subsumed within an overarching account of national becoming. As Moreton-Robinson argues, "you cannot dominate without seeking to possess the dominated; you cannot exclude unless you assume you already own."[26] By bringing together objects from the Ancien Régime, Indigenous Peoples, as well as British military heroes, and insisting that these formed the nucleus of a Canadian national museum, McCord underscored Anglo-Canadian ownership of both the objects and the cultures that produced them, whether those cultures were French-Canadian or Indigenous. This belief in the power of objects can be seen in similar collections in Canada and in other British Dominions.

Born in Toronto some twenty years after McCord, Sigmund Samuel (1867–1962) demonstrated the same keen interest in showcasing the accomplishments and achievements of Canada's nation builders as a means of increasing public knowledge about the nation's past.[27] Although he moved to London in the interwar period, Samuel actively collected prints by such artists as W.H. Bartlett and English topographical painters, relying on the guidance of both Frederick Williams-Taylor, collector and head of the Bank of Montreal, and New Brunswick collector J. Clarence Webster. Samuel's sense of public responsibility resulted in commissioning slide reproductions of his paintings for public use and regular public lectures on his collection and Canadian history in both Toronto and London. With the approach of the Second World War, Samuel and his family returned to Toronto, and he presented his collection of prints and paintings to the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), with which he had established an interest through his relationship with Sir Edmund Walker, the ROM's first Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Charles Currelly, the museum's director until 1946. Initially, Samuel's collection was housed in the southwest corner of the ROM, in a space too

small for the collection to be shown in its entirety, but Samuel subsequently worked with the museum board to fund a new building that could house his collection of Canadiana as well as the provincial archives. Samuel's work on the new building highlights his interests in the Canadian collection. Working with sculptor Jacobine Jones, he commissioned four figures to adorn the eastern face of the new museum building: men, in his words, "who typify the qualities of all those who have made Canada, from earliest times to the present day."[28] Samuel de Champlain, unsurprisingly, appears as a marker of early exploration and to represent "the contribution of the French régime to our early life";[29] James Wolfe and Isaac Brock both function as examples of military heroism and of the selfless devotion to duty that Samuel describes as one of the great qualities of the Canadian nation. Finally, Governor John Graves Simcoe completes the grouping, representing the establishment of administrative principles that shaped Canada. As for the objects to be displayed within the new building, Samuel's collection was dominated by late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paintings (mostly topographic and historical views as well as portraits) alongside maps and medals significant to Canadian history.

Samuel's collection of Canadiana continues to be a feature of the ROM's display.[30] Less interested than McCord in establishing his own museum, Samuel nonetheless understood the importance of the public presentation of his collection and his negotiations with the ROM over the erection of a new wing to house his objects underscore the symbolic value of the space. His views of history replicate many of those held by McCord and other collectors such as J. Clarence Webster, celebrating military wins as foundational to the nation and relegating French-Canadian contributions to the period prior to the Conquest. Canada's place within the Empire remained central to Samuel's view of the country, not least made visible by his move to London. In his autobiography, published in 1963, Samuel describes the origins of his interest in collecting Canadiana, writing that "as a schoolboy, I began asking myself how I could possibly do something to resurrect the history of Canada, to portray the lives and activity of all those brave people who had risked their lives to create our nation."[31] A romantic and retrospective statement to be sure, but one that reveals the longevity of a view of the nation as being formed through the active repression and containment of cultures and peoples that were not British.

Other British settler-colonial states contain similar examples of settler collectors' monographic collections either entering wholesale into museums or functioning as the nucleus of a museum or other institutions' displays. Thomas Morland Hocken (1836–1910) lived at approximately the same time as McCord and exhibited a parallel interest in the events and figures formative

of New Zealand, as well as the objects associated with a romanticized Māori past. A successful doctor, Hocken moved from England to New Zealand in 1863, setting up a general medical practice in Dunedin on the South Island.[32] In 1869, Hocken was one of the original members of the Otago Institute, a scientific and philosophical society affiliated with the New Zealand Institute (now the Royal Society Te Apārangi) whose mandate was to promote art, literature, science, and philosophy. Members gave public lectures on their areas of interest and expertise and held *conversazione* on a wide variety of topics. The Institute's early affiliation with the Otago Museum (established in 1868 on the basis of a donation of natural history specimens, and in 1877 incorporated by the University of Otago) ensured that the material culture of history received as much attention as publications. Hocken's interests extended from natural history to Māori and Pacific Island ethnology and New Zealand history. In relation to the latter, he is perhaps best known as a collector of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, and photographs, and as the author of *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand* (1898) and the comprehensive *Bibliography of the Literature Relating to New Zealand* (1909), which became the standard reference for over sixty years.

As a collector of material culture, Hocken had a particular interest in Māori-made objects and acquired and exhibited them as early as 1865 when he organized an exhibition of moa bones and Pacific Island costumes for the New Zealand Exhibition in Dunedin. In 1889 he organized the Māori Court section of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin, using objects from his own as well as other settlers' collections to showcase what he viewed as the relics of a majestic but disappearing race.[33] As Kynan Gentry has argued, however, at the end of the nineteenth century, New Zealand collectors and amateur historians viewed Māori culture and history as central to an emerging national identity by "linking [the existing colonial state] to a distant indigenous past."[34] Hocken's collections, bequeathed to the Otago Museum in 1910, as well as those of other New Zealand collectors such as George Grey and Alexander Turnbull, aimed to establish a storied past where none was felt to have existed by establishing Māori cultural production as central to New Zealand history. This position was certified by the literal containment of Māori art within the walls of state displays and museums: Augustus Hamilton, director of the Colonial Museum in Wellington, kept the main hall of the museum for the display of Māori art, and advocated for the application of Māori designs to contemporary architecture and everyday objects so that it could become "a national character" as well as "a memorial to the race who created and developed it."[35] Hocken's acquisition of documents and objects related to early settlers, many of them sourced in England (e.g., the letters and journals of Samuel Marsden and other Church

Missionary Society members),[36] as well as his publications on the history and historiography of New Zealand demonstrate his interest in accumulating the component elements of a history of the country as it was establishing itself. As Gentry describes it, this is "history from below":[37] the tireless and perhaps obsessive work of individual collectors and amateur historical associations whose unflagging interest in *local* histories and significant acquisitions of primary materials established the foundations for the narratives of later "professional" historians.[38] "Local" here refers to the new nation, to a history of places far from the metropole that were in the process of being formed. For emerging nations such as Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, museums and collections were key to conveying a history and a sense of place. This place was clearly located *within* the Empire, and its founders and main contributors saw themselves with utmost clarity as members *of* the Empire. However, the stories produced by these institutions, along with the written accounts starting to emerge at the end of the nineteenth century, formed a narrative that exceeded the Empire, and could not be contained within its conceptual limits. McCord's pursuits should be seen in this context: his collecting activities and his vision of the place of the accumulated objects within the museum is a major part of a writing of Canadian history that was only just emerging in print. Organized according to clearly delineated themes that mapped a history of the emerging Dominion, McCord viewed his collection as an objective representation of a national historical narrative. In McCord's museum, history was written with objects.

The Settler Collector and Historian in Montreal

When writing to potential funders or donors to his fledgling museum, McCord frequently described himself as "the handmaid of Canada."[39] But his correspondence equally makes clear that his museum had to be located in Montreal. In a letter to the Toronto collector Frederick Williams-Taylor, McCord wrote, "I recognize, with you, that Ontario, with its protestant population and Anglo-Saxon blood is the backbone of this country, but on the other hand, Quebec is more historic, and Montreal unquestionably will eventually, if not at present, take a keener interest in Wolfe relics than the more remote Province of Ontario."[40] In a slightly later letter to the President of the Montreal branch of the International Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE), McCord affirmed that "the moment I open my doors Montreal rises to an historical level far greater than Canada."[41] One of the key factors in interpreting both McCord's collection and its display is the particular manifestation of Canadian imperialism in Montreal. McCord had clear affinities with other Canadian imperialists. Like his compatriots

in Ontario in particular, McCord upheld an imperialist nationalism firmly located in a belief that a strong Canada was only possible within a united British Empire. Historian Carl Berger has described this brand of imperialism as "rest[ing] upon an intense awareness of Canadian nationality combined with an equally decided desire to unify and transform the British empire so that this nationality could attain a position of equality within it."[42] This view shaped the writing of many historians of Canada at the turn of the century[43] and is perhaps most cogently captured in the "Canada First" movement that was most active between 1868 and 1876. The "Britishness" of Canadian imperialists entailed a strong endorsement of material progress and liberal values of liberty and self-government that were rooted in the anti-republicanism of the United Empire Loyalists who had emigrated to Canada in the wake of the American War of Independence. While imperialists recognized the historical contribution of "the French race" to the founding of the nation, British institutions and values were viewed as inherently more suitable to the building of a strong Canada. Most Canadian imperialists relegated any contribution of French Canada to the past and, as in their attitudes towards Indigenous Peoples, adopted a paternalistic standpoint that sought assimilation as the only logical outcome for Francophones in Canada.[44] However, living in – and being from – Montreal shaped McCord's understanding of the national formation to include French-Canadians in a somewhat different way from his counterparts in the rest of the country. His appeals to potential funders, donors, and supporters as he sought to find a public home for his collection, reiterated the statement that the museum would be neither Protestant nor Catholic, neither English nor French, underlining his position that any national history museum needed to incorporate the earlier role of French settlers in the founding of Canada.

McCord was not alone in acknowledging the key role of French settlement in building Montreal's – and by association, Canada's – identity. In *Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories*, Alan Gordon charts the emergence of the heritage movement in Quebec at the turn of the twentieth century and notes the participation of both Anglophone and Francophone Montrealers in determining what historical events or figures would receive public recognition through historical plaques and the erection of monuments. While Francophones emerged as the leaders of this endeavor, particularly through the actions of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal and later the Commission des monuments historiques du Québec, Anglophone Montrealers sat on a number of the committees and largely supported the vision of the city's development as a history of site occupation – in other words as a history of physical settlement and colonization.[45] In this scheme, both Anglophones and Francophones focused



4 | French Regime Room, McCord National Museum, Joseph House, Montreal, QC, c. 1927, Notman Photographic Archives, MP-0000.181.1.1, (Photo: McCord Stewart Museum)

on the accomplishments of the Ancien Régime, highlighting the successful establishment of fortifications along the St. Lawrence River, and the creation of organizations and public institutions (schools, hospitals, etc.) that led to the development of Montreal and Quebec as major colonial cities. Although not a member of any of these boards, McCord shared their view of what events and individuals best represented French Canada's role in the formation of Canada, a role that was firmly located in the past. In his museum, the contributions of French-Canadians centred almost entirely on the Ancien Régime. Room B (Fig. 4) was explicitly devoted to the French Regime and the Seven Years' War and included paintings of monuments and sites of major battles and forts alongside numerous letters, contracts and maps, and Jeanne Mance's apothecary jars; Room F chronicled the contribution of Roman Catholic

Spiritual Pioneers and included items such as the cross from the top of the Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours Chapel, flagellation cords, and a portrait of Marie de l'Incarnation. The presentation of material related to the French presence in Canada culminated in the display of objects associated with the Plains of Abraham, a room unofficially titled after Wolfe, but that included objects associated with both Wolfe and Montcalm in an attempt to present an equitable consideration of the contributions of both English and French.[46]

As a statement on French Canada, the McCord Museum display underscored a romantic view of heroic settlers fighting against an inhospitable land and recalcitrant natives, whose political and cultural dominance in North America came to an admirably fought, yet necessary end on the Plains of Abraham. Recognition of contemporary French-Canadian achievements and participation in Canadian life are all but absent from the displays, although McCord himself corresponded frequently with leading members of French-Canadian business, religious, and political elites to obtain support for his museum. In these letters, McCord employed the same flattering tone he used in his correspondence with English-Canadians, but he also played up the place of France in Canadian history. In a 1919 letter to Narcisse Pérodeau – politician, professor of law at Université Laval, and future Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec – McCord remarks that Canada's first king was François 1er, and that his royal name was the first to be inscribed in Canada on the shores of the Saint-Charles River by Jacques Cartier. An assertion of the role of French settlers in claiming Canada for Europe could not be clearer. Indeed, in the same letter to Pérodeau, McCord remarks that Cartier's "prise de possession" would form the beginning of his museum's narrative and that the panorama of history would unfold "sans distinction de drapeau" up to the present day.[47] Despite his praise of French Canada in his correspondence with Francophone leaders, McCord was less complementary in his correspondence with Anglophones. In an undated letter to the Lord Bishop of Montreal, McCord asserts: "The museum and fund must be vested in Protestants. No one but a Protestant can truthfully teach Canadian history. The Protestant thread runs through its delicate questions. It could not be otherwise . . . There was a French regime but the teaching in 'a chair' is different. No Roman can teach."[48] McCord's vision of Canadian history in his national museum thus embraced France's contribution to the building of Canada as having equal value to that of Britain, but only within a limited historical context. Stories relating to the founding of a colony and the brave exploits of explorers and missionaries, as well as of significant contributions to the cultural development of Quebec in particular, remained the extent of early French-Canadians' role in the country and this narrative was reflected in the museum's displays.



5 | C. Lintern Sibley, "An Archipelago of Memories," *Maclean's Magazine* (March 1914): 8. (Photo: Courtesy of Maclean's)

If McCord's presentation of Francophone heritage reinforced a particularly British interpretation of Canadian becoming, characteristic of Montrealers' sense of themselves within the new nation, the inclusion of objects of Indigenous expressive culture took on a much more conventional approach to display. McCord's collection of Indigenous artefacts was extensive, ranging from Haudenosaunee and Wendat objects obtained locally to acquisitions of works of Mi'kmaq and Beothuk origin from the East coast, and an interest in material culture from the Plains cultures, which developed later in his life. McCord's collecting replicated the nineteenth-century attitude towards Indigenous Peoples that praised their aesthetic skills as evidence of primitive nobility at the same time as it positioned them as brutal and savage warriors.[49] Evidence of such a view is found in the display case at Temple Grove (Fig. 1), where intricately carved gorgets and beaded fabric pieces are shown with bows, arrows, and war clubs; and in the "Indian scalp"[50] displayed between views of old Quebec and the level used by Sir John Franklin shown in Figure 5. In a note on possible display arrangements of his collection, McCord muses that copying the head and the face of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) figure on the Maisonneuve monument in Montreal's Place

d'Armes (perhaps applying war paint – "if it would not be too terrible") and placing the scalp upon it would allow viewers to come "face to face with the dreaded Iroquois."[51] This representation of the "Iroquois" contrasts with other objects in the display, including images recording the 1710 visit of three Kanien'kehà:ka chiefs from the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and one representative from the Mahican (an Algonquian people) to the court of Queen Anne, and a large selection of objects linked to Tecumseh and the childhood of Thayendanegea Joseph Brandt. Here too, however, the value of the objects appears to lie closely with their relationship to settler warfare – for example, Tecumseh's bow and arrows in connection to the War of 1812.

As McCord worked to transfer his collection to a public venue, he referenced the importance of Indigenous objects to the identity of the museum. Writing to many potential donors, he repeated his assertion that the proposed museum would emphasize neither the Catholic/French nor the Protestant/British presence, but he added the statement: "I will also make it as Indian as I possibly can – a museum of the original owners of this land."[52] How McCord understood the place of Indigenous Peoples in Canada largely followed the views of the time, projecting greater authenticity onto objects from the past over those from the present, and valuing the bravery of past Indigenous leaders – particularly those associated with a major settler event or battle – but doubting the knowledge and trustworthiness of Indigenous Peoples in the present. This appears most clearly in his letters regarding acquisitions: writing to Harlan Smith of the Geological Survey in 1918, McCord stated that he wanted "data about specimens found on or in the ground, not received from the hand of an Indian unless he found it as an archaeological specimen." He further stated that he wanted neither "modern specimens" nor anything "obtained from living Indians."[53] McCord's collecting approach was to make as much use of his honorific as he could in his dealings with fellow settler collectors and dealers and with Indigenous leaders he would contact for material. In a broad appeal to McGill alumni shortly before his museum opened, McCord wrote: "I myself am an Iroquois Chief and from the results of my work you can readily see that in the preservation from oblivion of Indian work and the Indian story I have happily been able to do more than any Indian Chief has ever accomplished . . . Make any use you like of this Chiefship of mine, I think it ought to be useful to you."[54] As Annette de Stecher has described in the context of British-Wendat relations, honorific titles were frequently gifted to important settler figures as a way to cement diplomatic relations established as a result of carefully negotiated actions or exchanges.[55] How these titles were deployed after the fact, however, often benefitted only the settler. McCord's frequent self-description as an Iroquois Chief is but one of the ways in which many

Anglo-Canadians appropriated the customs and accoutrements of Indigenous cultures to begin to create an authentically "Canadian" identity. Gillian Poulter has thoroughly explored this in her study of nineteenth-century Montreal: "British colonists did not so much assimilate French Canadians and Indigenous peoples [as] construct for themselves a Canadian identity that was almost but not quite Native. What Montreal colonists claimed as 'their' national identity was in fact greatly indebted to the very cultures they were at pains to supplant, [and] drew on both metropolitan and Indigenous characteristics – reflecting one and rejecting the other while mimicking its activities."[56] She demonstrates her case by tracing the enthusiastic adoption by wealthy Anglophones in Montreal of snowshoeing, tobogganing, and lacrosse. These pursuits quickly extended beyond Montreal to settler communities across the country where they were sanctioned as authentically Canadian leisure pursuits.[57] A parallel example of cultural appropriation can be found in the fancy dress balls beloved of Montreal's Anglophone élite that regularly featured historical pageants in which patrons dressed up as famous royal personages and soldiers as well as French-Canadian "habitants" and "Indian warriors and princesses."[58] While McCord himself may or may not have participated in such events, his museum, and the narrative of Canadian history it presented, was rooted in a similar belief in a hierarchical organization of Canadian society where French-Canadian and Indigenous identities were subsumed within an overarching British-derived settler-colonial point of view.

Conclusion

McCord's collecting of British, English- and French-Canadian, and Indigenous objects to build a Canadian national museum reflects a settler-colonial impulse to adopt and transform symbolic and material culture for the purposes of creating a new and superior settler identity. Invoking the authority of his family's lengthy inhabitation of Montreal as well as Britain's ultimate triumph in the struggle over possession, McCord's Museum narrated a history of national formation based on limiting French Canada's contribution to its period of settlement during the Ancien Régime and representing Indigenous Peoples and cultures only insofar as they could be linked to moments of great settler achievement. McCord's approach to history is indebted to the nineteenth-century focus on biography and the "great man" style of historiography. Although respectful of his Francophone peers, he viewed the contribution of "the French race" to the building of the nation as largely cultural, decidedly rooted in the past, and primarily useful for accomplishing the first wave of settlement and subjugation of Indigenous

Peoples. McCord's connection to members of the Francophone élites and the location of the McCord National Museum in Montreal, however, meant that the engagement with the French colonial past was more extensive and more detailed in its presentation than would have been the case for a similar institution elsewhere in the Dominion, materializing the complexity of settler-colonial identity within the Montreal context.

NOTES

1 C. Lintern Sibley, "An Archipelago of Memories: The Trappings of the Storied Past, Rich, Varied and Priceless Mark a Montreal Lawyer's Hobby as Historically Unique," *Maclean's Magazine* (March 1914): 7.

2 I thank Guislaine Lemay, Curator, Material Culture at the McCord Museum for her invaluable assistance in identifying some of the objects in the display cases.

3 On the McCord family, see the essays in *McCord Family Papers 1766–1945,* volume 1, ed. Patricia Miller (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1986); Brian Young, *Patrician Families and the Making of Quebec: The Taschereaus and McCords* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

4 Dominic Hardy, "What does the term 'settler-colonial art history' mean to you? What are the opportunities and problems of the method for writing art history in the Canadian context?," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 35:1 (2014): 177–81.

5 Alexis Lachaine, "A Nightmare to Awaken from: The Conquest in the Thinking of *Quebecois* Nationalists of the 1960s and After," in *Remembering 1759: The Conquest of Canada in Historical Memory*, ed. Philip Buckner and John G. Reid (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 214.

6 I wish to recognize the work of other scholars who have written in greater depth than I on McCord as a collector. In particular, I want to thank Moira McCaffrey, Kathryn Harvey, Brian Young, and Pamela Miller for their perceptive analyses of David Ross McCord's collecting practices and the early history of his museum. The focus of my essay is to consider how settler-colonial art history might be useful as a lens through which to read McCord's activities as a collector and museum founder at the turn of the twentieth century. I was greatly assisted by the work of my RAs Clinton Glenn and Alandra Miller, and by the McCord Museum's Curator, Material Culture Guislaine Lemay.

7 McCord's wealth, as Brian Young reminds us, is relative. By the last generation, the accumulated funds had been considerably spent down by less successful sons, and David Ross – the last of the male line – depleted the inheritance through his collecting activities. Young, *Patrician Families and the Making of Quebec*.

8 McCord's ancestors were part of the Scottish colonization of Northern Ireland in the seventeenth century. Ibid.

9 This area would become Griffintown and is now a trendy urban neighbourhood just south of downtown Montreal.

10 Pamela J. Miller and Brian Young, "Private, Family and Community Life," 54–83, and Donald Fryson and Brian Young, "Origins, Wealth and Work," 26–53, in *The*

McCord Family: A Passionate Vision, ed. Pamela Miller, Moira T. McCaffrey, Brian Young, Donald Fryson, and Donald Wright (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

11 Young, *Patrician Families and the Making of Quebec*, 316.

12 Sibley, "An Archipelago of Memories," 9.

13 David Ross McCord to Sir Robert Borden and Dean Adams, 22 Aug. 1919, McCord Museum of Canadian History, McCord Family Papers, file 2055. Underlining in original.

14 Sibley, "An Archipelago of Memories," 7.

15 The McCord National Museum first opened in the Jesse Joseph House on the corner of McTavish and Sherbrooke streets in 1921.

16 McCord was admitted to the Protestant Hospital for the Insane (now the Douglas Mental Health University Institute) in 1928.

17 The best known of these would be the Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford.

18 Guislaine Lemay has identified the "Indian scalp" as an ornament, still in the McCord's collection, composed of hair mounted on a felt disc that could be attached to a stick. She confirms, however, that McCord believed it to be a scalp lock, but of A'ani (Gros Ventre) origin, not Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) as was described in the article. Email correspondence, 8 Jan. 2015.

19 Kathryn Harvey notes, "Within the private world of the McCord family residence, David McCord nourished his own subjective view of the past with the things he imbued with his own historical meanings." Harvey, "Location, Location, Location: David Ross McCord and the Makings of Canadian History," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19:1 (2008): 73.

20 For another example of Canadian Wolfiana, see J. Clarence Webster's self-published volume *Wolfiana: A potpourri of facts and fantasies, culled from the literature relating to the life of James Wolfe, arranged by John Clarence Webster in this year of grace the bi-centenary anniversary of Wolfe's birth, 1927* (Privately printed, 1927).

21 This sense of pilgrimage is evident in Sibley's article as well as in a slightly earlier account of McCord's collection at Temple Grove in *The Westmount News*: "Temple Grove: A Revelation," *The Westmount News* 1:31 (2 May 1908): 1.

22 Harvey, "Location, Location, Location," 58.

23 David Ross McCord to Milton Hersey and William Rutherford, 23 Mar. 1916, McCord Archives, file 2050.

24 Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (New York: Routledge, 1995); see also Anne Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* (Pittsburgh: Periscope Publishing, 2009).

25 Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power and Indigenous Sovereignty* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), xix.

26 Ibid., xxiv.

27 Biographical information about Samuel is taken from his posthumously published autobiography *In Return: The Autobiography of Sigmund Samuel* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

28 Ibid., 149.

29 Ibid., 150.

30 The Canadiana Building closed in 2000 when Samuel's collection was moved to the ROM's main building. The Sigmund Samuel Gallery of Canada was redesigned in 2007.

31 Ibid., 48.

32 Biographical information on Hocken was obtained from the biography by S.R. Strachan, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 2, 1993, republished on *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Accessed 25 June 2016, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2h39/hocken-thomas-morland.

33 Jock Phillips, "History and Historians – The First Half of the 20th Century – Amateur History" *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Accessed 8 July 2016, http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/history-and-historians.

34 Kynan Gentry, *History, Heritage, and Colonialism: Historical Consciousness, Britishness, and Cultural Identity in New Zealand, 1870–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 15.

35 Augustus Hamilton, 1904 public lecture on Māori art and workmanship, cited in Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2007), 47.

36 Phillips, "History and Historians."

37 Gentry, *History, Heritage, and Colonialism,* 125.

38 Donald Wright makes the same argument for the establishment of Canadian history. Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

39 McCord described himself in this fashion throughout his correspondence.

40 Letter from David Ross McCord to Frederick Williams-Taylor, 23 June 1916, file 2050.

41 David Ross McCord to Mrs. W.C. Hodgson, President of the Montreal Chapter of the IODE, 15 Sept. 1919, file 2055.

42 Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914, Second Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 49.

43 I'm differentiating here between historians of Canada and Canadian historians because at the turn of the century very few professional historians wrote about Canada, leaving accounts of the nation's history to such amateurs as W.D. Lighthall, William Dawson LeSueur, and Janet Carnochan. Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada*.

44 See, for example, H.V. Nelles' account of celebrations of the Tercentenary of Champlain's arrival in Canada. Writing about the final pageant on the Plains of Abraham that featured both Anglophone and Francophone participants, he argues that the scenes "sought to move the story of New France out of history onto a timeless didactic plane that drew upon a rich store of shared cultural capital to convey its meaning." H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 192.

45 Note that Gordon also maps the fissures between English- and French-Canadian views of national heritage, particularly in the 1920s as Francophones were themselves split between those who imagined the province's future as lying in economic development and an antimodernist nostalgia for a strong French-speaking culture based on traditional rural and faith-based values.

46 See, for example, his assertion to archevêque de Montréal Bruchési in 1919 that the room dedicated to Wolfe and Montcalm would bear the title "Les compagnons en armes" and would include the lamp from Wolfe's encampment that was extinguished when news of his death was delivered. McCord described how he would affix the following label to the lamp: "En compliment à nos concitoyens d'origine française cette lampe restera toujours noire." (Letter, 5 Dec. 1919, file 2055).

47 David Ross McCord to Narcisse Pérodeau, 10 Sept. 1919, file 2052. Interest in Jacques Cartier as founding hero of Canada was well established by the 1910s among both Francophone and Anglophone historians and the public. On the rise and fall of "Cartiermania," see Alan Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians: Historiography and the Uses of Jacques Cartier* (Vancouver: ubc Press, 2010).

48 David Ross McCord to "Lord Bishop" (undated), file 2048. The Bishop of Montreal from 1909 to 1939 was John Cragg Farthing. Underlining in original.

49 Evidence of this perspective is found in the near-ubiquitous reference to Indigenous Peoples as savage and/or primitive by collectors, anthropologists, and scientists from first colonial contact into the twentieth century.

50 See note 18.

51 David Ross McCord collection notes, file 2059. Underlining in original.

52 1919 letter to a donor, cited without attribution in, *McCord Family Papers 1766–1945,* ed. Patricia Miller, 85.

53 David Ross McCord to Harlan Smith, Geological Survey of Canada, 31 Dec. 1918, file 2055.

54 David Ross McCord draft letter (likely addressed to McGill Alumni), February 1920, file 2055.

55 Annette De Stecher, "Of Chiefs and Kings: Wendat and British Diplomatic Traditions 1838–1842," *Ethnologies* 32:2 (2015): 103–30.

56 Gillian Poulter, *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Sport, Visual Culture and Identity in Montreal, 1840–85* (Vancouver: ubc Press, 2009), 11.

57 Beverly Lemire, "Colonizing Winter: Tobogganing, Toboggan Suits, and Imperial Agendas in the Northlands, c. 1800–1900," in *Object Lives and Global Histories in Northern North America: Material Culture in Motion c. 1780–1980*, ed. Beverly Lemire, Laura Peers, and Anne Whitelaw (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021), 115–44.

58 Cynthia Cooper, *Magnificent Entertainments: Fancy Dress Balls of Canada's Governors General* (Hull, qc and Fredericton, nb: Canadian Museum of Civilization and Goose Lane Editions, 1997).

David Ross McCord : Collectionneur issu du colonialisme de peuplement

ANNE WHITELAW

En mars 1914, le lectorat du magazine d'actualités anglophone le plus important au Canada, *Maclean's*, aurait vu un article abondamment illustré où la vaste collection d'un « avocat de Montréal » était décrite comme réunissant « les signes d'un passé historique, riche, varié et inestimable[1] ». L'une des photographies accompagnant l'article documente deux cabinets dans la résidence du collectionneur qui semblent prêts à craquer tellement ils sont remplis d'objets (Fig. 1) : dans un des cabinets, l'épée du général Sir Isaac Brock, héros britannique de la guerre anglo-américaine de 1812, est suspendue à gauche, accompagnée de l'uniforme, du fourreau et de l'épée du colonel Clerk, un membre du 40e Régiment qui était un grand favori du général. Poursuivant la présentation de reliques reliées à un moment crucial de l'indépendance du Canada, le cabinet contient également des carafes offertes par le duc de Kent au colonel Montague ; des cuillères provenant d'un plateau de la cantine du 100e régiment utilisé durant la guerre de 1812 ; des morceaux de plaid réalisés 300 ans plus tôt et probablement reliés à l'un des régiments écossais combattant aux côtés de Brock ; et, au centre, une insigne faite de boutons originaux du 49e régiment. Le cabinet de droite contient ce que l'article décrit comme « une très petite portion d'une grande abondance de reliques indiennes » qui appartient au collectionneur, incluant « une coiffe de guerre très ancienne d'un chef Mi'kmaq » et certaines flèches de Tecumseh. Un examen plus rapproché du cabinet révèle trois paires de brassards en argent d'origine Kanien'kehà:ka, plusieurs gorgerins, pour la plupart Haudenosaunee, de nombreuses pipes-tomahawks, aussi Haudenosaunee, et un cornet à poudre Anishinaabe. On croit que la « coiffe de guerre » au centre du cabinet fait partie d'un costume pour une « danse de guerre » Wəlastəkwewiyik (Malécite), alors que les flèches accompagnent un arc, posé de côté à droite dans le cabinet, décrit comme appartenant à Tecumseh[2]. Entre les deux cabinets se trouve une armure, identifiée par l'auteur de l'article comme appartenant à un soldat ayant combattu durant la guerre des Deux-Roses.

Quand on regarde cette photographie plus de cent ans plus tard, que peut-on apprendre de la nature du collectionnement au Canada au début

du XX^e siècle, et que disent ces objets et leur mode de présentation à propos de leur propriétaire, de sa perception de lui-même et de son statut dans le monde à cette époque ? Comment ces « signes d'un passé historique » nous permettent-ils de penser la nature du colonialisme de peuplement au Canada ? Le propriétaire, David Ross McCord, avocat, collectionneur et « chef indien » auto-proclamé, faisait partie de la haute société anglophone de Montréal, étant l'un des derniers membres de la famille anglo-irlandaise à s'être établis au Canada au XVIII^e siècle, comptant des marchands, des législateurs et des juristes qui ont joué des rôles importants dans l'établissement de la nouvelle nation-État[3]. Soucieux d'affirmer l'héritage de sa famille, McCord s'intéressa, dans son collectionnement, à des objets pouvant être décrits comme des témoins de l'émergence du Canada en tant que nation autonome à l'intérieur d'un empire britannique fort – notamment par la Conquête britannique et la guerre anglo-américaine de 1812. Même si les objets reliés aux victoires militaires britanniques figuraient au cœur de la collection, McCord cherchait également des objets marquant les contributions et les activités des colons français, en compagnie de ce qui aurait été considéré comme des objets plus exotiques produits par les cultures autochtones. Cette collection, destinée à former le noyau du Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne, cartographie l'histoire particulière du colonialisme de peuplement tel qu'il s'est produit au Québec et, comme tel, il diffère d'autres collections coloniales au Canada, par exemple, la collection de John Clarence Webster à Saint-Jean au Nouveau-Brunswick et la collection légèrement plus tardive du Torontois Sigmund Samuel.

Bien que la relation du colon aux peuples autochtones demeure le moteur qui définit le colonialisme de peuplement au Canada comme dans d'autres colonies britanniques, la place liminale des Canadiens français dans cette matrice doit être considérée. Dans une réflexion publiée dans les pages de cette revue, Dominic Hardy souligne la complexité du mot « colon » dans le contexte québécois, notant comment les difficultés à le traduire (*settler* comme dans « colon » ou comme dans « immigrant » ?) reflètent son application potentielle à l'arrivée originale de colons-immigrants de la France au XVI^e siècle, le développement commandité par l'État des régions du nord de la province dans les années 1930 et les plus récentes vagues de migration[4]. Pour plusieurs Québécois, le récit de l'histoire de la colonisation au Québec a été celle des forces britanniques dominant la population francophone et des pertes résultant des batailles continues entre la Grande-Bretagne et la France autour de l'appartenance de territoires coloniaux. Écrivant à propos d'interprétations récentes de la Conquête dans la province, Alexis Lachaine a noté qu'avec l'émergence des mouvements de décolonisation à travers le monde dans les années 1960, les nationalistes québécois ont formulé des

récits « pour renverser ce qu'ils percevaient comme les chaînes de leur propre colonialisme et pour assumer leur complète *globalité*, ou totalité, en tant que peuple et nation dans le monde[5] ». La rhétorique de colonisation décrite par Lachaine revêt une couche additionnelle de complexité, comme le démontrent l'analyse de la collection de McCord et sa présentation, les relations de pouvoir soulignant les interactions entre colons et autochtones sont complexifiées par les différentes relations de pouvoir en jeu entre Canadiens anglais et français, et entre Canadiens français et peuples autochtones. Défenseur d'un Canada avec de fortes valeurs et traditions britanniques, le McCord de Montréal est toutefois demeuré attentif à la contribution historique des colons français durant l'Ancien Régime et à la vision romancée d'un passé autochtone soi-disant en voie d'extinction. Comme d'autres collectionneurs colonialistes à travers l'Empire britannique, McCord s'est servi de ses acquisitions pour présenter une histoire glorieuse de la nation qui a privilégié l'assimilation et/ou l'effacement de ce qu'on avait supposé être des peuples inférieurs, tout en renforçant la capacité de la nation à surmonter son passé colonial. Le fait que le passé colonial du Canada est double, exigeant l'endiguement de ses habitants autochtones de même que de ses premiers colons français, est une caractéristique particulière de la nation, établissant son caractère exceptionnel parmi les autres dominions britanniques. Les activités de McCord comme collectionneur parlent clairement d'un élan pour mettre en lumière son rôle (et celui de sa famille) comme « créateur » (*maker*) du Canada – en tant que collaborateur à la formation d'une nation autonome au sein d'un empire britannique fort. Ce qui pourrait être exclu comme n'étant qu'un reflet des intérêts d'un sujet colonial individuel est, cependant, affirmé par la présentation publique de la collection et par sa réification dans ce qui allait devenir le Musée national McCord[6].

NOTES

1 C. Lintern Sibley, « An Archipelago of Memories: The Trappings of the Storied Past, Rich, Varied and Priceless Mark a Montreal Lawyer's Hobby as Historically Unique », *Maclean's Magazine*, mars 1914, p. 7. [Notre traduction.]

2 Je remercie Guislaine Lemay, conservatrice en Culture matérielle au Musée McCord, de son inestimable aide pour identifier certains des objets dans les présentoirs.

3 Sur la famille McCord, voir les essais réunis dans *McCord Family Papers 1766-1945,* vol. 1, Pamela Miller (dir.); et Brian Young, *Patrician Families and the Making of Quebec*, Montréal et Kingston, Presses universitaires McGill-Queen's, 2014.

4 Dominic Hardy, « What does the term 'settler-colonial art history' mean to you? What are the opportunities and problems of the method for writing art history in the Canadian context? », *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, vol. 35, nº 1, 2014, p. 177–81.

5 Alexis Lachaine, « A Nightmare to Awaken from: The Conquest in the Thinking of *Quebecois* Nationalists of the 1960s and After », *Remembering 1759: The Conquest of Canada in Historical Memory*, Philip Buckner et John G. Reid (dir.), Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012, p. 214. [Notre traduction.]

6 Je veux reconnaître le travail d'autres spécialistes qui ont écrit plus en profondeur que moi sur McCord le collectionneur. En particulier, je veux remercier Moira McCaffrey, Kathryn Harvey, Brian Young et Pamela Miller de leurs fines analyses des pratiques de collectionnement de David Ross McCord et l'histoire des débuts de son musée. Le but de mon essai est de considérer de quelle manière l'histoire de l'art issue du colonialisme de peuplement peut être utile comme prisme à travers on peut lire les activités de McCord en tant que collectionneur et fondateur d'un musée au début du 20e siècle. J'ai été grandement assistée par le travail de mes assistant(e)s de recherche Clinton Glenn et Alandra Miller, et par Guislaine Lemay, conservatrice au Musée McCord.

ARTICLE

Neither Indigenous nor Settler: Reading the Self-Care/Hair Care of Enslaved African Men in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Canadian Fugitive Slave Advertisements

CHARMAINE A. NELSON

We may see, in some of these places, a very fine young woman awkwardly dangling her arms with the air of a Negroe-servant, lolling almost the whole day upon beds or settees, her head muffled up with two or three handkerchiefs, her dress loose, and without stays . . . In the afternoon, she takes her siesto as usual . . .When she rouzes from slumber, her speech is whining, languid, and childish.

– Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*[1]

The relationship between slave and white hucksters was complex . . . White women hucksters were typically seen carrying baskets on their heads and children strapped to the hip in a typical African manner, which suggests some degree of cultural transfer.

– Hilary McD. Beckles, "An Economic Life of their Own: Slaves as Commodity Producers and Distributors in Barbados"[2]

Both Edward Long's observation of Jamaica and Hilary McD. Beckles's comment on Barbados speak to the inevitable blending of cultures, the creolization which takes place within the context of colonization that resulted from the stratified, forced mixing of various racial groups in the Americas in the context of transatlantic slavery. What is compelling in these quotes is that it is not solely the more powerful whites – the lounging upper-class Creole woman or the disenfranchised lower-class Irish female market vendors – who imposed their culture onto the hapless Africans. Rather, it was the African cultural practices of dress, mannerisms, speech, and childcare that the white women are accused of adopting, in the first case, supposedly to their grave detriment. Such forced cultural contact was of course a by-product of colonization and empire-building in general and not merely a product of colonies where enslaved black people became the majority. But what were the distinctions in white minority sites and how was social contact, cultural mixing, and political authority differently articulated?

In his article entitled "Settler-Colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts" (2014), Damian Skinner, in part, adopts Jürgen Osterhammel's definition of a settler colony as that which results from "military-supported colonization processes and is characterized by a permanent resident colonial population of farmers and planters, who eventually achieve self-government."[3] Osterhammel further distinguishes between three variants: the "New

England" type which displaces indigenous[4] populations in the Americas through the use of genocidal policies, the "African" type which relies on an African indigenous labour force, and the "Caribbean" type, in which a suitable enslaved labour force is imported.[5] However, if the focus of the settler-indigenous-enslaved triad is the enslaved population, there are several poignant reasons why places like Jamaica and Barbados, the "Caribbean" type, should not be positioned under the rubric of the settler colony. Furthermore, it behooves us not only to distinguish the enslaved from the settler and the indigenous populations, but, if we understand that the type of creolization articulated by Long and Beckles was far more likely to occur in slave majority/white minority sites than the reverse, it also behooves us to articulate the experience of the enslaved African in a white majority/slave minority site, like Canada.

To begin with then, I would like to push back against the idea that the "Caribbean" type has any place within the realm of the settler colony. Settler colonies like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and to an extent the USA, must in part be measured by the number of settlers that they attracted and the racial limits of those who were thus defined.[6] A key aspect that unites such places is the fact that the white settler population became the majority population through a combination of the genocide of indigenous peoples in the Americas, natural increase, the strategic encouragement of "desirable" white or white-enough migrants, and, in the Atlantic context, the selective importation of a minority population of enslaved Africans. Another way to think about this is that only certain populations were allowed to be or to eventually become white, and therefore to obtain the status and benefits of the settler. Therefore, those who Skinner calls "exogenous alterities (migrants)" are by no means a uniform or homogenous group and only some of them ever entered the realm of the settler; and this after considerable social and political struggle and assimilation.[7] White convicts and indentured servants would fit into such a category, as would darker-skinned whites of historically less desirable ethnicities like the Irish, Portuguese, and Italians.

Furthermore, settler colonialism is often characterized by white settlers relocating to places which, in geography and climate, mirrored their European homelands. Such commonality allowed for an easier replication of the motherland in terms of economic, political, cultural, agricultural, and commercial structures. Jamaica does not fit the bill. In Jamaica, white Britons (and the Spanish before them) were confronted by a strange and harsh tropical climate which required that they rethink the colonial project altogether including practices like farming, clothing, healthcare, disease management, and labour. The importation of enslaved Africans was deemed to be necessary, not only because the indigenous populations were supposedly

not up for the task of arduous resource extraction, but also because the settlers themselves were cowed by the threat of the tropics as a "white man's grave" and felled by tropical diseases like yellow fever.[8] However, the dominance of Africans as labour led to another development which marks out slave majority colonies from settler colonies – the institutionalization of sexual violence as a mode of "breeding" new labourers, which led to the explosion of the mixed race population known as coloured.[9] Therefore, while the black population of Jamaica kept growing because of the importation of enslaved Africans and the "breeding" of more human "stock," white Creoles struggled to keep up their numbers due to disease, absenteeism, migration, and the white male colonialists' sexual desire for black women.[10] As Kay Dian Kriz has argued,

> Married men left their wives at home in Britain and single men tended to remain unmarried during their stay in the West Indies. In either case, once in the islands many of these men took black or mulatto women as their mistresses and produced racially mixed offspring.[11]

Hence, what marks off Canada from a place like Jamaica is the fact that in the latter case, white Creoles were never able to remake the Caribbean island into their homeland; culturally or socially, they remained a minority population on the island, struggling to reproduce themselves through natural increase.[12] Furthermore, whereas Skinner has argued that, "Settlers stay, whereas the European colonial sojourners like missionaries, administrators, entrepreneurs, etc., typically return home," Jamaica, like other tropical plantation regimes, was characterized by planter absenteeism, precisely because of the aforementioned problems.[13] Thus, the British island colony of Jamaica was gravely short on white settlers, especially women.

In taking up the challenge of thinking about the potential benefits of a Settler Colonial Art History for the study of Black Canada, and more specifically for Canadian Slavery, I am guided by profound distinctions like how enslaved Africans arrived in Canada and Jamaica respectively and in what numbers, but also by the commonalities and distinctions of their experiences as forced migrants relocated to disparate parts of the Atlantic world. Much of what follows here will not apply to settler colonies like New Zealand and Australia precisely because their exclusion from the Atlantic world resulted in their lack of participation in Transatlantic Slavery and the consequent absence of the historical importation of an enslaved African population. Therefore, while Skinner contends of the settler colony that the "colonizers' dealings with indigenous people . . . ultimately shaped the cultural and political character of the new nations," I would also like to

suggest that it is imperative that we not evacuate the ideological centrality of the enslaved African subject in the histories of Atlantic settler colonies.[14]

For a settler-colonial methodology to work for black diasporic subjects, it must urgently move away from the narrow binary of settler-indigenous. Enslaved Africans were neither. In what follows, I will argue that this dyad, settler-indigenous, should be expanded to a triad, settler-indigenous-enslaved African. Furthermore, given the gradual acceptance of ethnically marginalized whites, it would follow that we rethink the designation of settler, moving beyond the idea of a cohesive and legible designation, instead to a process of becoming that often entailed racial and cultural assimilation or expansion over generations (decades and centuries). If, following Skinner, migrants must appeal to a constitutional order not of their own making, and settlers, through conquest, reconstitute their own countries abroad, then enslaved Africans, who were within colonial legal discourse defined as chattel or moveable personal property, could do neither. Even when emancipated (or self-liberated) and formally promised safe relocation within the category of settler – as with the black Loyalists of the Revolutionary War or the Jamaican Maroons who were migrated to Nova Scotia – the accoutrement of the settler (adequate food rations, appropriate clothing, suitable housing, sufficient wage labour, etc.) was strategically withheld from black populations.[15] Therefore, when Skinner asks, "How, for example, should we think of the African-Caribbean slaves brought to Canada in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? What does it mean to describe them as settlers?"[16] my response is an adamant one: we should think of them as a third category – the enslaved – and we should not, for the purposes of expediency or any other, regard them as settlers. According to Lorenzo Veracini, "Settlers are *founders* of political orders and carry their sovereignty with them."[17] Defined by volitional movement, permanence, and internal governance, they establish *their* country through conquest and force.[18]

In working through the potential of a Settler Colonial Art History, I am applying the framework to a comparative project, comparing a black minority site (Quebec) and a black majority one (Jamaica) to determine if a settler-colonial methodology can contribute something to the study of Black Canada beyond the confines of a broader postcolonial approach. Postcolonial Art History, as with much Postcolonial Studies, has been fittingly preoccupied with an examination of the lives and struggles of those marginalized by colonialism. Critical practices of Slavery Studies too have prioritized the analysis of the oppression, violence, surveillance, and prohibitions employed against enslaved blacks, over the examination of the lives of white enslavers. If the prioritization of the suffering of the marginalized is a facet of postcolonial intervention, what then does it mean to adopt a framework that acknowledges

not only the discursive power of the white settler, but their majoritarian presence? How do we ensure that a Settler Colonial Art History does not become just another way to prioritize, reify, and even glorify whiteness? How do we write, not just about the descendants of the white settlers, but those of enslaved black people within the context of a settler colony like Canada?

We begin in part by recognizing that the contest over the definition of the nation state and national belonging always excluded the enslaved whose labour was central to empire- and nation-building projects, at the same time that such labour was co-opted only for the benefit of the settler and not for the enslaved themselves. Still today, even when blacks have been granted the status of Canadian citizens, they are still subjected to differential levels of state sanctioned (or condoned) violence and surveillance, and experience racism in everything from finances, employment, healthcare, leisure, housing, education, transportation, and policing. At the same time, they are overwhelmingly excluded from public and political office, are rendered largely invisible in Canadian media, popular culture, and corporate Canada, and are almost uniformly excluded from the role of knowledge producers in higher education. Under these conditions of continuing social exploitation and exclusion, one can argue that black people have yet to be legitimized as Canadian citizens and thus have never fully attained the status of settler. Furthermore, black Canadians, a population dominantly of Caribbean and African-Canadian origins, are a population attuned to the histories and legacies of colonialism, and as such, their politics have been far more likely to align with those of indigenous communities than other racially-privileged populations.

In working through these questions, I will use the print culture archive of fugitive slave advertisements. Central to this exploration is a re-reading of such advertisements not as mere texts, but as "portraits," albeit dubious and unauthorized ones, of the enslaved. The medium of these printed portraits was words as opposed to images, but their primary function was nonetheless visual. The words were deployed with the goal of the creation of a mental image of the enslaved. The fugitive advertisement was a "success" when a reader, usually white and literate, transformed the textual description into a visual image to identify and recapture a runaway, routinely for a reward. Besides the height, weight, and clothing of the fleeing person, such notices regularly recounted bodily marks.

Working comparatively, I would like to explore the racialization and creolization of enslaved Africans in the British North American colony of Quebec, and in the British Caribbean island colony of Jamaica, identifying some distinctions that existed between temperate and tropical slave colonies in the British Atlantic world. To do so, I will mine Quebec fugitive slave

notices for descriptions of self-care, mainly details of the hair and facial grooming of enslaved males. My time frame for this study begins in the late eighteenth century, 1760 to be precise, when the British seized Montreal from the French and Jamaica was already securely a British domain.[19] The end point of the study, although officially the end of slavery (1834 when the British abolished it by an act of parliament), is more accurately the first decade of the nineteenth century, when slavery died out in Quebec.[20]

Settler-Enslaver: Examining the Colonial Archive

Where settlers enter this project is not merely as those who laid claim to already inhabited lands, but also as people who laid claim to the right to turn other people into commodities – enslavers. It is the white settler-enslaver who produced these unauthorized portraits. White settlers ably used the vehicle of the fugitive slave advertisement to articulate the boundaries of their white privilege by ensuring their exclusive rights to the ability to own certain kinds of property and through the racial language of the notices, delineating the boundaries of whiteness itself. In part, the goal of such advertisements was not only about the safe return of runaway "property," but the constant social proclamation of whiteness as the governing identity in the regions in which the advertisements were deployed. In describing the enslaved as Negro, mulatto, Sambo, "Eboe" [*sic*] etc., the settler-enslaver produced an archive which conflated blackness and African-ness with the status of the slave. But the archive was strategically created by enslavers to be full of holes.

Ruling class whites deliberately developed the colonial archive in ways that most often allowed Africans to enter the record as objects or "stock" owned by another. But we are dealing both with incomplete entries (a fugitive slave advertisement) and, at times, a system of representation that was set up to record only partial information (a slave ledger). This disturbing fact – that the most detailed representations of the enslaved were produced by their enslavers – provokes a confrontation with the archive, considered here not as an objective or neutral container of facts and information, but as a site through which the elite secured their power through determinations about who could be represented and in what fashion. The colonial archives of European empires, whether held in Europe or its colonies, are defined by the effacement or the strategic partial representation of enslaved Africans. As such, as Ann Laura Stoler has explained, we are left to sort out, "what was 'unwritten' because it could go without saying and 'everyone knew it,' what was unwritten because it could not yet be articulated, and what was unwritten because it could not be said."[21] I would add to her list, what was unwritten because to do so would further humanize the enslaved.

As such, I want to suggest that the representations of the enslaved by white enslavers and their surrogates were intended as a *strategy of erasure*.

Print Culture and Slavery

Colonial print culture and slavery were arguably fundamentally linked. More specifically, as Marcus Wood has noted, "The significance of advertising for the print culture of America in the first half of the nineteenth century is difficult to overestimate."[22] Newspaper advertising linked enslavers with other enslavers and their surrogates, like jailers, across vast territory.[23] Enslavers ably exploited this fact by placing fugitive notices in newspapers both locally and further afield. As a case in point, when the enslaved "Negro Man" Ireland escaped with the white indentured servant Francis Freeland on 18 September 1771, from their enslaver and employer William Gilliland of Willsborough, New York, Gilliland placed an advertisement in the *Quebec Gazette* the following day.[24] The public was directed to apply for all or half of the six-dollar reward to Gilliland or "Moses Hazen, Esq, at *St John's*, Mr John McCord, Merchant in *Quebec*, Mr Thomas McCord, Merchant in *Montreal*."[25]

Runaway slave advertisements can provide for us a window into the lives and worlds of the enslaved since each one was about the recapture of an individual or individuals who had fled, and as such required that their enslavers share details that illuminated what made the runaways unique, both in manner and appearance. Such advertisements, ubiquitous in the Americas, are repositories of data on enslaved populations, recording all manner of visual characteristics and oral attributes of the runaway. As David Waldstreicher has noted, they were generally premised on four categories – "clothing, trades or skills, linguistic ability or usage, and ethnic or racial identity" – identifiers that, if manipulated, could alter the perception of one's class.[26] Since advertisements regularly included descriptions of the dress and speech of the fugitive, even when the enslaver did not explicitly document the regional origins of the enslaved person, they bear evidence of the ethnicity of the slave population, their Creoleness or Africanness. However, what I am after is not merely an understanding of how Creole identity was named and distinguished verbally or textually from African-ness, but how it became *visualized* on and through bodies – specifically, for the purposes of this article, in the hair and grooming practices of enslaved males in Quebec. One of my key concerns is whether the enslaved in Canada and Jamaica could distinguish the ethnicity and birth origin of their fellow enslaved people through the practices of self-care, how they could discern such things, and what this meant to their intra-group politics, interaction, and communication. Furthermore, how aware were the enslaved of the transformations in their

cultural practices as they were changed over a lifetime and across generations from Africans to Creoles? If Creoles by definition were more apt to be "seasoned" or "broken," what did this mean for cross-ethnic alliances in terms of resistance and rebellion?

Furthermore, despite its usefulness, I would like to work towards developing alternatives for the catch-all racial term black, which in its homogenizing universality assumes a creolized subject. Whereas, in the period of slavery, continental Africans were accustomed to identifying themselves by ethnicity, it was their forced mixing across distinct ethnic groups and the transformations of their cultures in the diaspora, which produced the idea of blackness as a race. Blackness then spoke to the desire of white enslavers to obliterate the significance of African ethnic specificity, and also its actual dilution through the process of enslavement and diasporization. In the context of these specific parts of the Transatlantic world, I would like to ask, *when was blackness*? In Jamaica where hundreds of enslaved people lived together on plantations thousands of acres in size, did a black majority translate into greater opportunities for the performance and preservation of one's African ethnicity? The diasporization of Africans implies their creolization, their transformation from African to African-Jamaican, African-Canadian, etc. But I am interested not only in the question of *what* creolization looked like, but *when* it occurred. Under the burden of white-imposed slave codes, laws, and prohibitions, when did Africans lose their ethnic specificity and become something else?

There is also a line between memory and practice. Although African-born people in Jamaica were more likely to hold living memory of their ethnicity and the rituals and codes of dress, language, and performance that issued from it, being able to practice their ethnicity while under the surveillance and subjugation of the slave regime was another matter entirely. When did such cultural memories fade or die? How did Africans resist by instilling their cultural practices in the subsequent generations? Lastly, over what time period did certain practices outlive their meanings? With the dramatic change in climate and population size in Quebec, did enslaved Africans dress as their enslaved indigenous and indentured Irish (and other white) counterparts, or were African cultural survivals visible in their clothing and adornment practices?

A discussion of creolization in Quebec must also consider the simultaneous enslavement of indigenous people (known as panis/panise) and Africans under the French and British Empires.[27] In Jamaica, the Spanish also initially enslaved African and indigenous people. The latter, Arawaks, were largely exterminated through genocidal policy,[28] but also cohabitated with enslaved Africans creating a specific mixed race, Maroon community

whose members were visually distinguishable in their racial characteristics from subsequent African populations on the island.[29] In Canada, Africans are known to have arrived in bondage during the seventeenth century. In many cases they were seen as a strategic supplement to the "failed" labour of indigenous populations who proved to have little biological resistance to European diseases like smallpox. Furthermore, it is important to note that while some European empires enslaved indigenous Americans in certain regions, it was only Africans – discursively positioned on the lowest rung of the evolutionary ladder (if not as an entirely separate species) – who were deemed to be always "enslaveable."

Defining Creolization

My definition of creolization is borrowed in part from Linda M. Rupert who contends that,

> At its most basic, creolization refers to processes of sociocultural exchange and adaptation that occurred among all the diverse peoples of the early modern world who were thrust together with the rise of European overseas empires . . . Such cultural intermixing shaped every colonial society in the Americas, although it varied according to the specific ethnic, racial, and imperial configurations of each settlement.[30]

Rupert's definition is broader and more pliable than that of Sidney Mintz. He distinguished between the terms Creole and the process of creolization, the former being, "something of the Old World, born in the New" and the latter being, "the creative cultural synthesis undertaken, primarily by the slaves interacting with the master class, in tropical New World plantation colonies, through which new social institutions, furnished with reordered cultural content, were forged."[31] But his deliberately circumscribed definition assumes not only a tropical, but also a plantation slavery context. As such, creolization for Mintz only happened in places where plantation slavery was established on empty or emptied land, where indigenous populations had been exterminated, and where enslavers and the enslaved were both newcomers, "so that repeopling was by two wholly different groups, one much smaller, dominant, culturally and linguistically homogenous; the other larger, subordinate, culturally and linguistically heterogeneous."[32]

By Mintz's definition, not all Caribbean colonies experienced creolization and no non-tropical or slave minority sites did. Mintz also eliminates sites of the Spanish Caribbean like Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo due to the frequency of manumission that resulted in a large population of

mixed race people that he describes as "*Creole* but *not* creolized."[33] But this decision points out his bias in centring language as the preferred object of inquiry through which to measure creolization.[34] Furthermore, for Mintz creolization has a temporal specificity and was a discrete seventeenth-century phenomenon lasting about a half a century and being characterized by the "plantation thrust" through which the "first large introductions of enslaved Africans were occurring."[35] Therefore, creolization is not merely the meeting of two or more races or cultures, but a meeting within the context of slavery wherein the majority population was not only African, but also enslaved.[36]

Building upon Rupert's and Mintz's definitions, I instead define creolization as a layered process that unfolded across time and that changed, perhaps drastically, from its initial to its latter incarnations. Indeed, once an already creolized society or population had developed in a region, the ships did not stop coming. In British Jamaica for instance, the slave ships kept arriving with newly enslaved Africans well after the seventeenth century until the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. After 1807, enslavers came to rely increasingly upon practices of "breeding" and an inter-island slave trade[37] to furnish new enslaved people.[38]

Of course, I agree with Mintz that some things must have shifted in temperate, non-plantation contexts. For one thing, practices of slavery in Montreal and Quebec City (as in the northern parts of the USA) occurred in settler colonies or spaces with slave minorities and white majorities. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Quebec the ships that arrived with the enslaved did not arrive directly from Africa, but often from the Caribbean. Such ships contained mixed cargoes of tropical commodities harvested by plantation slave labour like rum, molasses, and sugar, as well as a few enslaved people. The enslaved who were removed from the Caribbean to the northernmost parts of British North America were likely a mix of Creoles and African-born people, although, I would speculate, more of the former. Adding to this complexity, a mix of African-born, African-American, and other enslaved blacks also entered Canada from the thirteen colonies (or the USA after 1776) at the same time, the unwilling victims of their American enslavers' relocations.

But what did it mean for the enslaved Creole Caribbean to be removed to a northern colony? What strategies of adaptation were necessary to readjust to a new climate, society, food, habits, customs, dress, and a slave minority context? For those born in Africa, what did it mean to survive not one, but potentially two Middle Passages?[39] Furthermore, how can we begin to describe and define the slave societies that emerged in the north, where already locally creolized African Canadians were joined by

Caribbean and African American Creoles, and the African-born? How were creolized cultural practices formed in an ongoing manner in a colony that was constantly made to absorb enslaved foreign Creoles? What did it mean to assert the memory of one's specific cultural practice in the face of such heterogeneity? As Mintz argues,

> The choices people made eventuated in being the practices that might win consensus within a group, as groups coalesced – practices that might become normative, making it possible for an institution (for courtship, or marriage, or ritual protection for the newborn or funerary practice) *to work*.[40]

It is for these reasons that I would like to articulate a more expansive idea of creolization as processes of biological, cultural, and social contact, blending, and transformation that occurred in waves under the uneven political pressure of local/internal and foreign/imperial/Transatlantic forces.

By opening the term creolization to the North Atlantic, I wish to explore precisely what changed within slave minority communities. The smaller sizes of slave communities in Quebec arguably led to cultural fragmentation, resulting from the heterogeneity of the black population, which was further divided into small units of habitation.[41] While in Montreal and Quebec City, one or a few enslaved people commonly lived within the homes (or on the property) of their white enslavers, in Jamaica, hundreds of enslaved people lived upon plantations that were often comprised of thousands of acres of land.[42] In Jamaica then, it would be highly likely for an enslaved person to encounter a significant number of other people from their own ethnic or regional origins and arguably, such strength in numbers allowed for a prolongation of specific African cultural practices beyond the first transplanted generation. Hence, even if an enslaved Jamaican Creole of a specific ethnicity had begun to forget their African cultural practices, a fellow enslaved person who was a more recent arrival may have been accessible on the same plantation to remind them of it.

Self-Care and Enslavement

When an enslaved person fled, their enslavers capitalized upon their wealth, class privilege, and literacy to disseminate *their* versions of events broadly and to dominate public opinion, often through a vilification of the enslaved. Such advertisements are what Shane White and Graham White have referred to as, "the most detailed descriptions of the bodies of enslaved African Americans

available."[43] I would argue that their contention also applies to most (if not all) regions of the Americas, particularly places where abolition predated the development of photography.[44] Displaced from their homelands and forced to take up the role of un-free labour in the Americas, enslavement severely impeded the African's ability to remember his/her histories and practice his/her cultures. This was strategic on the part of the white colonialists and slave-owning classes and evident in the immediate[45] implementation of slave practices – like branding and renaming – that were meant to break the enslaved from their sense of individuality, family, and ancestry.[46]

A key aspect of the "seasoning" or "breaking" of the enslaved was a denial of the time, implements, products, and privacy to maintain the practice of self-care. As I have previously argued, across the Americas, Sunday was a "day of rest" for the enslaved in name only. Instead, in tropical plantation regimes like Jamaica, the enslaved regularly travelled (barefoot)[47] over long distances to and from their provisions grounds[48] to collect crops they had cultivated and then travelled again to a local market to sell or exchange their produce.[49] Given that Sunday was also the day provided for the enslaved to wash and groom themselves, bothering to attend to one's personal hygiene (bathing, haircare, etc.) became a form of cultural resistance. Thus, in prioritizing an understanding of the lives of the enslaved, I want to ask what self-care meant to them.

By self-care I mean the practices, usually related to or centred upon the body, that allowed the enslaved to clean, nourish, decorate, adorn, perfume, and soothe themselves. Maintaining one's hygiene, hairstyling, and dress would fall into this category. In his study of slave dress in Jamaica, Steeve O. Buckridge has distinguished the definition of dress from that of apparel or costume, arguing that "dress includes many forms of adornment: hairstyles; coloured, dyed or bleached skin; pierced ears; scented breath as well as garments; jewellery; accessories; and other modifications of and items added to the body."[50] Importantly, piercing, tattooing, and scarification would be contained within this definition. But whereas these three forms of bodily manipulation derived from the choices of the enslaved or their communities, slave advertisements also documented transformations of the enslaved people's bodies that were derived from the infliction of corporal punishment by white enslavers and their surrogates through violent acts like branding and whipping. Slave advertisements not only documented what the enslaved presumably looked like, but also the condition of their bodies. As such, enslavers took great pains to describe the runaway's mannerisms, expressions, and physical habits, things over which they had once exerted extreme, even sadistic, control. As White and White have demonstrated,

> Slaveholders' intervention in the bodily appearance of their slaves could even extend to expectations about gesture, movement, and general demeanor – how slaves reacted when spoken to, how they walked, where they directed their gaze, whether they appeared content. Though he liked being kind to "his people," Robert F.W. Allston, a South Carolinian with a great many slaves, declared that he "imperatively require[d] of them . . . cheerfulness in their work, wherever and whatever it is."[51]

Such descriptions not just of the body, but also of the body in motion, were evidence of the type of extreme surveillance under which the enslaved lived. For instance, fugitive advertisements often described the nature of an enslaved person's gait or walk, a mode of speech, or the way a person carried themself. As such, we need also to ask what more elusive characteristics developed as signs of creolization or already existed amongst continental Africans as aspects of their ethnic identities. As an aspect of their bodies over which they could sometimes maintain a modicum of control, the hair of the enslaved deserves special attention. As White and White have indicated,

> Obviously, blacks were not supposed to be proud of their hair, as they or their ancestors had been in Africa; any suggestion that they were would have sharply challenged complacent white cultural assumptions. In this context, hair worn long and bushy, an arrangement that emphasized, even flaunted, its distinctive texture, may have been, in some cases, an affirmation of difference and even of defiance, an attempt to revalorize a biological characteristic that white racism had sought to devalue. The same comment could be applied to long, bushy beards, which, as eighteenth-century runaway advertisements show, many enslaved males possessed.[52]

Fugitive Slave Advertisements as Evidence of Hairstyles and Self-Care of Enslaved Males in Quebec

Activities like hairstyling and bodily grooming, which white enslavers observed and attempted to document in fugitive slave advertisements, were an important aspect of social rituals and formed a continuation of African cultural practices.[53] The communal nature of African hair care meant that, within the slave minority context of Quebec, significant adjustments would have necessarily been made. Since the experience of cultural and racial isolation would have been common for many enslaved people of African

descent in their homes and communities, to whom would they have turned for respite and succour under such conditions? Those who had been raised, however briefly, by their parents or older kin, would have gained some level of knowledge of grooming, hygiene, and styling practices. However, many who were separated from their families in childhood or born in a "New World" settler colony would not have benefitted from such educations. Older black people, regardless of kinship ties, surely stepped in to educate the younger people enslaved in the same household.[54] Such may have been the case with the unnamed Negro woman and the two boys, aged five and three, listed in Samuel Mack's Nova Scotia estate inventory, regardless of whether she was their mother.[55]

Interestingly, the corporeal descriptions of the African and African Creole hairstyles and practices shared in the Quebec fugitive slave advertisements divulge far more about male habits and customs than female ones. Of the forty-five black people who took part in the fifty documented escapes in Quebec, ten were female and thirty-five were male.[56] Of these thirty-five males, descriptions of hair were provided for seven men in a total of eleven fugitive advertisements. The discrepancy between the number of males and the number of notices is because a "Negro Man" named Dick escaped twice,[57] and a man described as a "Negro Slave" named Ishmaël escaped three times.[58]

Remarkably, Quebec enslavers often noted not just the colour of the enslaved male's hair, but the texture, length, and how it was styled. For instance, when the likely French Caribbean "Negro man" named Lowcanes escaped from William Gill, the advertisement noted that the thin-faced Lowcanes had "remarkable long hair tied behind"[59] (Fig. 1). White enslavers were also capable of making the connection between an enslaved person's complexion or race mixture and the nature of their hair texture. For instance, M. Michaels noted in the second of two fugitive notices that the boy Ben's black hair was "very streight [*sic*]," an observation that was likely related in Michaels's mind to Ben's status as a mulatto (mixed-race person); notably, this description did not appear in the first notice when he instead described Ben as a "Negro Boy."[60] Beyond the more detailed description of complexion/race mixture, Michaels's second notice also evolved to include a more refined description of the thirteen-year-old Ben's hairstyle, since he noted that the boy's hair was "not tied."[61]

Due to the three fugitive notices that the merchant John Turner Sr. placed for Ishmaël's return, we can deduce something of the evolution of the New England-born enslaved man's hairstyle over time[62] (Fig. 2). While in the first notice, Turner advised that Ishmaël "wears his own Hair which is black, long and curly"[63] (Fig. 3), in the second he noted that his hair was instead "short, strong black and curly,"[64] and in the last, that he wore "black short

RUN AWAY from the Subſcriber (on the Eighteenth Inſtant) a Negro man named *Lewcunes*, aged twenty-five Years, thin faced, and remarkable long hair tied behind, about five feet ten inches high, ſpeaks good French, no Engliſh, plays the Violin very well. He had on when he went off a light coloured ſhort coat with a red cape to it, waiſtcoat and breeches: Whoever ſecures the ſaid Negro man ſo that his Maſter may have him again ſhall have ſixteen Dollars reward, and charges from

22d November, 1775. WILLIAM GILL.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD.



RUN-AWAY from the Subſcriber, A Negro Slave named *Iſhmaël* about 35 years old, 5 feet 8 inches high, pretty much marked with the Small-pox, wears his own Hair which is black, long and curly; has black Eyes, broad Shoulders, and tone of voice peculiar to New-England, where he was born; reads Engliſh tolerably well, and can ſpeak a little French: He had on an old Hat bedawbed with white Paint, an Osenbrig Frock and Trowſers, a check Shirt, a ſhort white flannel Jacket, and a pair of Mockinſons.

If any perſon apprehends ſaid NEGRO, and gives notice thereof to the Subſcriber living at the Batoe-gate, he or ſhe ſhall receive *TEN DOLLARS* Reward, beſides all reaſonable Charges; but, whoever carries him off, entertains, or employs him after this public notice, will be proſecuted according to Law.

JOHN TURNER.

Montreal, July 16, 1779.

FOURTEEN DOLLARS REWARD.

RUN-AWAY, on Sunday Night laſt, from the Subſcriber, a Negro-Man, named ISHMAEL, about 36 Years of Age, and nearly 5 Feet 6 Inches high; of a remarkably down-caſt Countenance, and a black and copper coloured mixt Complexion; his Hair is ſhort, ſtrong black and curly; and his Face much pitted with the ſmall Pox. He wants ſome of his Upper-fore Teeth, as likewiſe the firſt Joint of the fourth Finger of his left Hand; and beſides, on the middle of his Right-Leg, he has a freſh Eſchar from a Horſe Kick lately received and cured: had on when he went off, a round Hat cocked up behind and a blue ſilk Band; a red pluſh Waiſtcoat; a pair of blue Bath coating Leggings and Breeches in one; and a Pair of Shoes and Metal Buckles.

He came from Claverac near Albany in 1776, with his former Maſter, C. Spencer; can ſpeak and read Engliſh tolerably well, and underſtands a little Dutch and French: he paſſes himſelf, 'tis ſaid, as a Free Negro, the more eaſily to effect unnoticed his intended Eſcape out of the Province. Whoever will apprehend the ſaid Negro-Man, and deliver him to the Subſcriber, Merchant, Montreal, ſhall receive the above Reward, and all reaſonable Charges, from

JOHN TURNER.

Montreal, March 1, 1784.

1 | William Gill, "RUN AWAY from the Subscriber," *Quebec Gazette*, 30 Nov. 1775, vol. 568, p. 3.

2 | John Turner, "TEN DOLLARS REWARD," *Quebec Gazette*, 29 July 1779, vol. 726, p. 3.

3 | John Turner, "FOURTEEN DOLLARS Reward," *Quebec Gazette*, 11 Mar. 1784, vol. 968, p. 3.

(All photos: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec [BANQ], Montreal)



HUIT PIASTRES A GAGNER.

IL s'eſt enfui de chez le Souſſigné, Samedi matin, un négre nommé ISHMAEL, âgé aux environs de 35 ans; ayant cinq pieds huit pouces de haut; les cheveux noirs, courts et friſés; il eſt marqué de la picote; il lui manque quelques dents, et un joint au petit doigt de ſa main gauche. Il parle Anglois, un peu François et Allemand; quand il eſt parti il avoit un chapeau rond, un gillet bleu de matelot, une veſte blanche, une grande culote bleue, et point de ſouliers, &c. On ſuppoſe qu'il ſe dira Negre libre.

Quiconque arrêtera le dit Negre, et l'amenera à ſon maître, recevra la récompenſe premiſe, ainſi que les frais raiſonnables qu'on aura fait. JOHN TURNER, Senior.

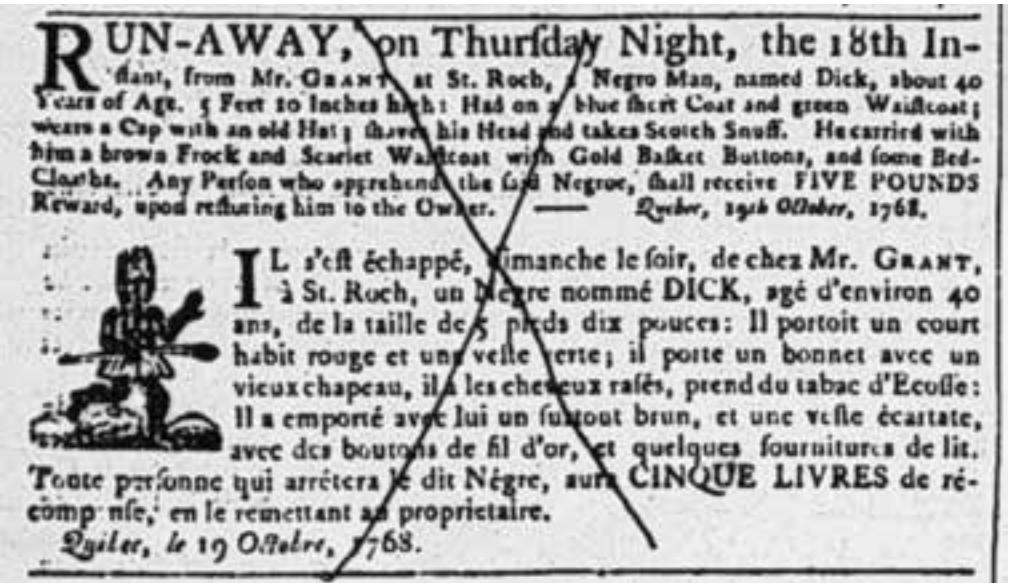
Montréal. 7 Juin, 1788.

EIGHT DOLLARS REWARD.

RUN away from the Subſcriber on Saturday morning, a Negro man named ISHMAEL, aged about thirty-five years, five feet eight inches high, black ſhort curled hair, marked with the ſmall pox, wants ſome teeth, and a joint to his left hand little finger; ſpeaks Engliſh, a little French and Dutch; had on when he ran away a round hat, a ſailor's blue jacket, a white waiſtcoat, blue trouſers and no ſhoes, &c. It is ſuppoſed he will call himſelf a free Negro.

Whoever apprehends ſaid Negro, and brings him to his Maſter, ſhall receive the promiſed Reward, and all reaſonable Charges.

Montreal, 7th June, 1788. JOHN TURNER, Senior.



RUN-AWAY, on Thurſday Night, the 18th Inſtant, from Mr. GRANT at St. Roch, a Negro Man, named Dick, about 40 Years of Age. 5 Feet 10 Inches high: Had on a blue ſhort Coat and green Waiſtcoat; wears a Cap with an old Hat; ſhaves his Head and takes Scotch Snuff. He carried with him a brown Frock and Scarlet Waiſtcoat with Gold Baſket Buttons, and ſome Bed-Cloaths. Any Perſon who apprehends the ſaid Negroe, ſhall receive FIVE POUNDS Reward, upon returning him to the Owner. —— *Quebec, 19th October*, 1768.

IL s'eſt échappé, dimanche le ſoir, de chez Mr. GRANT, à St. Roch, un Negre nommé DICK, âgé d'environ 40 ans, de la taille de 5 pieds dix pouces: Il portoit un court habit rouge et une veſte verte; il porte un bonnet avec un vieux chapeau, il a les cheveux raſés, prend du tabac d'Ecoſſe: Il a emporté avec lui un ſurtout brun, et une veſte écartate, avec des boutons de fil d'or, et quelques fournitures de lit. Toute perſonne qui arrêtera le dit Négre, aura CINQUE LIVRES de récompenſe, en le remettant au proprietaire.

Quebec, le 19 Octobre, 1768.

4 | John Turner, Senior, "EIGHT DOLLARS REWARD," *Quebec Gazette*, 26 June 1788, vol. 1193, p. 2.

5 | "RUN-AWAY, on Thursday Night," *Quebec Gazette*, 19 Oct. 1768, vol. 200, p. 4.

(Both photos: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec [BANQ], Montreal)

curled hair"[65] (Fig. 4). Thus, the advertisements, in their specificity, mapped a shift in Ishmaël's hairstyle between July 1779 and February 1784 (the date of his flight in the second notice), when Ishmaël had cut his long, curly hair (or had it cut by another). While we will likely never know why Ishmaël changed his hairstyle, one plausible explanation is that he did so to evade recapture by Turner. Another potential reason is surely that the isolation of a minority slave community made it harder for free and enslaved black people to retain the communal grooming and hair care practices described by the architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe during his visit to Virginia in March 1797, when he witnessed black men combing and shaving each other and recorded their activities both textually and visually in the sketch he called *Preparations for the Enjoyment of a fine Sunday Evening* (4 March 1797).[66] That Latrobe witnessed the scene from an upper story window of Drymane's tavern indicates an elevated and potentially unseen perspective of voyeuristic surveillance, common to white enslavers and white colonial travellers alike. Returning to Ishmaël's shorter haircut, the type of labour that Ishmaël was forced to perform for the merchant John Turner Sr. may also have not been conducive to a long hairstyle.

While enslaved males of African ancestry like Lowcanes and Ishmaël wore their hair long, others like Dick opted for the opposite look. A pair of notices, English and French, placed by his enslaver William Grant,[67] advised the public that the escaped "Negro Man" of about forty years old "shaves his Head" ("il a les cheveux rasés")[68] (Fig. 5). For Africans, head shaving is not incidental since, as White and White point out, head shaving "is an African cultural phenomenon" which dates back to the ancient Egyptians and in later periods to "North, East, Central and West Africa."[69] In the fifteenth century, Europeans who came in contact with West Africans noted the variety of hairstyles, which included the shaving of areas of the head.[70] Was age another factor in the choices enslaved males made with their hair?[71] It is worth considering, since Lowcanes, with the remarkably long hair, was supposedly twenty-five and Ishmaël was supposedly thirty-five when he wore his black, curly hair in a long style.[72] In contrast, Dick was supposedly forty when he wore his head shaved.[73]

As in other northern settlements in North America, black males also wore wigs in Quebec.[74] This practice seems to have been shared amongst both enslaved and free black males. When Ishmaël first escaped in 1779, the phrasing employed by his owner Turner indirectly revealed the practice. The notice, which offered a ten-dollar reward for the thirty-five-year-old Ishmaël, stated that he "*wears his own Hair* which is black, long and curly"[75] (italics mine). In a later advertisement placed on 22 November 1792 for the capture of "a Negro," William Spencer, the jailer Jacob Kuhn ended a description of his dress by noting that he wore "a round hat and generally a wig"[76]

Montreal, 20th November 1792.

BROKE Goal and escaped on Sunday the 18th instant, about eight o'Clock in the evening, WILLIAM SPENCER, a Negro, charged with petty larceny; he is about five feet and six inches high, well made, and wore a short blue Jacket, and red waistcoat, black breeches, a round hat and generally a wig.

JACOB KUHN. *Goaler.*

All Officers of Militia in the country, as well as all other His Majesty's subjects, are hereby required to use their utmost diligence in apprehending the said criminal and to lodge him in any of the goals of this Province, the respective keepers whereof are hereby required to receive the said WILLIAM SPENCER into their custody and him safely keep until he shall be discharged by due course of law; and as a further encouragement a reward of four dollars and all reasonable charges shall be paid on the criminal being committed to any of the said Goals, by

EDW. WM: GRAY *Sheriff.*

6 | Jacob Kuhn and EDW. WM. Gray, "BROKE Goal and escaped on Sunday the 18th," *Montreal Gazette*, 22 Nov. 1792, vol. vii, nº xlviii, p. 3.

ADVERTISEMENTS.



RUN AWAY on Saturday night the 10th Instant, a Negro man named JACK, about five feet eight inches high, had on when he went away a red coat faced with green, buff waistcoat and breeches, and an old blanket coat, speaks no other tongue but English, and that upon the Guinea accent, his foretop turned back, very black, with a large beard, was lately purchased of Captain Covells, of Colonel Peters Volunteers. Whoever will secure the said Negro, that his Master may get him again, shall have a Reward of EIGHT DOLLARS and all reasonable charges paid by FINLAY & GREGORY, merchants near the Market-place Montreal.

MONTREAL, May 13, 1778.

IL s'eſt enfui Samedi la nuit, 10 du préſent, un Negre nommé JACK, d'environ cinq pieds huit pouces; lorſqu'il s'eſt enfuit il avoit un habit rouge, parmenté de verd, une paire de culottes et une veſte de buffle, et un vieil espot de couverte, il ne parle que langue Angloiſe, encore avec l'accent de la Guiné. Son toupet relevé, très noire avec beaucoup de barbe. Il a été dernierement acheté du Capitaine Covells des volontaires du Colonel Peters. Quiconque ramenera le dit Negre à ſon maitre, aura une récompenſe de HUIT PIASTRES, et il ſera rembourſé de tous ſes frais raiſonables par FINLAY & GREGORY, marchands près la place du marché de Montréal.

Montréal, le 13 Mai, 1778.

7 | "RUN AWAY on Saturday night the 10th Instant," *Quebec Gazette*, 21 May 1778, vol. 664, p. 3.

(Both photos: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec [BANQ], Montreal)

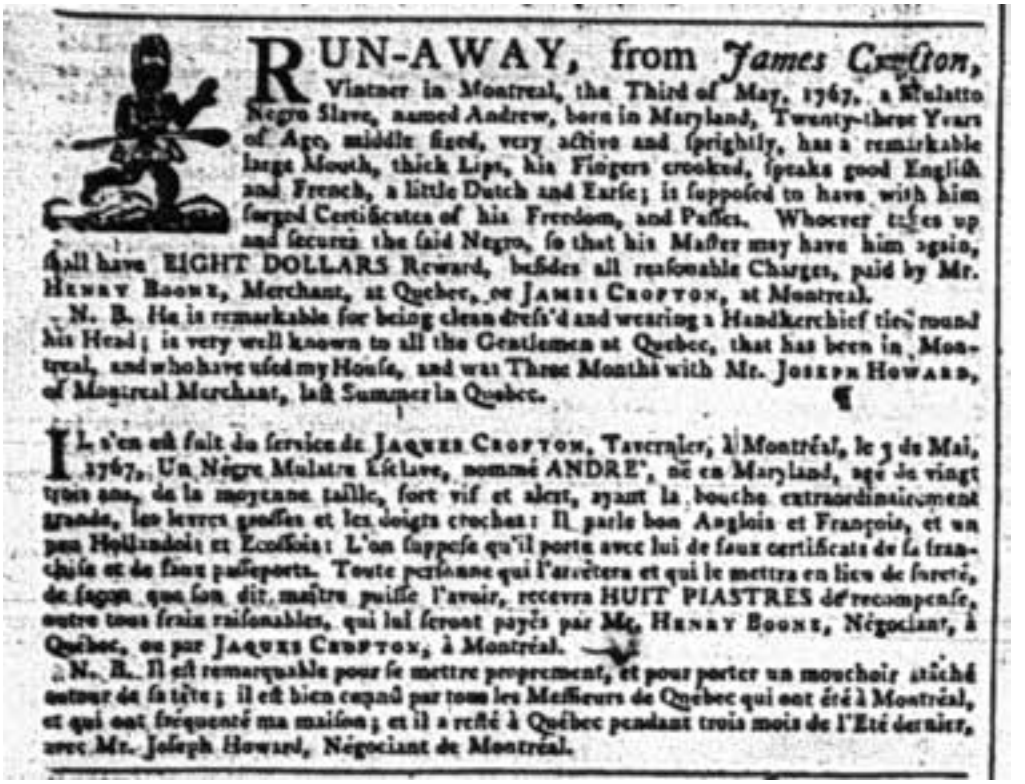
(Fig. 6). White and White describe the eighteenth century as the era of wigs for European men, stating that wigs in the American colonies generally resembled their European counterparts.[77] However, black men, enslaved and free, often partook of this fashion, and African hair was arguably more conducive than European to adapting to wig fashioning. For instance, the part of the wig at the front of the head known as a toupee became increasingly more pronounced from 1730 and it became fashionable for the hair at the side of the toupee or on a bob wig to be "frizzed" or "curled tightly and combed to produce a bushy effect," much like the styling of black hair.[78] Although White and White do not suggest this, we must also consider the possibility that European and white Creole wig styling practices came to mimic black hair texture and styling, deliberately or not.

Two key issues make it highly likely that Spencer was a free man: first, that he possessed a last name, and second, that no enslaver's name was provided in the notice. More evidence is needed to determine if the wearing of wigs was more dominant amongst free than enslaved black males in Quebec. If so, surely some enslaved fugitives would have donned wigs in their attempts to pass as free. What is certain is that wigs were a sign of social status exploited and exchanged by various races and classes of males.[79] On the occasion of becoming a schoolmaster, the white, lower-class Virginian Devereux Jarratt explained,

> I got me an old wig, which, perhaps being cast off by the master, had become the property of his slave, and from the slave it was conveyed to me. But people were not obliged, you know, to ask how I came by it, and, I suppose, I was wise enough not to tell them.[80]

What is interesting is that Jarratt, a white man, consciously suppressed the source of his wig, indicating his embarrassment at acquiring a symbol of social status from an enslaved person. Unfortunately, the lack of knowledge of Spencer's ancestry prohibits definitive answers about the use of wigs and the regional origins or ethnicity of the wearers in Quebec. Similarly, since nothing is known of Dick's origins, it is difficult to comment on the practice of head shaving as regionally or ethnically specific.

However, the detail provided by the fur-trading merchants James Finlay Sr. and John Gregory about the enslaved "Negro man named JACK" may provide more specific insights.[81] In a fugitive notice of 21 May 1778 placed in the *Quebec Gazette*, the duo described Jack, who spoke English with a "Guinea accent," as having "his foretop turned back, very black, with a *large beard*"[82] (Fig. 7). Of the seven men for whom descriptions of hair were provided, only Jack was explicitly identified as African (due to his accent) and only he was named as wearing a beard. These factors may not be mere



RUN-AWAY, from *James Crofton*, Vintner in Montreal, the Third of May, 1767, a Mulatto Negro Slave, named Andrew, born in Maryland, Twenty-three Years of Age, middle sized, very active and sprightly, has a remarkable large Mouth, thick Lips, his Fingers crooked, speaks good English and French, a little Dutch and Earse; is supposed to have with him forged Certificates of his Freedom, and Paſſes. Whoever takes up and secures the said Negro, so that his Maſter may have him again, shall have EIGHT DOLLARS Reward, beſides all reaſonable Charges, paid by Mr. HENRY BOONE, Merchant, at Quebec, or JAMES CROFTON, at Montreal.

N. B. He is remarkable for being clean dreſs'd and wearing a Handkerchief tied round his Head; is very well known to all the Gentlemen at Quebec, that has been in Montreal, and who have uſed my Houſe, and was Three Months with Mr. JOSEPH HOWARD, of Montreal Merchant, laſt Summer in Quebec.

IL s'en eſt fait du ſervice de JAQUES CROFTON, Tavernier, à Montréal, le 3 de Mai, 1767, Un Nègre Mulatre Eſclave, nommé ANDRE', né en Maryland, agé de vingt trois ans, de la moyenne taille, fort vif et alert, ayant la bouche extraordinairement grande, les levres groſſes et les doigts crochus: Il parle bon Anglois et François, et un peu Hollandois et Ecoſſois: L'on ſuppoſe qu'il porte avec lui de faux certificats de ſa franchiſe et de faux paſſeports. Toute perſonne qui l'arrêtera et qui le mettra en lieu de ſureté, de façon que ſon dit, maître puiſſe l'avoir, recevra HUIT PIASTRES de recompenſe, outre tous frais raiſonables, qui lui ſeront payés par Mr. HENRY BOONE, Négociant, à Québec, ou par JAQUES CROFTON, à Montréal.

N. B. Il eſt remarquable pour ſe mettre proprement, et pour porter un mouchoir attaché autour de ſa tête; il eſt bien connû par tous les Meſſieurs de Québec qui ont été à Montréal, et qui ont fréquenté ma maiſon; et il a reſté à Québec pendant trois mois de l'Eté dernier, avec Mr. Joſeph Howard, Négociant de Montréal.

8 | "RUN-AWAY, from *James Crofton*, Vintner in Montreal," *Quebec Gazette*, 14 May 1767, vol. 124, p. 4. (Photo: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec [BANQ], Montreal)

coincidence. Furthermore, as mentioned above, White and White have argued that the wearing of conspicuous beards by enslaved black males may have served to flaunt and celebrate the biological specificity (the tight and delicate curls) of black hair, serving as a statement of cultural defiance.[83]

But perhaps most unexpected amongst these Quebec fugitive notices is the description of the Maryland-born enslaved man named Andrew. After fleeing from the Montreal vintner James Crofton on 3 May 1767, the notice, which appeared on 14 May 1767, proclaimed that the twenty-three-year-old Andrew was "remarkable for being clean dress'd and wearing a Handkerchief tied round his Head"[84] [*sic*] (Fig. 8). Crofton's notice inadvertently documented that the ongoing African tradition of headwrapping had survived the Middle Passage to be practiced not only by enslaved females, but also by men like Andrew, a mixed race Creole in the northern reaches of British North America. Crofton's further suspicion that Andrew had in his possession "forged Certificates of his Freedom, and Passes" may further indicate that Andrew's headwrapping practice was common not only amongst enslaved

black males, but free ones.[85] However, as with the wigs, it is frustratingly difficult (without further evidence) to deduce if headwrapping was more common amongst enslaved or free black males. However, if the former, it is likely that Andrew would have desisted with this practice when on the run.

Conclusion

Through my comparative approach, I have aimed to highlight Canada's position within a larger international, Transatlantic history and to implement a transoceanic analysis that can account for the ways in which vast populations were never regionally bound but, with different amounts of choice or coercion, always moving between different parts of the Transatlantic world. Indeed, the fugitive slave advertisements that constantly warned people against aiding the enslaved in escaping on ships were all about the tension between the local (the place from where the enslaved person had lived and escaped) and the wider world (where the enslaved person intended to go).

As I have argued throughout this article, fugitive slave advertisements hold significant information about the enslaved populations of the Americas. Their sheer pervasiveness demands that we acknowledge the commonality of African resistance through flight. But this archive also provides insights into the cultures of the enslaved since the description of the fugitive's body was at the centre of the genre. Detailed analyses of various aspects of dress like clothing and hairstyle will certainly yield information about African and Creole cultural practices in both tropical and temperate regions. While my analysis above yielded some useful results, more primary research is necessary. Clearly the heterogeneous enslaved black male population of Quebec maintained African-specific hair stylings and grooming practices like head shaving, long beards, and headwrapping. But at the same time Ishmaël's closely cropped hair may, like Spencer's penchant for wigs, indicate the clear impact of creolization. However, the lack of information about the specific birth and ethnic origins of these males prohibits more definitive assertions about how their lives in the Quebec settler colony impacted their self-care routines. Furthermore, it is important to ask why Quebec settler-enslavers deemed female hair and grooming to be unhelpful in the identification of female runaways. Did a uniformity in the hairstyling practices of enslaved females make description of hairstyle irrelevant or was the hairstyling of enslaved females simply outside of the verbal language of white Quebec settler-enslavers? That Quebec fugitive advertisements consistently detailed male hairstyle and grooming more thoroughly than female is a sex-specific peculiarity which demands further research.

Fugitive slave advertisements are equally sites of disclosure of the characteristics, preoccupations, and desires of the white settler enslavers. The fact that recaptured enslaved people were often brutally punished, tortured, or executed should alert us to the fact that slavery was underpinned by a profound hatred of Africans which transcended the economic interests of the slave-owning classes. White surveillance of enslaved Africans was systematically refined across the Americas, becoming a central aspect of the effectiveness of the slave system. Such surveillance went hand in hand with strategic permissions and prohibitions: the things that the enslavers would and would not allow in terms of the maintenance of individuality and cultural specificity. In such a world, one in which the simplest personal acts of self-care were under the control of another, the maintenance of the health and beauty of one's body became a statement of resistance. Beyond the act of fleeing itself, what the enslaved wore, how they spoke, how they styled their hair, and how they moved – all seemingly innocent or mundane acts – hold clues to the cultures from which they refused to be broken. Therefore, the fugitive slave advertisements placed by white settler-enslavers to recapture a runway and re-inscribe their object-ness and slave status must also be acknowledged as texts that reveal the success of slave resistance in the ways that African-ness, beyond race, was inscribed on the fleeing people's bodies.

But returning to the methodological question of the usefulness of a Settler Colonial Art History, while my examination of the self-care practices of enslaved males in Quebec was surely aided by a narrower focus which could account for the distinctions between settler colonies like Canada and other colonies like Jamaica, I remain skeptical that this same rigour could not be achieved under the banner of a Postcolonial or Black Feminist Art History. Since Postcolonial Art History (or Postcolonial Studies more generally) necessarily demands a regional, temporal, cultural, and political specificity, scholars working within the limits of a settler colony must delimit their parameters of engagement within this larger framework. What is yet unclear to me is if those working within a Settler Colonial methodology are willing to suspend their narrow dyad, settler-indigenous, and recall the centrality of enslaved Africans not only in the tropical or semi-tropical colonies where black people became the majority populations, but within the more northern colonies like Quebec where the enslaved always remained a minority. As long as a Settler Colonial Art History positions enslaved and free black people as settlers and ignores the settler-indigenous-enslaved triad which was at the heart of colonialism in the Transatlantic world, it will remain harmful to those of us seeking to understand the lives and histories of our African ancestors.

NOTES

1 Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, vol. 2 (London: Lowndes, 1774), 412–13.
2 Hilary McD. Beckles, "An Economic Life of their Own: Slaves as Commodity Producers and Distributors in Barbados," *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World*, eds. Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers Limited, 2000), 737.
3 Damian Skinner, "Settler-Colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien* 35:1 (2014): 133.
4 I have deliberately chosen to make indigenous and black lower case because, for over two decades, I capitalized the "I" and the "B" as a political statement and I have found that these actions did not move the needle in terms of a more equitable context for engagement with these populations or histories. Rather, what provokes change is the Black Feminist or Postcolonial cultural, archival, and historical work itself that exposes the violence of imperialism and Transatlantic Slavery and the colonial biases of the archives which is undeniable.
5 Ibid., 133.
6 The usa is not clearly a settler colony because its geographical and climatic diversity means that it occupies a territory that is simultaneously temperate and tropical (or semi-tropical), the latter regions of which (the south) allowed for the proliferation of plantation slavery and black enslaved majorities in states like South Carolina.
7 Skinner, "Settler-Colonial Art History," 136.
8 Kay Dian Kriz, "Torrid Zones and Detoxified Landscapes: Picturing Jamaica, 1825–1840," *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700–1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 158; Charmaine A. Nelson, *Slavery, Geography, and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica* (London: Routledge, 2016), 366–67.
9 Nelson, *Slavery, Geography, and Empire*, 133, 367–68.
10 According to the architect, author, and artist James Hakewill, at the time of his Jamaican sojourn in 1821–22, the enslaved population numbered 317,138 and the free-coloureds (mixed race people) and whites only 25,000. See James Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from drawings made in the Years 1820 and 1821* (London: Hurst and Robinson, Pall-Mall; E. Lloyd, Harley Street, 1825), n.p.
11 Kay Dian Kriz, "Marketing Mulâtresses in Agostino Brunias's West Indian Scenes," in *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, 52.
12 Trevor Burnard, "A Failed Settler Society: Marriage and Demographic Failure in Early Jamaica," *Journal of Social History* 28:1 (Autumn 1994): 66.
13 Verene A. Shepherd, "Livestock Farmers and Marginality in Jamaica's Sugar-Plantation Society: A Tentative Analysis," *Social and Economic Studies* 41:2 (June 1992): 189. Kay Dian Kriz, citing the work of B.W. Higman, notes a steady growth in absenteeism amongst the planter class in Jamaica, from thirty per cent in 1775 to eighty per cent at the time of emancipation. See B.W. Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed: Plantation Maps and Plans of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1988), 17; cited in Kriz, "Torrid Zones," 248n11.
14 Skinner, "Settler-Colonial Art History," 136.
15 For more on the misuse of the term refugee for black people in the period of slavery see: Charmaine A. Nelson, "The Canadian Fugitive Slave Archive and the Concept

of Refuge," Something Personal: Archives and Methods for Critical Refugee Studies in Canada, *English Studies in Canada* 45:3 (September 2019, published May 2021): 91–115.

16 Ibid., 140–41.

17 Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3.

18 Ibid., 3, 6.

19 The British seized control of Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655.

20 Mackey claims that slavery had largely ended in Montreal by the turn of the nineteenth century. Frank Mackey, *Done with Slavery: The Black Fact in Montreal 1760–1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 6.

21 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 3.

22 Marcus Wood, "Rhetoric and the Runaway: The Iconography of Slave Escape in England and America," *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780–1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 89. Wood notes, citing Hornung and Johnson, that the first thirty years of printing history in the nineteenth century has been designated the "Classified Ad Period," 89. Clarence P. Hornung and Fridolf Johnson, *220 Years of American Graphic Art* (New York: George Brazillier, 1976), 36.

23 David Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the 18th c. Mid-Atlantic," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (April 1999): 269.

24 William Gilliland, "six dollars reward," *Quebec Gazette*, 19 Sept. 1771; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I: Newspaper Notices," *Done with Slavery*, 318. Italics mine.

25 Ibid.

26 Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways," 249.

27 When the British seized control of the territory in 1760, the French had already been slaving for over a century. As Robin Winks has noted, slavery was specifically protected by the terms of the treaty of capitulation between Britain and France. See Robin Winks, "The Blacks in Canada: A History," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 33–34 (2006): 23.

28 By 1615 an official report to the King of Spain claimed that only seventy-four Arawak had survived on the island of Jamaica. See Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa, *Language in Exile: Three Hundred Years of Jamaican Creole* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 7, 9.

29 Ibid, 13.

30 Linda M. Rupert, *Creolization and Contraband: Curaçao in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 6.

31 Sidney Mintz, "Creolization and Hispanic Exceptionalism," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 31:3, *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories*, Part II (2008): 254–55.

32 Ibid., 255.

33 Ibid., 260.

34 Ibid., 256.

35 Ibid., 255.

36 This factor is why Jamaica is not excluded from Mintz's definition. Jamaica's free coloured or mixed race population was comparably smaller than the Spanish held islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo due in part to the effectiveness of the plantation system under the British. See MINTZ, "Creolization," 260.

37 According to Richardson the development of interisland slave trading directly coincided with the British abolition of the slave trade in 1807. See Bonham C. RICHARDSON, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 76.

38 Rev. R. BICKELL, *The West Indies as they are: or a Real Picture of Slavery: but more particularly as it exists in the Island of Jamaica. in three parts. with notes* (London: Printed for J. Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly: and Lupton Relfe, Cornhill, 1825), 38–47.

39 Charmaine A. NELSON, *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 57.

40 MINTZ, "Creolization," 259.

41 For more on the heterogeneity of enslaved black populations in Canada see: Charmaine A. NELSON, "A 'tone of voice peculiar to New-England': Fugitive Slave Advertisements and the Heterogeneity of Enslaved People of African Descent in Eighteenth-Century Quebec," *Current Anthropology* 61:S22 (Issue: *Atlantic Slavery and the Making of the Modern World: Experiences, Representations, and Legacies*) (October 2020): n.p.

42 NELSON, *Slavery, Geography, and Empire*, 237, 303.

43 Graham WHITE and Shane WHITE, "Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Journal of Southern History* 61:1 (February 1995): 49.

44 Two places where the fugitive slave archive may pale in comparison to photographic archives of the enslaved are Cuba and Brazil where slavery was not abolished until 1886 and 1888 respectively. See Laird W. BERGAD, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), xiii. For more on photography of the enslaved in Brazil see: Margrit PRUSSAT, "Icons of Slavery: Black Brazil in Nineteenth-Century Photography and Image Art," *Living History: Encountering the Memory of the Heirs of Slavery*, ed. Ana Lucia Araujo (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

45 Immediate can mean several moments, like, for instance, the point of commodification when enslaved Africans were often inspected in the slave fortresses of the West African coast or the moments of purchase in the Americas, whether by auction or not, when enslavers or their surrogates renamed the enslaved.

46 The Virginia planter, Robert "King" Carter (the richest planter in the state), who owned a plantation on the Rappahannock River, instructed his overseer to initiate a process of renaming of his enslaved Africans at the point of purchase. See Ira BERLIN, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 53:2 (April 1996): 251–52.

47 NELSON, *Slavery, Geography, and Empire*, 360, 373, 350, 385n75.

48 Ibid., 22, 87, 237, 254, 255, 283, 351, 359, 397.

49 Ibid., 255.

50 Steeve O. Buckridge, *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760–1890* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2004), 3. Buckridge understands apparel to be more limited than dress in its exclusion of bodily modification. Costume is similarly a narrower category since it refers to out-of-the-ordinary social roles or activities.

51 Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 52–53; cited in White and White, "Slave Hair," 49.

52 White and White, "Slave Hair," 58. White and White note an enslaved male runaway named Bazil in Maryland who his enslaver described as taking great pride in his hair, 58.

53 Ibid., 49.

54 In the movie *Belle* (2013), there is a poignant moment when the free, mixed race, upper class woman (child of an enslaved mother and a white British father) is schooled by a black house servant on how to remove tangles from her hair. The scene makes clear that Belle's separation from her mother at a young age due to her mother's premature death, did not allow the normal transmission of information about self-care from mother to daughter. See *Belle*, directed by Amma Asante (Fox Searchlight Pictures, Isle of Man Film, and Pinewood Pictures, 2013).

55 Inventory of the Estate of Samuel Mack, Document #5–5a; MG 1, vol. 574, 1–20, Samuel Mack, Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

56 Mackey, "Appendix I," 307–40.

57 "run-away, on Thursday Night," *Quebec Gazette*, 19 Oct. 1768; "Il s'est échappé, dimanche le soir" *Quebec Gazette*, 27 Oct. 1768; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 316.

58 John Turner, "run-away from the Subscriber," *Quebec Gazette*, 29 July 1779; John Turner, "run-away, on Sunday Night last [28 Feb.]," *Quebec Gazette*, 11 Mar. 1784; John Turner, Sr., "run away from the Subscriber on Saturday morning [5 June]," *Quebec Gazette*, 26 June 1788; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 321–22, 326, 331. Ishmaël was called a Negro slave in the first notice and a Negro man in the second and third.

59 William Gill, "run away from the Subscriber," *Quebec Gazette*, 30 Nov. 1775; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 319.

60 Michaels, "run away on the 24th instant"; Michaels, "run away on the 24th April last"; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 330. Michaels described Ben's hair as "very streight" in the first notice and "streight" in the second [*sic*]. Michaels described Ben as a "Negro Boy" in the first advertisement and more specifically as a "Mulatto Boy" in the second.

61 Michaels, "run away on the 24th April last"; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 330.

62 John Turner, "ten dollars reward," *Quebec Gazette*, 29 July 1779; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 321–22. In this, the first of three fugitive notices, Turner described Ishmaël as having a "tone of voice peculiar to New-England, where he was born."

63 Ibid., 321.

64 John Turner, "fourteen dollars Reward," *Quebec Gazette*, 11 Mar. 1784; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 326.

65 John Turner, Sr., "run away from the Subscriber on Saturday morning [5 June]," *Quebec Gazette*, 26 June 1788; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 331.
66 White and White, "Slave Hair," 46.
67 Mackey, "Appendix I," 531n18. Mackey states that Grant was a privy councilor and legislative councilor "under the Quebec Act of 1774, and was elected three times to the Legislative Assembly or Lower Canada as a member for the Upper Town of Quebec."
68 "run-away, on Thursday Night," *Quebec Gazette*, 19 Oct. 1768; "Il s'est échappé, dimanche le soir," *Quebec Gazette*, 27 Oct. 1768; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 316. While in the first English notice Grant claimed that Dick had escaped on a Thursday in a blue short coat, the second French notice dated the escape on a Sunday and claimed that he wore a red coat. It is therefore unclear if these two fugitive advertisements for Dick represent two separate escapes in less than two weeks or if Grant was merely correcting information in the second notice, Mackey, "Appendix I," 531n18.
69 White and White, "Slave Hair," 59.
70 Ibid. White and White also hypothesize that enslaved black people who had forgotten the African practices of head shaving may have encountered them anew through their contact with indigenous North Americans, 59.
71 For more on the hairstyles of enslaved black young men in northern/temperate climate regions, see Shane White, "The Allure of the Advertisement: Slave Runaways in and Around New York City," in *The Precariouness of Freedom: Slave Resistance as Experience, Process, and Representation,* ed. Charmaine A. Nelson (Concord, on: Captus Press Inc., 2024).
72 Gill, "run away from the Subscriber" and Turner, "ten dollars reward"; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 319, 321.
73 "run-away, on Thursday Night" and "Il s'est échappé, dimanche le soir"; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 316.
74 Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways," 254.
75 Turner, "ten dollars reward"; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 321. Italics mine.
76 Jacob Kuhn and Edw. Wm. Gray, "broke Goal and escaped on Sunday the 18th," *Montreal Gazette*, 22 Nov. 1792; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 335–36. Spencer was charged with petty larceny.
77 White and White, "Slave Hair," 61.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid., 61–62.
81 "ran away on Saturday night the 10th Instant," *Quebec Gazette*, 21 May 1778; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 320, 535n30.
82 Ibid., 320.
83 White and White, "Slave Hair," 58.
84 "run-away, from *James Crofton*, Vintner in Montreal," *Quebec Gazette*, 14 May 1767; transcribed in Mackey, "Appendix I," 315.
85 Ibid.

Ni autochtone ni colon : une lecture des soins personnels et des cheveux chez les hommes esclaves africains à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle et au début du XIX[e] siècle dans les publicités à propos d'esclaves fugitifs canadiens et jamaïcains

CHARMAINE A. NELSON

En relevant le défi d'une réflexion sur les bienfaits potentiels d'une histoire de l'art dans une colonie de peuplement pour l'étude du Canada Noir, et plus précisément de l'esclavage au Canada, je suis guidée par des distinctions profondes, par exemple la manière dont sont arrivés des Africains réduits en esclavage au Canada et en Jamaïque respectivement, dans quels nombres, et aussi par les points communs et les distinctions entre leurs expériences en tant que migrants relocalisés dans différentes parties du monde atlantique. Une grande part du présent article ne s'appliquera pas à des colonies de peuplement comme la Nouvelle-Zélande et l'Australie, précisément parce que leur exclusion du monde atlantique a donné lieu à l'absence de leur participation à l'esclavage transatlantique et, conséquemment, à celle de l'importation historique d'une population africaine réduite en esclavage. Donc, alors que Damian Skinner, parlant de la colonie de peuplement, avance que les « relations des colonisateurs avec le peuple autochtone [. . .] a ultimement façonné le caractère culturel et politique des nouvelles nations », j'aimerais également suggérer qu'il est impératif de ne pas évacuer la centralité idéologique du sujet africain réduit en esclavage dans les histoires des colonies de peuplement atlantiques[1].

Pour qu'une méthodologie issue du colonialisme de peuplement fonctionne pour des sujets diasporiques noirs, il faut urgemment qu'elle s'écarte de l'étroit binaire colon-autochtone. Les Africains réduit en esclavage n'étaient ni l'un ni l'autre. Dans le présent article, j'avance que la dyade colon-autochtone devrait s'élargir pour devenir une triade, soit colon-autochtone-africain réduit en esclavage. De plus, étant donné l'acceptation graduelle de Blancs ethniquement marginalisés, il en découlerait que nous repenserions la désignation du mot colon, pour dépasser l'idée d'une désignation cohésive et lisible, et aller vers un processus de devenir comportant souvent une assimilation raciale et culturelle ou une expansion sur plusieurs générations (décennies et siècles). Dans la foulée de Skinner, si les migrants doivent se tourner vers un ordre constitutionnel qu'ils n'ont pas produit, et si les colons, par la conquête, reconstituent leurs propres pays à l'étranger, les Africains réduits en esclavage, définis dans le discours juridique colonial comme

un bien ou une propriété personnelle mobile, ne pouvaient faire ni l'un ni l'autre. Même émancipés (ou auto-libérés) et porteurs d'une promesse de relocalisation en sûreté dans la catégorie de colon – comme les loyalistes noirs durant la guerre d'indépendance des États-Unis ou les Marrons de la Jamaïque exilés en Nouvelle-Écosse –, l'attirail du colon (ration de nourriture adéquate, vêtements convenables, logement correct, salaire suffisant, etc.) était stratégiquement refusé aux populations noires[2]. Donc, quand Skinner demande, « Comment, par exemple, devrait-on penser les esclaves africains-antillais emmenés aux Canada aux xviiie et xixe siècles ? Qu'est-ce que ça signifie de les décrire comme colons?[3] », ma réponse est catégorique : on devrait les penser comme une troisième catégorie – gens réduits en esclavage – et on ne devrait pas, par opportunisme ou pour tout autre raison, les considérer comme des colons. Lorenzo Veracini écrit : « Les colons sont les *fondateurs* d'ordres politiques et portent leur souveraineté en eux[4]. » Définis par un mouvement volontaire, par la permanence et par une gouvernance interne, ils établissent *leur* pays à travers la conquête et la force[5].

Assumant le potentiel d'une histoire de l'art issue du colonialisme de peuplement, j'applique ce cadre à un projet comparatif entre un site à minorité noire (Québec) et un site à majorité noire (Jamaïque) pour déterminer si une méthodologie issue du colonialisme de peuplement peut contribuer à l'étude du Canada noir au-delà des limites d'une approche postcoloniale plus vaste. L'histoire de l'art postcoloniale, comme une bonne part des études postcoloniales et comme il convient, s'est penchée sur les vies et les combats des personnes ayant été marginalisées par le colonialisme. Les pratiques critiques des études sur l'esclavage ont également priorisé l'analyse de l'oppression, de la violence, de la surveillance et des prohibitions utilisées contre les Noirs réduits en esclavage, plutôt que l'examen des vies des esclavagistes blancs. Si la priorisation de la souffrance des marginalisés est une facette de l'intervention postcoloniale, que signifie l'adoption d'un cadre qui reconnaît non seulement la puissance discursive du colon blanc, mais sa présence majoritaire ? Comment faire en sorte qu'une histoire de l'art issue du colonialisme de peuplement ne devienne pas tout simplement un autre moyen de prioriser, de réifier, voire de glorifier le fait d'être blanc ? Comment écrire non seulement sur les descendants des colons blancs, mais sur ceux des Noirs réduits en esclavage dans le contexte d'une colonie de peuplement comme le Canada ?

On commence, en partie, en reconnaissant que le débat sur la définition de l'État-nation et de l'appartenance nationale a toujours exclu les personnes esclaves dont le travail a joué un rôle central dans les projets d'empire et d'édification de pays, en même temps que ce travail était coopté au profit seulement du colon et non pour les esclaves eux-mêmes. Encore aujourd'hui,

même quand les personnes noires reçoivent le statut de citoyens canadiens, elles sont encore soumises à différents niveaux de violence et de surveillance sanctionnées (ou pardonnées) et font face au racisme en toute chose : finances, emploi, soins de santé, loisirs, éducation, transport et maintien de l'ordre. En même temps, elles sont en très grande majorité exclues des fonctions publiques et politiques, sont invisibles dans les médias canadiens, dans la culture populaire et dans le milieu des entreprises canadiennes, et sont presque uniformément exclues du rôle de producteur de savoir en éducation supérieure. Dans ces conditions d'exploitation et d'exclusion sociales toujours en cours, on peut avancer que les personnes noires n'ont pas encore été légitimées en tant citoyens du Canada et, donc, qu'elles n'ont jamais atteint complètement le statut de colon. De plus, les Canadiens noirs, une population d'origine majoritairement antillaise et afro-canadienne, constituent une population à l'écoute des récits et des héritages du colonialisme et, comme tels, leurs politiques ont été beaucoup plus susceptibles de s'aligner avec celles des communautés autochtones que d'autres populations racialement privilégiées.

Pour traiter de ces questions, je me sers d'archives sur la culture de l'imprimé portant sur des publicités d'esclaves fugitifs. Il y a au cœur de cette exploration une relecture des publicités non comme simples textes, mais aussi comme « portraits », bien qu'ils soient douteux et non autorisés, de personnes réduites en esclavage. Pour ces portraits imprimés, le médium était les mots contrairement aux images, mais leur fonction principale était néanmoins visuelle. Les mots étaient déployés dans le but de créer une image mentale de ces gens asservis. La publicité sur les fugitifs était un « succès » quand un lecteur, habituellement blanc et éduqué, transformait la description textuelle en une image visuelle pour identifier le fuyard et le capturer à nouveau, régulièrement pour une récompense. En plus de la taille, du poids et des vêtements de la personne en fuite, ces avis dressaient généralement la liste de ses marques corporelles.

Procédant de manière comparative, j'explore la racisation et la créolisation des Africains affranchis dans la colonie britannique nord-américaine du Québec et en Jamaïque, île-colonie britannique des Antilles, identifiant quelques distinctions ayant existé entre les colonies esclavagistes tempérées et tropicales du monde atlantique britannique. Ce faisant, je sonde des avis d'esclaves fugitifs au Québec pour y trouver des descriptions de soin personnel, des détails sur l'entretien des cheveux et du visage pour les hommes asservis. Au-delà de l'acte de la fuite comme telle, ce que l'esclave portait, sa manière de parler, de se coiffer et de bouger – des actes apparemment innocents et banals – donnent des indices sur les cultures dont ils refusaient d'être coupés. Donc, les publicités sur les esclaves fugitifs

placées par les esclavagistes blancs pour capturer à nouveau un fuyard et pour réinscrire son statut d'objet et d'esclave doivent également être reconnues comme des textes révélant la résistance réussie des esclaves dans leurs manières d'inscrire leur africanité, au-delà de la race, dans les corps de personnes en fuite.

Mon examen des pratiques de soin personnel des hommes réduits en esclavage au Québec a certainement été aidé par une focalisation plus étroite pouvant tenir compte des distinctions entre des colonies de peuplement comme le Canada et d'autres comme la Jamaïque. Néanmoins, je demeure sceptique que cette même rigueur puisse être obtenue sous la bannière de l'histoire de l'art postcoloniale. Puisque cette dernière (et les études postcoloniales de manière plus générale) exige nécessairement une spécificité régionale, temporelle, culturelle et politique, les spécialistes travaillant dans les limites de la colonie de peuplement doivent délimiter leurs périmètres d'engagement à l'intérieur de ce cadre élargi. Ce qui n'est toujours pas clair à mes yeux, c'est si les personnes travaillant à l'intérieur d'une méthodologie issue du colonialisme de peuplement veulent suspendre l'étroite dyade colon-autochtone et rappeler la centralité d'Africains asservis, non seulement dans les colonies tropicales et semi-tropicales où les Noirs constituent la population majoritaire, mais aussi dans des colonies nordiques comme le Québec où les personnes asservies sont toujours demeurées une minorité. Aussi longtemps que l'histoire de l'art issue du colonialisme de peuplement situe les Noirs asservis et libres comme étant des colons et qu'elle ignore la triade colon-autochtone-personne réduite en esclavage, qui était au cœur du colonialisme du monde transatlantique, elle demeurera nuisible pour ceux et celles d'entre nous qui cherchent à comprendre les vies et les récits de nos ancêtres africains.

NOTES

1 Voir Damian Skinner, « Settler-Colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts », *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien,* vol. 35, nº 1, 2014, p. 136. [Notre traduction.]

2 Pour en savoir davantage sur le terme de « réfugié » appliqué aux Noirs durant la période de l'esclavage, voir : Charmaine A. Nelson, « The Canadian Fugitive Slave Archive and the Concept of Refuge », Something Personal: Archives and Methods for Critical Refugee Studies in Canada, *English Studies in Canada,* vol. 45, nº 3, septembre 2019, publié en mai 2021, p. 91–115.

3 Skinner, « Settler-Colonial Art History », *op. cit.*, p. 140–41. [Notre traduction.]

4 Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 3. [Notre traduction.]

5 *Ibid*., p. 3, 6. [Notre traduction.]

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