Unsettling Exhibition Pedagogies: Troubling Stories of the Nation with Miss Chief

by

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Supervisory Committee

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Museums as colonial institutions and agents in nation building have constructed, circulated and reinforced colonialisit, patriarchal, heteronormative and cisnormative national narratives. Yet, these institutions can be subverted, resisted and transformed into sites of critical public pedagogy especially when they invite Indigenous artists and curators to intervene critically. They are thus becoming important spaces for Indigenous counter-narratives, self-representation and resistance—and for settler education. My study inquired into Cree artist Kent Monkman’s commissioned touring exhibition Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience which offers a critical response to Canada’s celebration of its sesquicentennial. Narrated by Monkman’s alter ego, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, the exhibition tells the story of the past 150 years from an Indigenous perspective. Seeking to work on unsettling my “settler within” (Regan, 2010, p. 13) and contribute to understandings of the education needed for transforming Indigenous-settler relations, I visited and studied the exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta and the Confederation Centre Art Gallery in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. My study brings together exhibition analysis, to examine how the exhibition’s elements work together to produce meaning and experience, with autoethnography as a means to distance myself from the stance of expert analyst and allow for settler reflexivity and vulnerability. I developed a three-lens framework (narrative, representational and relational/embodied) for exhibition analysis which
itself became unsettled. What I experienced is an exhibition that has at its core a holism that brings together head, heart, body and spirit pulled together by the thread of the exhibition’s powerful storytelling. I therefore contend that Monkman and Miss Chief create a decolonizing, truth-telling space which not only invites a questioning of hegemonic narratives but also operates as a potentially unsettling site of experiential learning. As my self-discovery approach illustrates, exhibitions such as Monkman’s can profoundly disrupt the Euro-Western epistemological space of the museum with more holistic, relational, storied public pedagogies. For me, this led to deeply unsettling experiences and new ways of knowing and learning. As for if, to what extent, or how the exhibition will unsettle other visitors, I can only speak of its pedagogical possibilities. My own learning as a settler and adult educator suggests that when museums invite Indigenous intervention, they create important possibilities for unsettling settler histories, identities, relationships, epistemologies and pedagogies. This can inform public pedagogy and adult education discourses in ways that encourage interrogating, unsettling and reorienting Eurocentric theories, methodologies and practices, even those we characterize as critical and transformative. Using the lens of my own unsettling, and engaging in a close reading of Monkman’s exhibition, I expand my understandings of pedagogy and thus my capacities to contribute to understandings of public pedagogical mechanisms, specifically in relation to unsettling exhibition pedagogies and as part of a growing conversation between critical adult education and museum studies.
Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee ......................................................................................................................... ii

Abstract .................................................................................................................................................. iii

Table of Contents .................................................................................................................................... v

List of Figures .......................................................................................................................................... vii

Acknowledgments ...................................................................................................................................... ix

Dedication ................................................................................................................................................ xii

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING AN UNSETTLING INQUIRY ................................................................. 1

  Context.................................................................................................................................................... 5
  Unsettling .............................................................................................................................................. 6
  Exhibition Pedagogies ......................................................................................................................... 10
  National Narratives and Canada 150 ..................................................................................................... 13
  The Power of Miss Chief .................................................................................................................... 17
  Research Question and Sub-questions ................................................................................................. 22
  Contributions........................................................................................................................................ 23

CHAPTER 2: THEORIZING MUSEUMS AS SITES FOR SETTLER EDUCATION ......................... 25

  Reconciliation and Decolonization ....................................................................................................... 25
  Indigenous Epistemologies and Pedagogies ......................................................................................... 30
  Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy ............................................................................................. 35
  Museums: Tensions and Transformations ............................................................................................. 41
    Museums, Colonialism and Decolonization ....................................................................................... 42
    Museums, Gender, Sexuality and Intersectionality ........................................................................ 48
  Conceptualizing Critical, Transformative Exhibition Pedagogies .................................................. 51
    Museum Studies and the Educational Role of the Museum ............................................................. 51
    Public Pedagogy and the Museum .................................................................................................... 55
    Critical Adult Education and the Museum ........................................................................................ 64

CHAPTER 3: METHODS AND METHODOLOGIES—EXHIBITION ANALYSIS AND
AUTOETHNOGRAPHY ............................................................................................................................ 72

  Exhibition Analysis: Three Lenses for Thinking about Exhibitions ................................................ 74
    The Narrative Lens .............................................................................................................................. 75
    The Representational Lens ................................................................................................................ 78
    The Relational/Embodied Lens ......................................................................................................... 85
  Autoethnography and Settler Stories ................................................................................................. 88
# CHAPTER 4: VISITING *SHAME AND PREJUDICE: A STORY OF RESILIENCE* AT THE GLENBOW MUSEUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Context for the Exhibition at the Glenbow</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking through <em>Shame and Prejudice</em> in Nine Chapters</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter I: New France, Reign of the Beaver”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter IV: Starvation”</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter II: Fathers of Confederation”</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter III: Wards of the State/The Indian Problem”</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter V: Forcible Transfer of Children”</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter VI: Incarceration”</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter VII: The Res House”</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter VIII: Sickness and Healing”</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Chapter IX: Urban Rez”</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# CHAPTER 5: VISITING *SHAME AND PREJUDICE: A STORY OF RESILIENCE* AT CONFEDERATION CENTRE ART GALLERY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Context for the Exhibition at Confederation Centre Art Gallery</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troubling the “Birthplace” of Canada with Miss Chief</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# CHAPTER 6: UNSETTLING EXHIBITION PEDAGOGIES—IMPLICATIONS AND POSSIBILITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Pedagogic Force of Autoethnography</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsettling Exhibition Pedagogies: Heads, Hearts, Bodies and Spirits</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# REFERENCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Figure 1. Kent Monkman, *Dance to Miss Chief*, 2010 .................................................. 1
Figure 2. The Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta ............................................................ 99
Figure 3. Kent Monkman, *Scent of a Beaver*, 2016, installation (detail) ...................... 106
Figure 4. “Chapter I, New France, Reign of the Beaver.” ............................................. 107
Figure 5. *Romancing the Canoe*, installation view ....................................................... 109
Figure 6. “Chapter IV: Starvation.” .................................................................................. 113
Figure 7. Kent Monkman, table installation with *Starvation Plates*, 2017 (detail) .... 115
Figure 8. Kent Monkman, *Iron Horse*, 2015 ................................................................. 117
Figure 9. *Picturing the Northwest: Historical Art from Glenbow’s Collection* .......... 118
Figure 10. Buffalo Jump display, *Niitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life* ......................... 121
Figure 11. Kent Monkman, *The Daddies*, 2016 ............................................................. 123
Figure 12. Monkman’s *The Daddies* with works by Harris ........................................ 125
Figure 13. Kent Monkman, *The Bears of Confederation*, 2016 ..................................... 130
Figure 14. Monkman’s *The Bears of Confederation* with *Fate is a Cruel Mistress* .... 130
Figure 15. “Delilah” from *Fate is a Cruel Mistress* ....................................................... 134
Figure 16. Right: Kent Monkman, *A Country Wife*, 2016 ............................................ 135
Figure 17. “Chapter III: Wards of the State/The Indian Problem.” .............................. 138
Figure 18. Kent Monkman, *The Subjugation of Truth*, 2016 ....................................... 140
Figure 19. Poundmaker’s moccasins .............................................................................. 145
Figure 20. “Chapter V: Forcible Transfer of Children.” ............................................... 147
Figure 21. Kent Monkman, *The Scream*, 2017 .............................................................. 149
Figure 22. Kent Monkman, *Seeing Red*, 2014 .............................................................. 153
Figure 23. Handcuffs used on Louis Sam with leg irons .............................................. 156
Figure 24. “Chapter VI: Incarceration.” ......................................................................... 157
Figure 25. Kent Monkman, *Reincarceration*, 2013 ....................................................... 159
Figure 26. Kent Monkman, *Cash for Souls*, 2016 ....................................................... 160
Figure 27. Chapters VII-IX ......................................................................................... 163
Figure 28. Kent Monkman, *Nativity Scene*, 2016 ....................................................... 164
Figure 29. Kent Monkman, Miss Chief’s Praying Hands, 2015 ........................................ 167
Figure 30. Kent Monkman, Death of the Virgin (After Caravaggio), 2016 .................... 170
Figure 31. Kent Monkman, Struggle for Balance (left) with Bad Medicine (right) .......... 174
Figure 32. Kent Monkman, Struggle for Balance, 2014 ............................................. 175
Figure 33. Kent Monkman, Bad Medicine (left) with Le Petit déjeuner sur l’herbe (right) .. 179
Figure 34. Province House during conservation work .................................................. 187
Figure 35. Confederation Centre of the Arts with view of the Art Gallery .................... 189
Figure 36. Kent Monkman, Scent of a Beaver, 2016, installation .............................. 193
Figure 37. Confederation Centre: outdoor amphitheatre and entrance to Memorial Hall .... 197
Figure 38. Chapter IV meets Chapter II. .................................................................... 198
Figure 39. Me with Sir John A. ................................................................................... 200
Figure 40. Fence wrap around Province House during conservation work (detail) ........... 201
Figure 41. Replica of Confederation Chamber, “The Story of Confederation,” ............... 203
Figure 42. Confederation Players, Confederation Centre of the Arts. Charlottetown ....... 204
Figure 43. Confederation Landing, Charlottetown ....................................................... 207
Figure 44. “Chapter III: Wards of the State/The Indian Problem.” ............................... 210
Figure 45. Kent Monkman, The Scream, 2017 (installation view) ............................. 213
Figure 46. Kent Monkman, Minimalism, 2018, installation ......................................... 216
Figure 47. Looking down to Chapter VII from the Marlene Creates exhibition ............... 220
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I would like to begin by acknowledging that I live, work, study and research on the unceded traditional territories of the Lekwungen speaking peoples (Songhees and Esquimalt) and on the lands of the WSÁNEĆ peoples (Tsartlip, Tsawout, Tseycum and Pauquachin). I would also like to acknowledge the territories on which I have researched at settler museums: in Calgary, the traditional territories of the Blackfoot and the people of the Treaty 7 region in Southern Alberta, which includes the Siksika, the Piikuni, the Kainai, the Tsuut’ina, and the Stoney Nakoda First Nations, including Chiniki, Bearpaw, and Wesley First Nations, and Calgary is also home to Métis Nation of Alberta, Region III; in Charlottetown, the traditional and unceded territory of the Abegweit First Nation.

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perspectives on museums with me, and for lifting my spirits as we both pursued our doctoral journeys.

Thank you to Kent Monkman who kindly granted permission to use the artworks, images and texts that I have included in this dissertation. I also would like to thank the wonderful people at Kent Monkman Studio who went above and beyond in providing image files and exhibition documentation that were key resources in my research. And I thank the Glenbow Museum and the Confederation Centre Art Gallery for their prompt and helpful responses to my copyright questions.

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Dedication

To Neil and Tristan, Jim and Dan, and Mary Way.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING AN UNSETTLING INQUIRY

As I watch her on the screen dancing to the catchy beat, I think she is like Cher—just as glamorous but not at all so easily deciphered. She is flirting with an “Indian” man played by a white actor in a clip from a vintage German Western. Her colour of choice is deep red, from the paint on the upper part of her face, to her lipstick, to the many strands of beads that cover her bare chest down to her navel, to the long satin evening gloves over her muscular arms. And, then, there is the clever bit of material around her hips that tops a long diaphanous skirt that extends down to her fabulous shoes (Figure 1).

*Figure 1. Kent Monkman, Dance to Miss Chief, 2010, 04:49 minutes, colour, English and German with English subtitles. Image courtesy of the artist. With permission.*

That was Miss Chief Eagle Testickle as I encountered her during an art-seeing trip I took with my husband to Montreal, Quebec in January 2014 while he was doing research for his MFA. I had seen her before as an intriguing figure rendered in acrylic on canvas, but seeing Miss
Chief beyond the brushstroke created a lasting impression. Her music video was being featured as part of the exhibition *Beat Nation: Art, Hip Hop and Aboriginal Culture* at the Musée d’art contemporain de Montréal. I had no idea at the time that Miss Chief would come to play such an important role in my thinking and learning, that she would become a guide for examining my as yet unthought-of questions about the connections between museums, colonialism, gender, sexuality and the education of settler Canadians. My plan for doctoral studies was not much more than an admission application submitted to the University of Victoria.

My research interest is in the possibilities of museums\(^1\) as spaces for what settler reconciliation scholar Paulette Regan (2010) has called in the title of her book “unsettling the settler within.” This is an issue not only of an exhibition’s content but also of its pedagogy, of how it works to teach its audiences, which I take up in this study through a combined methodology of autoethnography and exhibition analysis. In the wake of pressures to transform into more inclusive, collaborative and self-reflexive institutions, play a key role in national reconciliation, and decolonize their practices, Canadian museums are increasingly inviting Indigenous artists, curators and communities to intervene critically in their spaces. These colonial institutions still hold much power to set the terms of intervention, but they are becoming key sites for Indigenous self-representation, critique, counter-narrative, and resistance and thus important spaces for the education needed to transform settler relations with Indigenous

\(^1\) My use of the term *museums* includes public art galleries and heritage sites. When I use this term, I am referring to settler and Euro-Western institutions, but there are an increasing number of Indigenous-run museums and cultural centres across North America.
The focus of my study is Cree artist Kent Monkman’s *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience*, a commissioned touring exhibition that intervenes in the celebratory settler story of nation building, in colonialist, patriarchal, heteronormative and cisnormative narratives, and in the colonial space of the museum itself. *Shame and Prejudice* offers a critical response to Canada’s celebration of its sesquicentennial in 2017, telling the story of the past 150 years from an Indigenous perspective. It is a high-profile exhibition that challenges the nation’s interpretation of itself by engaging in truth telling about colonialism and Indigenous resilience. And, as a touring exhibition that can be analyzed at more than one location, it presents an opportunity for considering the public pedagogical dimensions of an exhibition across different sites and over time.

Seeking to work on unsettling my “settler within” (Regan, 2010, p. 13) and contribute to understandings of the education needed for transforming settler relations with Indigenous peoples, I visited and studied the exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta and the Confederation Centre Art Gallery in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. My study brings together exhibition analysis, to provide a close reading of how the exhibition’s elements work together to produce meaning and experience, with autoethnography as a means to distance myself from the stance of expert analyst and allow for settler reflexivity. What I experienced is an exhibition that has at its core a holism that brings together head, heart, body and spirit pulled together by the thread of the exhibition’s powerful storytelling. I therefore contend that

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2 I use various terms in this dissertation to refer to those who have since time immemorial inhabited Turtle Island, this place now called Canada. I use these words with critical awareness of the power dynamics at work within European naming of Indigenous peoples, the ever-evolving nature of terminology, and the need to be respectful of the terms that communities and individuals use when referring to themselves. The preferred term in Canada at this time is *Indigenous peoples*, a term that is also used in a global context and which can be used to refer collectively to First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples. I use other terms such as *Aboriginal, Native* and *Indian* when quoting and when context requires it.
Monkman and Miss Chief create a decolonizing, truth-telling space which not only invites a questioning of hegemonic narratives but also operates as a potentially unsettling site of experiential learning. As my self-discovery approach illustrates, exhibitions such as Monkman’s can profoundly disrupt the Euro-Western epistemological space of the museum with more holistic, relational, storied public pedagogies. By engaging with Monkman’s exhibition, I sought my own unsettling but unexpectedly discovered that in addition to experiencing an unsettling of my understandings of myself and settler society, I also experienced an unsettling of my own Euro-Western epistemological framings and assumptions. Even the three-lens framework (narrative, representational and relational/embodied) that I developed for exhibition analysis became unsettled. As for if, to what extent, or how the exhibition will unsettle other visitors, I can only speak of its pedagogical possibilities. My own learning as a settler and adult educator suggests that when museums invite Indigenous intervention, they create important possibilities for unsettling settler histories, certainties, identities, relationships, epistemologies and pedagogies. This can inform public pedagogy and adult education discourses in ways that encourage interrogating, unsettling, reorienting and reimagining Eurocentric theories, methodologies and practices, even those we characterize as critical and transformative. Using the lens of my own unsettling, and engaging in a close reading of Monkman’s exhibition, I expand my understandings of pedagogy and thus my capacities to contribute to understandings of public pedagogical mechanisms, specifically in relation to unsettling exhibition pedagogies and as part of a growing conversation between critical adult education and museum studies. Moreover, I self-reflexively inform my understanding of pedagogy with what I have learned from Indigenous ways of knowing, learning and teaching. Recognizing that the public pedagogies of exhibitions extend well beyond an exhibition’s and an institution’s walls, I also consider the contextual and
intertextual dimensions of visiting Monkman’s exhibition. I bring together a detailed and close reading of *Shame and Prejudice* as a cultural text with the only story that I, as a white, heterosexual, cis-privileged settler Canadian woman working to be an ally, feel I can tell about the exhibition—an autoethnographic settler story that allows room for vulnerability and discomfort as I seek my own unsettling.

The structure of this dissertation is as follows. In Chapter 1, I introduce the context for my study, present my research question, objectives and sub-questions, and discuss the contributions I seek to make. I provide a literature review and theoretical framing in Chapter 2 and discuss my methods and methodologies in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I offer an account of my experiences of *Shame and Prejudice* at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta. In Chapter 5, I relate my experiences at another stop on the exhibition’s tour, Confederation Centre Art Gallery in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island just a little over a year later. In Chapter 6, I offer thoughts on the role that autoethnography has played in my study and in my ongoing work of unsettling and then discuss my experience of the exhibition’s unsettling pedagogies and their implications for settler education and for informing public pedagogy and adult education.

**Context**

Foremost in my conceptualization of this study is the idea of unsettling, and for this I am indebted to the work of Paulette Regan (2010). I have turned to her book *Unsettling the Settler Within* again and again as I struggle to find my way through what it means to live, learn and research in this place now called Canada. There is also the idea of exhibition public pedagogies. When I commenced my doctoral studies, I began with the concept that museums are powerful and complex educators in the lives of adults who engage with them, but I was uncertain where this idea would take me. That museums are storytellers and that many of the stories they tell
reinforce hegemonic national narratives emerged as a key focus as I developed my research proposal at a time when Canada was celebrating its 150th anniversary of Confederation. And, of course, museums and stories of the nation can be troubled—they can be critiqued, contested and subverted. I discovered the perfect guide in Miss Chief, the narrator of *Shame and Prejudice*, whose name so aptly suggests the mischief that can be done to dominant narratives.

**Unsettling**

As a white settler Canadian, a descendent of the British and French so-called “founding nations,” who lives in a country built on the traditional, ancestral homelands of Indigenous peoples, my commitment is to think about how I might unsettle my settler within and about what I am doing not to be a colonizer. Settlers are peoples who “occupy lands previously stolen or in the process of being taken from their Indigenous inhabitants” (Barker, 2009, p. 328), and the term *settler* can encompass a range of identities (not just of white European descent), as Tuck and Yang (2012) point out. A key consideration, as Albert Memmi’s mid-20th-century critical analysis of colonizer and colonized in the context of Africa emphasized, is the concept of settler privilege—“astounding privileges to the detriment of those rightfully entitled to them” (as cited in Barker, 2009, p. 326). Barker (2009), a settler Canadian scholar, contends that ongoing colonization in settler colonial nations is dependent upon “public consent and active participation. . . [yet] settlers can and do act in noncolonial ways” (p. 339). Being a settler Canadian is my situation on these lands, but I can make choices about how I act on these lands. However, there are powerful controls to maintain compliance and participation in the colonial system:

because Settler Canadians exist within imperial systems designed to colonize and control, they themselves are repeatedly recolonized and reordered to contribute to the empire. The
same controls that imperialism impresses upon colonized Indigenous people, including the use of police force to enforce arbitrary legislation, cultural myth making and history writing, and economic coercion, are also applied to the colonist. The sole difference is that the Settler receives a much greater degree of reward and privilege for participating in the system of power and control. (Barker, 2009, p. 347)

I look to critical, transformative education, specifically an unsettling education, to move settler Canadians to critical consciousness and to stir a passion for acting in noncolonial ways, individually and collectively. Many things can be “unsettled” but, like Regan (2010), I use the term *unsettle* specifically within the context of Indigenous-settler relations:

*Webster’s Dictionary* defines “unsettle” as “to loosen or move from a settled state or condition . . . to perturb or agitate mentally or emotionally.” I argue that we must risk interacting differently with Indigenous people—with vulnerability, humility, and a willingness to stay in the decolonizing struggle of our own discomfort. (p. 13)

Regan thus connects unsettling to how we who are non-Indigenous need to transform ourselves and our relations with Indigenous peoples in ways that are deeply disruptive. Moreover, she offers settler Canadians a challenge:

How can we, as non-Indigenous people, unsettle ourselves to name and then transform the settler—the colonizer who lurks within—not just in words but by our actions? . . . To my mind, Canadians are still on a misguided, obsessive, and mythical quest to assuage colonizer guilt by solving the Indian problem. In this way, we avoid looking too closely at ourselves and the collective responsibility we bear for the colonial status quo. The significant challenge that lies before us is to turn the mirror back upon ourselves and to
answer the provocative question posed by historian Roger Epp regarding reconciliation in Canada: How do we solve the settler problem? (p. 11)

Regan points to the need for a radical re-orientation of our gaze, away from a fixation on the “other” and towards ourselves as the source of the problem that needs fixing. Secwepemc Indigenous leader Arthur Manuel underscores the need for such a re-orientation when he writes: “we [Indigenous peoples] are not broken. Canada is the sick one in the relationship, suffering from what sometimes seems like an incurable case of colonialism” (Manuel & Derrickson, 2017, p. 56). Much needs to be unsettled within this relationship, including settler myths, mindsets, discourses, practices, policies and institutions, and I understand unsettling as an ongoing process that involves both personal and social transformations. Regan points to how “colonial forms of denial, guilt and empathy” (p. 11), which allow us to distance ourselves rather than take collective responsibility for colonialism, are key obstacles to transforming settler relations with Indigenous peoples. Focused on fixing Indigenous peoples, we fail to examine critically our colonizer identity and to connect present-day inequities to historical and ongoing colonizing violence. Regan understands the settler problem as one of education and as pedagogical. She draws partly on Western critical pedagogies but especially on what she has learned from Indigenous pedagogies to suggest possibilities for transformative learning that arise from “working through our own discomfort and vulnerability, opening ourselves to the kind of experiential learning that engages our whole being—our heads, our hearts, our spirits” (p. 237).

In framing my research around the concept of “unsettling exhibition pedagogies,” I am attending to the possibilities of museums as sites of informal adult education and learning to foster the discomfort, vulnerability, perturbations, agitations and disruptions that must arise if we are to unsettle the settler within. In this study, I have used the lens of my own unsettling to
explore these exhibitionary potentials. We need exhibitions that tell stories of colonialism and Indigenous survivance, and that tell these stories in powerful ways that disarm and move us by engaging us not only intellectually but also in noncognitive, nonrational ways of knowing. We need opportunities to work on developing what Kahnawake Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred (2010) refers to as “radical imagination” in which he calls on settlers to engage in:

reenvisioning your existence on this land without the inherited privileges of conquest and empire. It is accepting the fact of a meaningful prior Indigenous presence, and taking action to support struggles not only of social and economic justice, but political justice for Indigenous nations as well. (Abstract)

Of course, a museum exhibition will not change the world, will not end the colonial relationship; but it can operate, at least for some settlers, and certainly for me, as an important site for the education needed to desire, envision and commit to working towards change.

Researching Shame and Prejudice puts me in a position of discomfort in relation to addressing subjects that are so intimately connected to Indigenous lives and futures but also in relation to what is involved in turning the mirror back upon myself. In undertaking this research, I do so not from a position of expertise around Indigenous pedagogies, epistemologies and histories, but rather from the position of a settler ally, adult educator and learner concerned that I and all non-Indigenous Canadians have opportunities to better understand our shared history of colonialism, the connections between the colonization of lands and bodies, the erasures and control, the traumas and legacies, the racialized and gendered violence, our own complicity and privilege, and what needs to change. It is also crucial that we have opportunities to recognize and respect Indigenous resilience and resurgence. I see museums, when Indigenous artists, curators and communities intervene in these institutions, as important sites for fostering this learning.
Exhibition Pedagogies

During my undergraduate years, I spent much time in museums, not academically but as a security guard in Ottawa. This was in the early 1980s, a time when what was then called “the National Museum of Man” had yet to shed the gender bias from its name and Anishinaabe Salteaux artist Robert Houle had recently resigned from his curatorial position with the museum due to entrenched attitudes that viewed contemporary Indigenous art through an ethnological lens (Houle, 1988). I recall being annoyed by that word “Man” in the museum’s name, but I knew nothing of Houle’s struggles. My preoccupations were with paying my way through university, coping with sore feet from endless standing, and not getting caught chatting with the other guards. But I held onto a sense of wonder at being immersed in a world of art and artefacts. Museums continue to be fascinating places where I want to linger; but now they are also places that I want to question and reimagine, and also contribute to informing their processes of self-questioning and re-imagining.

Entering doctoral studies, I knew that I wanted to draw on my academic background in adult education and cultural studies, and my interests in critical pedagogy as an adult educator, to research museums as powerful spaces of public pedagogy—informal and nonformal educative sites with profound implications for how adults form identities, understand relations with others, and discover ways to be in the world (Sandlin, Wright, & Clark, 2013). Through the values, voices, identities, interactions and stories they privilege or marginalize, museums can reinforce the status quo or open up spaces for creating counter-narratives and reimagining relationships. Perhaps most often they are spaces of contradiction in which the oppressive and emancipatory collide and coexist. Within these authoritative institutions of public memory, exhibitions are a prime location for “free choice” informal adult learning. Moreover, exhibitions have a capacity
to teach in multimodal ways through objects, art, written text, images, sounds, installations, layout, design and interactive displays, making them complex educative sites. Given their prominent authoritative position within the cultural landscape, it is not surprising that there are increasing pressures upon museums to be more inclusive and socially responsible, abandon the pretense to neutrality, and become agents for social change (Janes, 2009, 2016; Phillips, 2012; Sandell & Nightingale, 2012). The process of institutional transformation is slow, however, and it is not uncommon to find new critical exhibitions tacked on beside older highly problematic permanent galleries and displays. While increasing numbers of museums are working towards changing their ways, the social and environmental justice issues that they need to address seem endless in what museum scholar Robert Janes (2009) has termed in the title of his book “a troubled world.”

Of the many possible troubles that I might have chosen for my inquiry into museums, I came to see one trouble as an especially pressing one for Canada: we have a deeply troubled country when it comes to settler relations with Indigenous peoples. My specific focus emerged somewhat indirectly from an experience I had at the beginning of my doctoral studies, but the ideas took some time to come together. I was sitting in a classroom at the University of Victoria as we took turns, each of us in our cohort introducing ourselves and saying a few things about our research interests. I explained that I wanted to work with the subject of museums as sites of critical public pedagogy and informal adult learning. A classmate who is Indigenous spoke with me afterwards. She explained that I was getting into a difficult subject because museums are dark and contentious places for Indigenous people. I knew this on some level already, but I was a little taken aback at first. I recall reassuring myself at the time that unless I made ethnographic museums my subject, this was not something that I likely would need to concern myself with,
especially since I was thinking of focusing on city museums. My understanding of cities as places of Indigenous history, connection and resilience has grown substantially since then. I am grateful that my ignorance and what must have been an uncomprehending look on my face did not discourage my classmate who has become a friend and has shared her thoughts on museums with me, and even taken me on a museum field trip. The next semester, I visited the exhibition ćəsnaʔəm, the city before the city which was developed by curators from the Musqueam First Nation in collaboration with the Museum of Vancouver and the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. The exhibition affected me deeply, particularly in how Musqueam community members had communicated their history and their dynamic contemporary presence on the unceded lands over which the city of Vancouver was built. Soon after, the exhibition became a focus of my writing (Johnson, 2016a, 2016b). However, chronic pain had come on suddenly after my first year of studies and was taking over my life. Moreover, with the task of writing my research proposal looming ahead I became increasingly filled with self-doubt about my capacity to envision something I had so confidently called “critical settler adult education” in my published writing. I felt crushed not only by my illness, but also by the weight of the responsibility of writing about this subject and by my growing understanding of my complicity and privilege as a settler.

Then, something came across social media and I laughed and I laughed. But I also realized that I had possibly found my way into my research project. It was an image of a Kent Monkman painting titled The Daddies reproduced for an article in The Globe and Mail (Everett-Green, 2017). I immediately recognized Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, Monkman’s trickster alter

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3 For an analysis of colonialist erasure and Indigenous presence and resistance within Canadian settler cities see Tomiak (2011).
ego who bends both gender and time. In the painting, she is seated with her back to the viewer. Brazenly naked, apart from a pair of stiletto heels and a dangly earring, she is exposing herself to the “Fathers of Confederation” in a send-up of the iconic 19th-century painting by Robert Harris. With my own love of art history, and already a fan of Monkman and Miss Chief, I was instantly drawn in by the image. I found myself wondering if any single artwork has ever communicated so powerfully the inseparability of issues of colonialism, patriarchy, race, sexuality and gender within the context of settler nations. Reading on, I learned that the painting was to be part of an exhibition scheduled to tour nationally: Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, Monkman’s critical response to Canada’s 150th birthday. I knew that I wanted to bring this exhibition into my research somehow. It was the force of that moment of laughter in response to The Daddies: the humour and camp of Monkman’s art let me into his critique and subversion of dominant national narratives, keeping me in a place of discomfort about my own settler connection to those befuddled daddies of Confederation while at the same time letting me in on the fun of imagining a dramatically different nation-building process.

National Narratives and Canada 150

How do we move forward as a society when the whole founding mythology is false, exclusive, one-sided? . . . History is a narrative; it’s a collection of stories sanctioned by the ruling power, and reinforced through words and images that suit them. (Monkman as cited in Whyte, 2017, para. 8 & 28)

In order to transform ourselves and our relations with Indigenous peoples, settler Canadians need to engage in truth telling about our history and identity in ways that help us change our attitudes and actions. This is at the core of Regan’s (2010) argument to “unsettle the settler within” in which she takes up the challenge from Syilx Okanagan scholar Jeannette
Armstrong to non-Indigenous writers to “turn over some of the rocks in your own garden for examination” (as cited in Regan, p. 234). A “colonial creature” that Regan unearths through this process is “the benevolent peacemaker” (p. 235). The unearthing helps Regan critique the foundational myth that the Canadian nation was built through peaceful and orderly settlement in contrast to lawless American frontier violence. This myth, disseminated widely through cultural institutions and popular culture, allows settler Canadians to believe that the state was benevolent, that it extended a fatherly hand to a childlike disappearing people in need of good government, religion and education. It allows us to make heroes of those who envisioned, administered and policed the settling of the Canadian West while glossing over violent conflict and ignoring the reality that assimilative policies are as deadly as guns—they are genocidal.

Museums are key spaces where “colonial creatures,” the stuff of national narratives, typically like to hide out under the rocks. A founding anniversary such as Canada’s 150th birthday could be a time for settler museums to pile up even more rocks by building big, self-congratulatory edifices and exhibits that permit settler Canadians to go about the regular business of denying our problematic past and present. Or, this could be a time for providing settlers with opportunities to examine what is under the rocks. National milestones tend to generate more self-congratulatory than self-reflexive responses and are times for expanding national mythologies more than questioning them. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and the Province of Canada were proclaimed the Dominion of Canada with much fanfare on July 1, 1867. One hundred years later, in 1967, Canada had a year-long celebration. According to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) (2018), Canada’s national public broadcaster:

It was a year when we learned about our past, celebrated the present and looked to the future. Almost every town and city had a project for the Centennial year 1967, and many
events spanned the nation: a Centennial train that took history on tour, a canoe race that paid homage to the voyageurs.” (para. 1)

There was a critical edge present in the 1967 celebrations, however, one that offered a counter-narrative. Chief Dan George of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation interrupted the partying before a crowd of 32,000 in Vancouver with his “Lament for Confederation” which was broadcast on the CBC (1967) and begins:

How long have I known you, Oh Canada? A hundred years? Yes, a hundred years. And many, many seelanum more. And today, when you celebrate your hundred years, oh Canada, I am sad for all the Indian people throughout the land. (1:14)

In 2017, Chief Dan George’s lament echoed through another fifty years of colonialism, yet the party went on—albeit with far deeper cracks in the national narrative as the realities of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls and the legacies and traumas of residential schools have become difficult for settler Canadians to ignore. Canada 150 rolled out much of the expected celebratory fare, from specially brewed and packaged beer to dazzling events in the nation’s capital that ranged from a big birthday party on Parliament Hill, to a gourmet dining experience a hundred and fifty feet in the air over the city, to a giant mechanical dragon and spider performing in the streets. The Government of Canada (2017a) concluded that it supported community infrastructure projects, free access to Parks Canada sites, and celebrations and community initiatives from coast to coast to coast. Some 5,800 Canada 150 projects and events . . . not to mention 1,000 events led by 120 of our diplomatic missions abroad.

(para. 3)

The government’s investment in Canada 150 totalled $610 million, with $28.6 million invested in 248 projects aimed at celebrating Indigenous communities or contributing to reconciliation
That the government recognizes the power of museums and other cultural institutions in fostering nationhood and national identity was much on display with openings of the new Canadian History Hall at the Canadian Museum of History, transformed Canadian and Indigenous Galleries at the National Gallery of Canada, a reinvented Bank of Canada Museum, a renewed National Arts Centre, a refurbished Canada Science and Technology Museum, a new Arctic Gallery at the Canadian Museum of Nature, and a new Vimy Ridge exhibition at the Canadian War Museum.

Canada’s birthday was much celebrated in 2017, but when a nation celebrates its history and identity it also creates significant opportunities for people to engage in critique and resistance as Chief Dan George did in 1967. Indigenous people were excluded from the series of negotiations and conferences that led to the Confederation of British North American colonies in 1867. The newly formed Dominion of Canada created not only tools of control and assimilation but, as is increasingly being recognized, cultural genocide (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015) and even genocide (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019). That Confederation has been nothing for Indigenous people to celebrate is a serious understatement: many opted out of the 150 partying and some came together to create initiatives such as the #Resistance150 movement which used social media to highlight Indigenous resistance. As institutions across Canada prepared to celebrate the sesquicentennial, Barbara Fischer, executive director of the Art Museum at the University of Toronto, commissioned Cree artist Kent Monkman to develop a critical response to Canada 150.

#Resistance150 was started by Isaac Murdoch, Christi Belcourt, Tanya Kappo and Maria Campbell. See Belcourt’s interview with CBC (Elliott, 2017) and her poem/short film “Canada I can Cite for you 150” at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6U9JV5-bA8
A major project, the exhibition was produced in partnership with the Confederation Centre Art Gallery and received funding from the Donald R. Sobey Foundation, the Government of Canada, the Canada Council for the Arts, the Ontario Arts Council, and the Toronto Arts Council.

Monkman, who “has made a career of defying the privileged myopia of official histories” (Whyte, 2017, para. 10), travelled across Canada delving into museum collections for inspiration. With *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience*, Monkman as both artist and curator brings together his own art with objects borrowed from museums to tell the story of what the past 150 years have meant for Indigenous people, a story narrated by his alter ego Miss Chief Eagle Testickle.

**The Power of Miss Chief**

Kent Monkman is increasingly becoming a “star” in a heavily commodified, elite art world that has historically privileged white male artists. In a multi-page feature for *The Globe and Mail*, Bascaramurty (2017) observed that Monkman is “about as famous as a living painter can be in this country” (p. R1). Comparing him to “the Old Masters,” the article offered an in-depth look into his studio in Toronto where he employs a studio manager and a team of assistants who help him bring his projects, which are often large-scale, to fruition. Working in performance, painting, installation, film and video, Monkman has shown nationally and internationally, is in important public collections, and is sought after by private collectors. In 2019, demonstrating just how far his career has progressed, the prestigious Metropolitan Museum of Art awarded him a commission to create two monumental paintings for its Great Hall. It could well seem that Monkman is part of the male-centric art market, albeit disrupting it as an Indigenous man. However, Monkman not only critiques and subverts the very Euro-Western colonial cultural institutions that he dazzles with his desirable aesthetics, strong artistic
skills and mischievous humour but, most importantly, he does this through a privileging of Two-Spirit identity and what he has referred to as “the female spirit” (Monkman, 2017c, p. 7). In his work, Monkman addresses violence against the female spirit (homophobia, the preying upon Indigenous women, and cubist representations of the female nude) and brings Indigenous women, Two-Spirit and LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer) people into art history. As Monkman takes the art world by storm, so too does Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, his “glamorous gender fluid alter-ego” who “appears in much of his work as a time travelling, shape shifting and supernatural being” (Monkman, 2018a, para. 2). The artist frequently allows her to romp about in his paintings and he transforms himself into the saucy, fashion-conscious Miss Chief for film and video work and live performances. *Shame and Prejudice* is narrated by Miss Chief through her memoir excerpts (written with Monkman’s collaborator Gisèle Gordon), and she appears in many chapters of the exhibition often in powerful roles in relation to elite white men. As a time-traveller and an embodiment of “the flawed and playful trickster spirit” (Monkman, 2017c, p. 4), Miss Chief can go wherever she chooses in history—interrupting, disrupting and causing all sorts of, as her name alludes to, mischief.

Monkman, who is a member of the Fisher River Cree Nation in northern Manitoba, identifies as Two-Spirit. When I saw him deliver a keynote at the Moving Trans History Forward 2018 Conference at the University of Victoria, he spoke about the importance of Two-Spirit in his life and work: “I got a lot of empowerment about my own identity and my own sexuality the more I learned about Two-Spirit sexuality, the fact that Indigenous cultures had a place for Two-Spirit people” (Monkman, 2018c, 53:47). *Two-Spirit* is “an Indigenously-defined pan-Native North American term that refers to the diversity of Aboriginal LGBTQ identities as well as culturally specific non-binary gender identities” (Hunt, 2016, p. 7). The term “reflects traditional
Aboriginal gender diversity, including the fluid nature of gender and sexual identity and its interconnectedness with spirituality and traditional worldviews” (p. 7). Against the homophobia and gender binary system that have entered Indigenous communities through processes of colonization, and that have been internalized, Monkman brings visibility to the Two-Spirit traditions that once played an important role within many Indigenous societies and that are now being revived. A recipient of an Egale Leadership Award in 2012 for his contributions to advancing LGBTQ2S+ rights in Canada, Monkman draws on his understanding of Indigenous traditions to create empowering images around gender and sexuality within the context of critiquing the devastations brought by colonization.

Identifying Miss Chief as Two-Spirited, as “the male living as a female,” Monkman is careful to point out “that’s not a drag show, that’s a person that lives in the other gender” (2017d, 9:15). Métis scholar June Scudeler (2015) offers an analysis that understands Miss Chief as “grounded in specifically indigenous ways of knowing” (p. 22). She sees Monkman as enacting what Cherokee Two-Spirit scholar Qwo-Li Driskill has termed the “Sovereign Erotic”: “an erotic wholeness healed and/or healing from the historical trauma that First Nations people continue to survive, rooted within the histories, traditions, and resistance struggles of our nations” (as cited in Scudeler, 2015, p. 20). Miss Chief is not just Monkman dressing up as a woman (a man in drag or a female impersonator) but is instead a culturally specific identity that cannot be understood through the Euro-Western man/woman binary. Scudeler writes that “Monkman’s embodiment of Miss Chief in performance, films, and paintings is not merely a performance, but also an embodiment of Monkman’s familial loss of territory and an assertion of his presence as a contemporary, two-spirit Swampy Cree man” (p. 21). One of Miss Chief’s earliest appearances
was in Monkman’s painting *Study for Artist and Model* (2003).\(^5\) Wearing an ankle-length feathered headdress and pink breechcloth, she stands in pink high heels at an easel as she holds in one hand a bow with an arrow she has pulled from her Louis Vuitton quiver. With her other hand, she paints a pictographic image of a cowboy. And, her model is indeed a cowboy, one who slumps against the tree to which he has been bound, jeans down around his boots, erect penis exposed, and pale body pierced by arrows like Saint Sebastian. Monkman’s inspiration for Miss Chief is partly pop diva Cher who performed her 1973 hit song *Half-Breed* astride a horse while wearing a flamboyant, belly-baring Native American-themed costume topped with an elaborate chieftain’s feathered headdress. Miss Chief gets her campy edge from Cher, but Monkman was also inspired by We'wha, a 19th-century Zuni Two-Spirit person who performed valued roles in her community and was a cultural ambassador for her people (Monkman, 2018c). We'wha was what Western scholars studying Indigenous cultures used to call *berdache*: men who lived partly as women, performing a combination of masculine and feminine roles and wearing a mix of women’s and men’s clothing. The imposition of Euro-Western norms led to a loss over time of the acceptance and respect for the diverse sexualities and genders that had existed within many Indigenous societies. Miss Chief may be wildly fun, but she is also a powerfully subversive persona through her disruption of the power dynamic between colonizer and colonized and her overturning of heteronormative assumptions and the gender binary. Monkman refers to her as “an empowered representation of decolonized sexuality” (Monkman, 2017b, 14:01), and she is a key part of an art practice in which he uses “humour, parody, and camp” to confront “the

\(^5\) For images of Monkman’s work not reproduced in this dissertation, see the artist’s website http://www.kentmonkman.com/
devastation of colonialism while celebrating the plural sexualities present in pre-contact
Indigenous North America” (Monkman, 2017c, p. 4).

Miss Chief enables Monkman, whose art engages extensively with European and settler
art history, to represent himself in his work and to reverse the European gaze (Monkman, 2017b,
2018c). Nineteenth-century painters represented the lands as empty, rendered Indigenous people
as small secondary characters, and created representations of “noble savages” and a “dying race”
thus creating an imagery that served to validate views of the land as uninhabited, as *terra nullius*.
Monkman re-envisions Albert Bierstadt’s grand, romantic visions of the North American
landscape, transforming them into places of Indigenous presence and agency, and he parodies
how American painter George Catlin painted himself into the landscape as heroic adventurer
(Monkman, 2017b). The “Eagle Testickle” part of Miss Chief’s name plays on the egotistical
nature of that Euro-Western tradition. However, Miss Chief gets control over more than the
paintbrush: against a European gaze imbued with “Christian piety, sexual repression, and racist
hypocrisy” (Madill, 2008, p. 29), Miss Chief casts her sexually-charged gaze upon the European
males who become her models or playthings. This reversal was the predominant theme of Miss
Chief’s performance art debut in 2004 during a weekend residency at the McMichael Canadian
Art Collection. Monkman challenged how the McMichael, the “Spiritual Home” of the iconic
Group of Seven painters of the Canadian landscape, and a key site for constructing Canadian
national identity, was marginalizing Indigenous artists. In her performance, which offered an
ironic role reversal inspired by the diaries of settler artists George Catlin and Paul Kane, Miss
Chief “forced innocent naked white men to become her figure models, finishing off the session
by dressing the bewildered men up as more ‘authentic’ examples of the ‘European male”
(Monkman, 2018b, para. 1).
The edges of Indigenous and white (Monkman is of Cree, English and Irish ancestry), man and woman, and past and present are blurred within Miss Chief, leading Swanson (2012) to refer to her as “the ultimate hybrid” (p. 566). Miss Chief is a persona through which Monkman creates space for Indigenous and queer\(^6\) identity and “renegotiates the terms of power in Western society and seizes the most powerful and transformative role available: the role of storyteller” (Swanson, 2012, p. 566). Monkman’s art practice is very much about storytelling and, as Liss (2008) writes, Monkman “dares to imagine history through the lens of his own gaze—a sharp, perceptive gaze that unravels the complex stories of our heritage and our times even as it weaves them into new form” (p. 103). With *Shame and Prejudice*, Monkman and Miss Chief engage in a critical, provocative re-telling of the story of Canada on its 150th birthday. The authority of the museum, so often expressed visually and discursively as didactic writings on the walls, falls away to be replaced by the weathered pages of Miss Chief’s memoir excerpts.

**Research Question and Sub-questions**

In this research project, which brings together autoethnography and exhibition analysis, I ask: How does Kent Monkman’s exhibition *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience* work pedagogically to contribute to my own unsettling? My objectives were to work on my own unsettling while using my experiences within and through *Shame and Prejudice* to understand the exhibition’s unsettling pedagogical potentials and to consider some of the broader

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\(^6\) As Sandell (2017) explains, the term *queer* is a reclaiming of a once derogatory term that has “directly challenged the limitations and essentializing tendencies associated with the categories lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender” and “is helpful . . . for the radicalising possibilities inherent in its rejection of binary, either/or ways of describing sexuality and gender” (p. xiii).
implications for settler education, public pedagogy and adult education. Therefore, my sub-
questions are:

1. In what ways have I experienced an unsettling by engaging with Monkman’s
exhibition?

2. What are the implications of this type of exhibition for conceptualizing the education
needed for transforming Indigenous-settler relations and for informing public pedagogy and
adult education theory, practice and research within and beyond museums?

**Contributions**

Museums are colonial institutions: they are part of the settler problem thus making them
difficult sites for settler education. Yet, when these institutions open themselves up to Indigenous
intervention and critique this creates critical public pedagogical possibilities for working on the
project of solving the settler problem. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
(TRC) (2015) identified museums and archives as “sites of public memory and national history”
that “have a key role to play in national reconciliation” (p. 246). This is not surprising as
museums are “first of all learning places” (UNESCO, 1999, p. 4), and they are “one of the few
public spaces that are dedicated to lifelong learning about the past” (Livingstone & Gosselin,
2016, p. 271). Museums have played diverse roles in society: as sumptuous showcases that put
culture and nature on display; as agents of colonialism; as nation-building tools; as educative
sites directed at the elevation of “the masses”; as places of leisure and amusement; as purveyors
of blockbuster entertainments; and as contested spaces ripe for intervention and critical
pedagogical practices. As sites of adult education and learning, museums encompass competing
discourses that have framed their development, leading to what Clover (2015) refers to as the
“chiaroscuro” that encompasses their “limits” and “liberations” (p. 304). Yet, museums and other
arts and cultural institutions have been “underresearched and undertheorized” by adult education scholars (Clover, Sanford, & de Oliveira Jayme, 2010, p. 5) and there has been “a strange absence of adult education and learning theory in museum studies” (Dudzinska-Przesmitzki & Grenier, 2008, p. 19).

Through this study, I participate in a growing conversation between critical adult education and museums in Canada and world-wide (e.g., Clover, Bell, Sanford, & Johnson, 2016; Clover, Sanford, Bell, & Johnson, 2016; Clover, Sanford, & Johnson, 2018; Clover, Sanford, Johnson, & Bell, 2016) and situate my research particularly within public pedagogy theorizing. As sites of public pedagogy, as educative forces within the broader culture, museums play a significant role in shaping knowledge, identities, and relations, most often hegemonically, but they can also be spaces of resistance. My study responds to calls in public pedagogy literature for more research into how sites of public pedagogy actually operate as pedagogy (e.g., Burdick & Sandlin, 2013; Sandlin, O’Malley, & Burdick, 2011; Savage, 2010). By inquiring into decolonizing and unsettling exhibition pedagogies needed for transforming Indigenous-settler relations, my research addresses gaps in the public pedagogy and critical adult education literature. My conceptualization of decolonizing intersects with issues of gender and sexual justice, an approach that is often lacking in museums and considerations of their pedagogies. Moreover, I self-reflexively inform my understanding of unsettling exhibition pedagogies by engaging with Indigenous scholarship. In Chapter 2, I offer a theoretical framing and literature review that outlines the discourses that have informed my research.
CHAPTER 2: THEORIZING MUSEUMS AS SITES FOR SETTLER EDUCATION

My research is located within public pedagogy theorizing, and I draw on critical adult education as a complementary and supplementary discourse. As these are Euro-Western fields of practice and inquiry that have limitations when the concern is education for transforming Indigenous-settler relations, I have looked to Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies to inform my understanding. In this chapter, I begin by examining the discourses of reconciliation and decolonization that form the broader societal context for my inquiry. I then offer a review of the literature that I draw upon for this study, beginning with how Indigenous researchers, scholars and educators illuminate the limitations of Western paradigms and expand how non-Indigenous scholars might think about experiential, holistic, relational and storied approaches to knowing, teaching and learning. Next, I discuss Indigenous theorizing that underscores how gender- and sexuality-based oppressions intersect with race and Indigeneity within processes of colonization and colonial structures and how gender and sexual justice are intrinsic to the project of decolonization. I then offer a consideration of museums as colonial institutions that are in a state of uneasy transformation. I end this chapter by discussing perspectives from museum studies about the educational role of the museum in relation to fostering critical pedagogy, and I situate my research in the public pedagogy and critical adult education literature, especially where these connect with exhibitions as educative sites and in relation to my research focus.

Reconciliation and Decolonization

Working to be an ally in Indigenous struggles involves navigating complex and competing discourses that offer dramatically different possibilities for building alternative futures. The six-volume final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
(TRC) (2015) is a key document in fostering a discourse of reconciliation, a discourse that dominates the Canadian national conversation. The TRC was created as part of the 2007 Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, the outcome of a class action lawsuit against the Government of Canada. In 2009, the TRC began its task of gathering statements from witnesses and survivors about the system of church-run, federally-funded residential schools and reporting back to the government with recommendations. Developed in the late 19th century to forcibly assimilate Indigenous children into the dominant Euro-Christian culture, with the last school closing in 1996, the system took children from their parents with the intention of stripping them of their language, culture and identity. The schools became sites of rampant neglect, exploitation, spread of infectious diseases, and physical, sexual, psychological and emotional abuse. Children “died in the schools in numbers that would not have been tolerated in any school system anywhere in the country, or in the world” (TRC, 2015, p. vi). The TRC chronicled all this and more, seeking to bring into the national consciousness not only a sense of the magnitude of Canada’s violence against Indigenous peoples but also an understanding of how the system created a legacy of intergenerational trauma and persistent inequities in child welfare, education, language, culture, health and justice. Moreover, the TRC identified Canada’s Aboriginal policy, for over a century, as “Cultural genocide . . . the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group” (p. 1). The work of the TRC became high profile as it held events across the country to hear stories, educate Canadians and honour residential school survivors. The report included 94 “calls to action” for redressing the legacy of the residential schools and working towards reconciliation understood as “establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country”
and as requiring “awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour” (2015, pp. 6-7).

Given the TRC’s findings, and their wide dissemination, Canada seems to have come a long way since 2009 when Stephen Harper, Conservative Prime Minister at the time, announced during a press conference at the end of a G20 Summit that Canada has “no history of colonialism. So we have all of the things that many people admire about the great powers but none of the things that threaten or bother them” (Ljunggren, 2009, para. 11). Harper’s statement seemed a remarkably convenient case of historical amnesia given that he had on June 11, 2008 apologized on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools system. With the arrival of Liberal Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, who had campaigned in the 2015 federal election with promises to fully implement the TRC’s calls to action, came the promise of “a nation-to-nation relationship” and “true reconciliation” (Trudeau, 2015, para. 7 & 10).

A problem with reconciliation discourse, however, is that it can devolve into hugs and tears, apologies, and more broken promises. Reconciliation on its own asks little of non-Indigenous Canadians who continue to benefit from the colonial system. Manuel and Derrickson (2017) point out that the slipperiness of reconciliation and relationship talk can be found in the gap between Trudeau’s promising words and how the government works to extinguish Aboriginal title and rights, push ahead with resource extraction projects and pipelines, and water down commitments such as fully implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). In this way, reconciliation discourse can be used to actually contain Indigenous struggles, which are not about achieving a kinder colonial relationship but about ending dispossession. Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar, writer and artist Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2017), articulating Indigenous struggles in terms of radical resurgence,
characterizes settler colonialism as a gendered structure that “shifts and adapts” (p. 46) and thus can accommodate the appearance that relations will change but works as a series of processes to actually maintain the structure. Reconciliation discourse tends to fail to address the complex apparatuses of colonization, and the “specializations” that Tuck and Yang (2012) point to in their definition of colonization:

“What is colonization?” must be answered specifically, with attention to the colonial apparatus that is assembled to order the relationships between particular peoples, lands, the ‘natural world’, and ‘civilization’. Colonialism is marked by its specializations. In North America and other settings, settler sovereignty imposes sexuality, legality, raciosity, language, religion and property in specific ways. Decolonization likewise must be thought through in these particularities. (p. 21)

I ground my understanding of colonization and decolonization within this definition and the specific context of the Canadian settler colonial nation-state and its wide-ranging instruments of colonial control, containment, erasure, violence and genocide. I prioritize decolonization over reconciliation discourse, but this too requires some care lest, as Tuck and Yang (2012) argue, it becomes reduced to “a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools” instead of fulfilling its purpose to bring about “the repatriation of Indigenous land and life” (p. 1). Tuck and Yang contend that decolonization is necessarily unsettling for settlers as it creates uncertainties and is not meant to offer comforting answers about the settler future. Sium, Desai and Ritskes (2012) characterize decolonization as “a messy, dynamic, and a contradictory process” with “desired outcomes” that “are diverse and located at multiple sites in multiple forms, represented by and reflected in Indigenous sovereignty over land and sea, as well as over ideas and epistemologies” (p. II). To help me work through the discourses of reconciliation and
decolonization, I have looked especially to The Reconciliation Manifesto: Recovering the Land, Rebuilding the Economy by Indigenous leader Arthur Manuel, who was from Secwepemc Nation in BC (Manuel & Derrickson, 2017). Manuel was addressing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences in this book, the final draft of which he finished only weeks before his death. He argued that reconciliation does not come before decolonization: “You cannot have reconciliation under the colonial 0.2 per cent Indian reserve system. . . . The land issue must be addressed before reconciliation can begin” (Manuel & Derrickson, 2017, p. 302). The “six-step program to decolonization” (p. 275) that Manuel set out suggests a realizable, mutually respectful way forward rooted in human rights, Indigenous recovery of land, rights and self-determination, and remaking Canada as “a land of justice for all” (p. 56). Manuel observed that an increasing number of non-Indigenous Canadians that he met were “beginning to get it” (p. 146).

Of course, non-Indigenous Canadians do not always “get it.” An Environics Institute for Survey Research (2016) national poll inquiring into non-Aboriginal Canadians’ knowledge and attitudes about Aboriginal peoples revealed some hopeful signs but also troubling gaps, ambivalences and tensions. Perhaps most troubling was the finding of a regional divide in which, for non-Aboriginal residents in the Prairie provinces, “higher levels of direct contact with Aboriginal peoples, and greater awareness of issues like the Indian residential schools and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission have not resulted in a more positive appreciation of, and feelings for, Aboriginal peoples” (pp. 6-7). Canada-wide, of the 26 per cent reporting an improvement in their impression of Aboriginal peoples in the past few years, 64 per cent reported the reason for the change as “increased knowledge and understanding of Aboriginal peoples” (p. 12). Non-Aboriginal Canadians used a range of sources to learn about Aboriginal
peoples, the most prominent being the education system (45%), followed by newspapers, television and other media (36%), and then contact with Aboriginal people (24%). The information collected by the poll leaves many unanswered questions, including questions related to the kinds of learning experiences that might be most beneficial in improving settler Canadians’ knowledge, attitudes and desire for change.

The TRC (2015) identified education, after generations of schooling that failed to engage non-Indigenous Canadians in truth telling about our history, as “the key to reconciliation” (p. 234). It pointed to the need for “education for reconciliation . . . not only in formal education settings such as elementary and secondary schools and post-secondary institutions, but in more informal places” (p. 242). The TRC (2015) emphasized that, “museums and archives, as sites of public memory and national history, have a key role to play in national reconciliation” (p. 246). Yet, according to the Environics Institute for Survey Research (2016) poll, museums did not rank high among non-Indigenous Canadians’ reported sources of learning about Aboriginal peoples (4%, which included cultural performances), suggesting that perhaps these institutions need to do much more to support settler learning and in ways that also expand their audiences. When museums invite Indigenous intervention in their spaces, they create opportunities for settler audiences to access stories that have gone untold in national narratives and to engage with possibly unfamiliar ways of telling stories.

**Indigenous Epistemologies and Pedagogies**

I have looked to Indigenous epistemologies to help inform my understanding of *Shame and Prejudice*’s pedagogies—as part of a decolonizing practice but also because Indigenous knowledge systems overcome Western epistemological limits. As Mi’kmaw educator and scholar Marie Battiste (2005) argues, “Indigenous knowledge fills the ethical and knowledge
gaps in Eurocentric education, research, and scholarship” (p. 3), and it is become increasingly difficult for Western policy makers and scholars in diverse fields to ignore the value of Indigenous knowledge in extending our capacities for caring for one another and our world.

Gitxsan scholar Cindy Blackstock (2007) points out that we need “to view epistemological differences as a chance to enlighten our individual and collective cultural ways of knowing” (p. 77).

I have engaged in this research with an awareness that the very act of research is problematic and connected to a difficult history. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) writes that “The word itself ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (p. 1). Smith (1999, 2008) and Wilson (2001, 2003, 2008) outline how research has been a tool of imperialism and colonialism and they reframe research as a site for Indigenous resistance and resurgence. This is work undertaken by Indigenous scholars primarily for the benefit of other Indigenous researchers and their communities, but it also presents important implications for re-thinking and decolonizing settler research. This movement to decolonize traditional academic conceptualizations of research not only rejects the dominant positivist paradigm but is also committed to “transforming the institution of research, the deep underlying structures and taken-for-granted ways of organizing, conducting, and disseminating research and knowledge” (Smith, 2008, p. 117). Cree scholar Shawn Wilson (2001) advocates for an “Indigenous paradigm” in which knowledge is understood as relational (“knowledge is shared with all of creation,” p. 176) as opposed to the Western paradigm which believes that knowledge is gained and owned by an individual researcher. This connects to a methodology which is about being accountable “to all your relations” (p. 177). Where Western research prioritizes questions of validity and reliability, the Indigenous paradigm is foremost concerned
with “how am I fulfilling my role in this relationship?” (p. 177). Wilson (2008) explains this further in terms of research as ceremony which has as its purpose “to build stronger relationships or bridge the distance between aspects of our cosmos and ourselves. The research that we do as Indigenous people is a ceremony that allows us a raised level of consciousness and insight into our world” (p. 11). As a non-Indigenous researcher, I am working at being responsible in my relationships, avoiding the privileging of Euro-Western ways of knowing, and respectfully learning and listening as I engage with Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies.

To understand relationality within a context of transforming settler relations with Indigenous peoples, I look to Cree scholar Dwayne Donald’s (2012) argument, inspired by Kainai Elders, for “ethical relationality” which he characterizes as “a transactional form of imagination that asks us to see ourselves implicated in the lives of others not normally considered relatives” (p. 93). Donald posits this as a way out of the “colonial frontier logics” that assume irreconcilable difference. He identifies the fort as a mythic sign in the national ideology, and his semiotic analysis of what the signifying practices of forts teach their publics exposes “a troubling version of human relationality that operationalizes itself as a drive to incorporate and overcome difference” (pp. 100-101). The “pedagogy of the fort” (p. 93), which is often enacted at heritage tourism sites, positions Indigenous people as naturally outside the “civilizing” walls within which industrious whites are presumed to labour for the development of the nation. Within fort teaching, inside and outside are put into relation in an unethical way that demands that the outsiders (Indigenous peoples) either be brought inside (to Euro-Western culture) to be assimilated by the insiders or be eliminated to safeguard the dream of progress. Against this, Donald posits an ethical relationality, a relationality that is rooted in balance and reciprocity and in the challenges of imagining “how we are simultaneously different and related” while holding
“this paradox in tension without the need to resolve it” (p. 104). This involves recognizing our
“shared condition” of colonialism (as colonizer and colonized) and the interconnectedness that
grows from having lived together on these lands for many years. I have come to understand this
concept of relationality as key within settler education—an education that needs to be about
more than intellectualizing, as Indigenous ways of knowing make clear.

Indigenous scholars such as Battiste (2005), Williams (2018), and Chartrand (2012)
highlight the importance of recognizing that Indigenous knowledge is not homogeneous but
instead place-based, connected to land and place and particular cultural communities. Yet, it is
possible to identify some commonalities. Holism is central to Indigenous ways of knowing,
teaching and learning, but it is often neglected by Western scholars embedded in a tradition of
keeping knowledge domains separate and prioritizing cognition. Mayan scholar Carlos Cordero
highlights this issue: “We find then, an emphasis in the Western tradition of approaching
knowledge through the use of the intellect. For Indigenous people, knowledge is also approached
through the senses and the intuition” (as cited in Wilson, 2003, p. 171). Williams (2018), a
member of the Lil'wat First Nation, uses the Lil'wat word A7xa7 to discuss holism: “Knowing is
the fine synthesis of the mind, feeling, spirit, and body” (p. 39). Blackstock (2007) explains
holism in terms of four learning dimensions (spiritual, emotional, physical and cognitive) with
each situated within an “interconnected knowledge web” (p. 68). The spiritual domain can be
especially difficult for those entrenched in the Western system to grasp. Anishinaabe/Métis
education consultant Rebecca Chartrand (2012) explains the spirit as follows:

I then ask them to consider their energy, the life-force, and what it is that they bring with
them in the form of spirit. I describe the part of them that holds their inner-most beliefs,
their world-views, the life-purpose that sets their intentions into motion. . . . At a very
basic human level, aside from religion and culture, the spirit is described as the wind and
the light that we each carry within us. Together, this inner wind and inner light represent
the makeup of our spirit. The wind is what I metaphorically view as our intentions or
will. . . . I compare their inner light to our inner compass. It is the light that helps us to
focus our attention and intention. (p. 156)

For those of us who do not ordinarily think of spirit, Chartrand’s explanation provides a way to
conceptualize a spiritual dimension in our learning that involves the energy of our will and the
focus of our attention in a way that connects not only to who we are but to who we might
become.

Much of this teaching and learning happens through story and storytelling (Archibald,
2008; Blackstock, 2007; Chartrand, 2012; King, 2003; Thomas, 2005; Williams, 2018).
Stó:lo
scholar Jo-ann Archibald (2008) conveys the holistic educational importance of “storywork”
which has the power “to educate the heart, mind, body, and spirit” (p. xi). Blackstock (2007)
explains the multidimensional nature of story:

   learning begins at birth when babies first hear the stories and teachings of their ancestors.
   . . . You will be ‘told’ these stories through voice, dance, music, and role modeling
   throughout your lifetime so that you can explore different dimensions of the same
   concept across the life stages. (p. 68)

Story is lifelong and takes many forms. Williams (2018) offers that Lil’wat tradition has many
kinds of stories, including stories that teach about how to behave, stories that help with
remembering, stories that tell of life experiences, and stories that bring laughter. Chartrand
(2012) writes that “from an Indigenous perspective, the power of story is the art of placing
learners at the critical centre of their own being and life-worlds. . . . Within this way of learning,
an animate learning space is necessary” (p. 152). Stories are brought to life by the teller and connect with lives. As Métis Elder Tom McCallum explains:

We include a lot of things in storytelling that we leave for the other person to be able to interpret for themselves. It gets their mind going. It puts their experience together and validates them as a person who has the ability to draw from that storytelling and relate it to their own lives. (as cited in Iseke & Brennus, 2011, p. 249)

Storytelling is a crucial meaning-making process; it is part of Indigenous oral traditions and is connected to Indigenous knowledge systems—knowledge is passed down through story and story is used to teach. Thomas (2005), a member of Lyackson First Nation, writes about stories and storytelling as traditional and contemporary pedagogical tools and also tools of resistance.

These Indigenous scholars have helped me to understand my learning within the experiential, holistic, relational and storied spaces of Monkman’s exhibition. As I will discuss in the next section, Indigenous theorizing has also informed how I understand gender justice and sexual justice within the context of the settler colonial nation.

**Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy**

Miss Chief sleds wildly across the cover of Fitzgerald and Rayter’s (2012) sexuality studies reader *Queerly Canadian*. She cracks her long, white whip as a team of white huskies pulls her across a snow-swept, romantic landscape. In her frenzy, she has overturned a European male clothed as a *coureur de bois* who sprawls beside his capsized sled. Her luxurious white fur coat has flown open to reveal a hot pink satin lining, equally pink thigh-high stiletto boots and a muscular, masculine-looking body. Monkman’s painting of Miss Chief dog sledding (*Charged Particles in Motion*, 2007) and Fitzgerald and Rayter’s edited collection counter the
heteronormativity that is tightly woven into Canadian nation building and which can, delightfully and radically, be resisted. A chapter in the book by Cree/Ojibwe scholar Kerry Swanson (2012) examines how Monkman creates space for Two-Spirit identity against Christian suppression and a legacy of sexual shame and internalized homophobia through his alter ego Miss Chief who “runs riot on the unspoilt vistas of the 19th century, affirming her existence and (re)negotiating her queer sexual power” (pp. 565-566).

As the Indigenous scholars that I discuss in this section illuminate, sexual oppressions and gendered violence are at the core of colonization and must be overcome as part of decolonization and Indigenous resurgence. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2017) shares her experience of colonization as an Indigenous woman:

It tries to control the relationship I have with my children. It tries to control my sexuality, the ways I express my gender, how I take care of myself, and how I parent with escalating magnitudes of structural and interpersonal discipline and violence if I do not conform. It creates a world where I am never safe. It is a violent system of continual harm forced on my body, mind, emotions, and spirit designed to destroy my ability to attach to my land, to function as kwe⁷, and to be a grounded, influencing agent in the world. (Simpson, 2017, pp. 45-46)

She thus points to the pervasive intrusions, harms and violence of settler colonialism in almost all aspects of an Indigenous woman’s daily life, even for Indigenous women who are considered to be successful. All Indigenous genders have been subjected to colonial violence, but as the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019) stated

⁷ Simpson (2017) understands “the word kwe to mean woman within the spectrum of genders in Nishnaabemowin, or the Nishnaabe language” (p. 29).
Canada’s “race-based genocide of Indigenous peoples . . . especially targets women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA [Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, and asexual] people (p. 50). Their report goes on to explain that “this genocide has been empowered by colonial structures evidenced notably by the Indian Act, the Sixties Scoop, residential schools and breaches of human and Indigenous rights, leading directly to the current increased rates of violence, death, and suicide in Indigenous populations” (p. 50). Some of the Indian Act’s harms are obvious. Until 1985, status women who married non-status men were considered to have “married out,” and they and the children from the marriage were denied status, benefits and rights. Despite the removal of the “marrying out” rule, and other amendments since then, the Indian Act continues sex-based discrimination in the form of status distinctions and hierarchies that privilege the male line of descent, discriminate against women in their transmission of status and membership, and result in stigmatization of reinstated women and their descendants. But the Indian Act, along with other colonial practices, policies and policing, also works in complex ways to make all Indigenous women, including Inuit and Métis, what Canadian legal expert and settler ally Mary Eberts (2017) calls “a population of prey” (p. 69). Eberts deconstructs how the Indian Act embodies Victorian-era stereotypes about Indigenous peoples and how it imposed Victorian ideals of marriage, family and womanhood on Indigenous communities, and froze these oppressive ideas in time so that they continue into our present society. The consequences are deadly: stereotyped as “‘the squaw’ . . . as a being without a human face who is lustful, immoral, unfeeling and dirty . . . Indigenous women are assaulted, raped and murdered with

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8 The use of the term genocide is a significant move forward in language from the TRC’s use of the term cultural genocide. The United Nations (1948) has defined genocide as “acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” (Article II).
scant protection from law or law enforcement” (p. 71). Indigenous women have thus been made unsafe, under-protected, disproportionally incarcerated, and more likely to be murdered or missing than other Canadian women—within a colonial project designed to serve the settler nation state’s assimilative (and as is increasingly recognized now as genocidal) agenda.

It is no wonder, then, that in prioritizing struggles against patriarchy and failing to adequately address colonialism, if at all, mainstream (or whitestream) feminism fails to speak to Indigenous women. Stó:lō author and scholar Lee Maracle (1996) explains that she wrote I am Woman “to empower Native women to take to heart their own personal struggle for Native feminist being” (vii) because “[she] and other Native women ought to come by [their] perceptions of spirituality, culture, womanhood and sovereignty from a place free of sexist and racist influence” (vii). In the second edition of her collection on Indigenous feminism, Green (2017), who is of English, Ktunaxa and Cree-Scottish Métis descent, argues for the value of feminist critique and theorizing which “raises issues ranging from colonialism, racism and sexism, sexuality, environmental integrity, community integrity and infrastructure, to identity, violence against women and children, constitutional and institutional change and political liberation” but notes “the still small number of Indigenous women who identify their work as feminist” (p. 17). Feminism does not always speak to Indigenous women. Quechua scholar Sandy Grande (2004), for example, contends that Indigenous women’s lived experience of subordination gives them much more in common with Indigenous men, as colonized people. Acknowledging the importance of gendered analysis but distancing herself from feminism, she writes: “the collective oppression of indigenous women is primarily an effect of colonialism—a multidimensional force underwritten by Western Christianity, defined by white supremacy, and fueled by global capitalism” (p. 124). Grande critiques white feminism for its failure to
acknowledge white women’s history of complicity in colonization and the incongruity of its claims to “sisterhood” when white women struggle for equality with white men within a system that extracts resources and wealth from Indigenous lands while disregarding and imperiling Indigenous lives.

Indigenous theorizing of gendered violence, like Black feminist scholarship that demanded movement away from single issue analyses in order to understand the intersectionality of categories of difference in experiences of oppression (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 1981; Lorde, 1984), has looked to multidimensional analysis thereby exposing the inseparability of oppressions based on Indigeneity, race, gender and sexuality within the structures of settler colonialism. Oneida Nation member Martin Cannon (2012) offers a framework for understanding how First Nations sexuality was regulated in Canada through “an interactive relationship between racism, patriarchy and heterosexism” (p. 56) within the structures of colonialism and capitalism. As part of these dynamic interconnections, Euro-Christian values around gender and sexual practices were imposed, Indigenous traditions of gender-crossing and same-sex relationships were nearly erased, reproductive sexuality and capitalist notions of paternity and property were prioritized, Indigenous women were stripped of rights and leadership roles, and the Indian Act has legislated in the interests of patrilineal descent, binary gender identity, and heterosexual marriage since its implementation in 1876. Simpson (2017) interrogates how colonial gender hierarchies “had to be infiltrated into Indigenous constructions of family so that men were agents of heteropatriarchy and could therefore exert colonial control from within” (p. 109): men learned to be patriarchal husbands and fathers, and women were relegated to the domestic sphere. Exposing heteropatriarchy as “a foundational dispossession force because it is a direct attack on Indigenous bodies, as political orders, thought, agency, self-
determination, and freedom” (p. 52), Simpson highlights its dismantling as key to the project of Indigenous resurgence.

The term *heteropatriarchy* is being used in Indigenous scholarship in ways that expose, critique and resist the intertwining violences within settler colonialism. Indigenous feminists Arvin, Tuck and Morrill (2013) challenge white and other non-Indigenous feminists to “problematize and theorize the intersections of settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy, and heteropaternalism” (p. 14). The authors define heteropatriarchy as “the social systems in which heterosexuality and patriarchy are perceived as normal and natural, and in which other configurations are perceived as abnormal, aberrant, and abhorrent” (p. 13). They link this to heteropaternalism which is “the presumption that heteropatriarchal nuclear-domestic arrangements, in which the father is both center and leader/boss, should serve as the model for social arrangements of the state and its institutions” (p. 13). Central to this theorizing is an understanding of how heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism do their work within the settler colonial system which usurps lands, extracts resources, and seeks to erase and disappear Indigenous bodies which are deemed to be in the way. Kahnawake Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson (2016) conceiving of the colonizing work of the Canadian settler state as heteropatriarchal, biopolitical and gendered, writes that “Canada requires the death and so called ‘disappearance’ of Indigenous women in order to secure its sovereignty” (para. 1). She goes on to explain:

Indian women “disappear” because they have been deemed killable, rapeable, expendable. Their bodies have historically been rendered less valuable because of what they are taken to represent: land, reproduction, Indigenous kinship and governance, an alternative to heteropatriarchal and Victorian rules of descent. As such, they suffer
disproportionately to other women. Their lives are shorter, they are poorer, less educated, sicker, raped more frequently, and they “disappear.” (para. 20)

The Canadian state targets Indigenous women for erasure because they are powerful—because, as Simpson argues, their bodies signify land, Indigenous life and alternative political orders. Chris Finley (2011), who is a member of the Colville Confederated tribes, offers a queer reading of colonization that considers how heteronormative colonial discourses of sexuality have been used to dispossess and erase Indigenous women and men and to justify heteropatriarchal ownership and rule of Indigenous lands and bodies. Her argument connects overcoming imposed and internalized sexual shame to struggles for decolonization and is part of an edited collection that puts queer theory and Native studies into dialogue (Driskil, Finley, Gilley, & Morgensen, 2011).

This scholarship makes clear the intersections of Indigeneity, race, gender and sexuality within colonial oppressions and how gender justice and sexual justice must be considered an essential part of decolonization. Monkman and his alter ego Miss Chief gleefully and passionately expose, subvert and overturn the heteropatriarchal narratives and representations that are interwoven, often invisibly, within dominant national narratives. That Monkman’s projects are often based in museums and are directed at critiquing and re-envisioning the museum is significant because these are institutions that have dark histories with Indigenous peoples and they are ripe for critical intervention.

**Museums: Tensions and Transformations**

Museums are marked by their intertwining with colonialism and settler nation building, and they encompass the complex histories and competing discourses that have framed their gradual development into spaces of uneasy transformation. Even as the TRC (2015) identified
Canada’s museums as having “a key role to play in national reconciliation,” the Commissioners acknowledged that these institutions have a history as “institutions of colony and empire” (p. 246). As they respond to pressures to play a role in reconciliation and decolonize their practices, Canadian museums are becoming important spaces for Indigenous counter-narrative and self-representation, reclamation and repatriation of cultural and sacred materials, and resistance and resurgence, including in relation to sexualities and gender identities. The stories, representations and experiences that these trusted, authoritative sites of public memory foster or foreclose matter because these have real implications for how people are treated, for the identities, relationships and futures that can be imagined, and for possibilities for social transformation.

**Museums, Colonialism and Decolonization**

Nations can be understood as imagined communities (Anderson, 2006), and the museum is a key site for that imagining, for representing the nation and making it visible in ways that construct a sense of national identity and belonging. As Trofanenko (2016) notes, national museums are places in which “the history assembled both discursively and materially functions as the primary carrier of information or creation of meaning that is historically and culturally significant to a nation” (p. 79). Objects are mobilized through collection and display practices to produce a story of nationhood and to create possibilities for visitors to see themselves as part of the national public that is being constructed. Whitelaw (2007) observes that “the museum produces a discourse of nation-ness that frames individual objects in terms of collective memory through appeals to a common heritage and shared national values” (p. 177). The newly formed Dominion of Canada needed museums⁹ to make itself visible, distinct from the British mother

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⁹ What is now known as the Canadian Museum of History had its beginnings in 1856, and the National Gallery of Canada was founded in 1880. Other national museums followed, the most recently established one being the Canadian Museum for Human Rights in 2014.
country and from the American neighbours to the south, and this also involved the construction of a national aesthetic articulated most prominently through the rise to prominence of the Group of Seven painters of the Canadian landscape (Whitelaw, 2007). Settler museums in Canada, built on the principles and practices of the Euro-Western museological tradition, are foremost colonial institutions and their colonial harms have run deep.

Cultural studies theorist Tony Bennett (2004), in his book *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*, interrogates the interconnections between the late 19th-century evolutionary museum, colonial sciences, cultural governance and colonial administration. Museums constructed a visual sequencing of human development, discourses of progress and civilization, and representations of a colonial other thus playing a key role in producing colonial relationships. As Onciul (2015) observes, museums became “active participants in colonisation, both reflecting and building the colonial societies of their day” (p. 28). Museum collections of Indigenous materials were derived from the anthropological quest to remove cultural and sacred materials and the remains of ancestors from Indigenous communities in the name of salvaging and studying a “vanishing race,” and then when settler nations such as Canada “acquired” Indigenous belongings as part of policies that outlawed cultural and spiritual practices these too entered museum collections. Museum collection, interpretation and display practices were interconnected with processes of plunder and subjugation which cast a Eurocentric gaze rooted in white superiority on Indigenous histories and bodies. Museums have frozen Indigenous people in time, obscured the vast cultural and linguistic diversity of Indigenous peoples, defined communities by their geographies and technologies, and framed Indigenous objects as either artefact or fine art (Lonetree, 2012; Phillips, 2012). As museum studies scholar Ruth Phillips (2012) argues, museums overwrote Indigenous knowledge systems
with Western systems of classification, taxonomies and exhibition paradigms, an overwriting that continues in some museum exhibits and displays into the 21st century.

This overwriting lingers where I live in Victoria, BC. Frank’s (2000) critique, from her perspective as a Nuu-chah-nulth person, exposes the persistence of colonial representational practices in the outdated First Peoples Gallery at the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM). Guiding a non-Indigenous group through the First Peoples Gallery in 1997, she found her dynamic and very much alive culture exhibited as relics of a distant and dead past. Visiting the RBCM in January 2017, I found the First Peoples Gallery (which dates from the 1970s) largely as Frank described it. When I visited the space two years later, in January 2019, I found that some of the displays had been given fresh interpretations with an emphasis on survivance, revival and intergenerational knowledge transmission, yet the larger colonial exhibitionary paradigm remained as a looming backdrop to the new displays. The RBCM has in recent years made a commitment to addressing the TRC’s calls to action, promising what will be a major renewal of its First Peoples Gallery and the refreshing of its other galleries in consultation with members of First Nations communities (Royal British Columbia Museum, n.d.), but museums are frustratingly slow to change, and it remains to be seen if the RBCM will bring visibility to the contributions of Indigenous women and Two-Spirit people.

Those who study museums point to how pressures and demands for museum transformation have emerged through decades of world-wide Indigenous activism and struggles for self-determination, growth of social movements, insights from critical theory and cultural studies, self-reflexive critiques within museology and anthropology, and postcolonial and poststructural critiques (Lidchi, 2013; Lonetree, 2012; Onciul, 2015; Phillips, 2012). A strong body of critical museological literature emerged in the 1980s-1990s that deconstructed museum
representation and display practices, examined museums’ histories and roles in social reproduction, and sought to reconstruct museums as more self-reflexive, socially responsible institutions (Phillips, 2012). In her series of essays in *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums*, Phillips (2012) draws on her extensive experience in the Canadian museum sector to chronicle and examine unfinished transformations in museum-Indigenous relations through the decades within the context of Indigenous activism and the Canadian cultural, social and political milieu. According to Phillips, Canadian museums in the late 20th century began to shift their practices in relation to Indigenous peoples within the context of a society that was embracing multiculturalism, becoming more pluralistic, and finding it increasingly difficult to ignore Indigenous peoples’ demands for justice. Museum change came within the spaces created by new constructions of nationhood, revised governing ideologies and Indigenous activism, and it arose within responses to protests against controversial exhibitions. Showcasing a collection of First Peoples art, much of which had been dispersed in museums around the world, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples* became a museum-changing catalyst (Onciul, 2015; Phillips, 2012). Opening at the Glenbow Museum for the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary, Alberta, the exhibition was sponsored by Shell Oil which was exploiting the traditional lands of the Lubicon Lake First Nation as they struggled for government recognition of their land claim. *The Spirit Sings* also reflected the problems inherent in an exhibition that neglected consultation with those whose cultures it put on display. Protests and an international boycott erupted. The Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association responded to the controversy by forming a national task force that published a report recommending an equal partnership model for museums and Indigenous peoples to work together with a focus on full participation of Indigenous peoples relating to their culture and
heritage in museums including interpretation, access, training, and repatriation of cultural materials and human remains (Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, 1992).

Other key documents have provided frameworks and recommendations for museum change in Canada in relation to Indigenous peoples. A few years after the Task Force’s report, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) recommended that Canada’s museums develop and implement ethical guidelines in partnership with Indigenous peoples. In 2015, the TRC called on the federal government to fund a national review of museums by the Canadian Museums Association in collaboration with Indigenous peoples to determine compliance with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and to make recommendations. Articles 11 and 12 of UNDRIP are of particular relevance to museums as they pertain to Indigenous rights around the practice and revitalization of their cultures, and related issues of access, restitution and repatriation (United Nations, 2008). Canadian museums have been responding to pressures to change their relations with Indigenous peoples over the years by pursuing various forms and levels of engagement with communities; however, these processes are complex and filled with tensions, negotiations, compromises and uncertainties (Onciul, 2015; Phillips, 2012). In her book, Museums, Heritage and Indigenous Voice: Decolonizing Engagement, Onciul (2015) offers a comparative case study of processes of engagement of Alberta heritage sites and museums with the local Blackfoot Nations—uneven and uncertain processes that were full of limitations and challenges. In addition, some collaborations and partnerships create lasting change in the form of permanent exhibitions, but often these are add-ons within problematic colonial spaces. Moreover, many interventions in the colonial space of the museum are temporary. Shame and Prejudice’s powerful counter-narrative and truth telling
about colonialism decolonizes museum space but then leaves for the next stop on the exhibition’s tour, a tour scheduled only into 2020.\textsuperscript{10}

Indigenous museum practitioner and scholar Amy Lonetree’s (2012) comparative study of changing representational practices in national and tribal museums in her book Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums highlights decolonizing practices and the challenges that remain. Lonetree explains how museums can “serve as sites of decolonization”:

through honoring Indigenous knowledge and worldviews, challenging the stereotypical representations of Native people produced in the past, serving as sites of ‘knowledge making and remembering’ for their own communities and the general public, and discussing the hard truths of colonization in exhibitions in an effort to promote healing and understanding. (p. 25)

Within this framework, developing effective collaborations with Indigenous peoples is not enough—truth telling about colonialism and its ongoing effects is essential. Lonetree argues for context: contemporary, dynamic Indigenous presence must be placed within the context of the genocidal policies and practices that Indigenous people have survived. The task of decolonizing remains a central challenge for museums.

\textsuperscript{10} However, as of February 2019, the Glenbow Museum has put on permanent display Monkman’s installation The Rise and Fall of Civilization (2015), which is not part of the Shame and Prejudice tour.
Extending Indigenous scholar Amy Lonetree’s (2012) argument that “a decolonizing museum practice must be in the service of speaking the hard truths of colonialism” thus providing “the context that makes our survival one of the greatest untold stories” (p. 6), I contend that these institutions, in addition to providing access to the voices, stories, contributions and perspectives of Indigenous women, Two-Spirit and LGBTQ+ Indigenous people, must also create space for truth telling about the historic and ongoing colonial and heteropatriarchal violence that these people have survived.

Museums are masculinist, heteronormative and cisnormative spaces in which women’s contributions have been marginalized and LGBTQ2S+ people have for the most part been rendered invisible, even more so when one considers issues of intersectionality. Levin’s (2010) edited collection *Gender, Sexuality and Museums* brings together museum theory, feminist theory and queer theory as it “de-centers traditional masculinity, makes it the negative space to the positive space of other gender constructions” (p. 7). Conlan and Levin (2010) note in their bibliographic essay for the book that “the work has barely begun” (p. 308) in creating space for LGBTQ and feminism. One article in the reader intersects with Indigeneity: Robinson and Barnard’s (2010) examination of how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are overcoming under-representation of women in Queensland collections. In his book *Museums, Moralities and Human Rights*, Sandell (2017) theorizes and provides case studies around museum roles and human rights obligations in constructing and disseminating narratives and

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11 I use the term *intersectionality* in relation to how categories of difference overlap and interlock in experiences of oppression and in relation to the representation of intersecting social identities. I consider both meanings to be important concerns for museums to address.
shaping conversations in relation to gender diversity and same-sex love and desire. Sandell observes that “there is considerable potential for museums to examine, more extensively, the ways in which sexual and gender diversity intersect with other forms of identity—including race, disability and class” (p. 151). He offers some examples (the Māori transgender performer Carmen Rupe collection and the Queering Sápmi initiative) where the intersection of LGBTQ identities and Indigeneity are brought into visibility in museums, but this is a much-neglected issue for museums. Robert (2014), co-founder of the Queering the Museum Project (https://queeringthemuseum.org/), advocates for an intersectional approach to identity inclusion in museums, urging these institutions to develop critical consciousness about how their display practices perpetuate exclusions and fail to make visible systems of exclusion. Museum Queeries (http://museumqueeries.org/), a University of Winnipeg-based interdisciplinary, collaborative research project and network highlights intersectionality in their framework for “queering” museums:

The idea of “queering” the museum in this case is not only about addressing the museum’s representation of gender and sexuality; it is also about challenging normative formations including white privilege, racism and settler colonialism, among other systems of oppression, as they operate alongside and with transphobia and homophobia. In other words, we use an intersectional approach to think through ways in which gender, sexuality, race, class, ability, religion, ethnicity, and national identities are inter-implicated in the museum and in museumgoers’ points of contact with the museum. We are particularly interested in how queering, decolonizing and anti-racist strategies might work together to bring about change to museum cultures. (para. 1-2)
Queering and queering the museum clearly requires an extensive re-thinking that Levin (2012) points out involves “estranging ourselves from common modes of thought” (p. 158). Queering the museum, Levin argues, is about more than adding objects and art from or relating to LGBTQ people: it involves completely disrupting assumptions around gender and sexuality, rejecting narratives of progress that simplistically tell a repression to liberation story, showing dynamism and vibrancy around identities, engaging with issues of intersectionality, and avoiding reductive and homogenizing representations. Wiradjuri queer researcher Sandy O’Sullivan (2015) found within her inquiry into representations of Indigenous peoples in major Australian, US and UK museums failures and refusals to address gender and sexual complexity in Indigenous identities. She writes of the challenges in resisting queer erasure, especially in avoiding homogenization in representation:

And when we are included, do we face the same homogenisation of our experience that we encounter in the pan-indigenising of our communities, or can we act as individuals and self-defined cohorts to demonstrate diversity and flag difference as a robust act of sovereignty? Can we blend—and yet make visible and discrete—each aspect of our multifarious identities in order for us to be comprehended? (p. 3)

The right for LGBTQ2S+ Indigenous peoples to be visible, not homogenized, and comprehended that O’Sullivan articulates offers an important challenge to museums.

Museums are colonial and heteropatriarchal institutions, and they are part of the settler problem, but they can be decolonized and queeried. Perhaps the greatest challenges these institutions face are in engaging in self-reflexivity and relinquishing authority, which affects how they approach their educational roles.
Conceptualizing Critical, Transformative Exhibition Pedagogies

In what follows, I provide a museum studies context for considering exhibitions as educative sites with critical pedagogical potentials, situate my research within public pedagogy scholarship, and discuss contributions from the field of critical adult education.

Museum Studies and the Educational Role of the Museum

In the 1990s, as museums faced increasing pressures to be more relevant and inclusive, and postcolonialism, postmodernism, poststructuralism and feminism challenged the very foundations of museums as conveyers of metanarratives and classifiers of knowledge, museology discovered the value of engaging with learning theories. Hooper-Greenhill (1999b) was an early advocate in the UK for museums’ self-reflexivity about their educational roles. She identified constructivist learning theory as the approach most needed for museum exhibitions to break free from their traditional positioning of visitors as passive recipients who walk a prescribed path through authoritative museum knowledge. With others such as George Hein (1999b), she looked to constructivism to understand visitors as active meaning makers who interpret their experiences within museums and who construct meaning using a range of interpretative strategies informed by the communities to which they belong. A constructivist perspective demands that exhibition production abandon the transmission model of delivering information to visitors, attend to how visitors engage in processes of interpretation and meaning-making, and find ways to connect to diverse audiences and communities. Moreover, Hooper-Greenhill (1999a), looking to the work of critical pedagogy scholars in addressing the cultural politics of education in schools, suggested exciting possibilities for museum education when she wrote that “the development of a critical museum pedagogy that uses existing good practice for democratic purposes is a major task for museums and galleries in the twenty-first century” (p. 4).
Critical pedagogy shares with constructivism a rejection of the transmission model of education, but critical pedagogy is foremost an emancipatory discourse that connects education to social justice. With its roots in the empowering, dialogical, transformative work of Brazilian radical educator Paulo Freire and its translation into North American classrooms by critical educators such as Henry Giroux, critical pedagogy could suggest a radical social purpose for museums. Museum scholar Margaret Lindauer (2007) situates Hooper-Greenhill’s call for “critical museum pedagogy” within the context of the new museology that was developing in the late 20th century “which posed questions regarding what, how and in whose interests knowledge is produced and disseminated in museums” (p. 304)—questions that critical pedagogy scholars were asking in the context of schools and society. Exhibition pedagogies, however, do not necessarily keep pace with theorizing, and in 2007 Lindauer was puzzling over how to apply critical museum pedagogy to the development of exhibitions. She took what she called a “conceptual first step” (p. 303) which she concluded “feels like it falls short of being transformative intellectual discourse” (p. 313). Informed by poststructural refusals to “claim to know what social justice looks like,” her hypothetical exercise in captioning early 20th-century photos involving settler-Native American relations sought to “throw the reader slightly off balance, perpetually displacing the locus of authority and gently suggesting that knowledge of the past is always incomplete” (p. 311). Such an approach is, I think, so full of ambiguities that it becomes severely limited in its capacities to message clearly and is thus incapable of “speaking the hard truths of colonialism” (Lonetree, 2012 p. 6). Not naming what social justice looks like robs critical pedagogy of much of its capacity to be a pedagogy of the oppressed. While acknowledging critical pedagogy’s Eurocentrism, Grande (2004) chose to draw on critical pedagogy with its commitment to anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle (and not on
poststructural approaches) within a “red pedagogy” that foregrounds the Indigenous project of sovereignty.

For Lynch (2017), whose focus is on museum transformation, critical pedagogy in the museum needs to be radically re-oriented towards its roots in a struggle for social justice. She argues that critical pedagogy in the museum lost sight of its politics and became domesticated and conciliatory, treated as educational theory and philosophy instead of “as a praxis-oriented social movement” (p. 265). Lynch advocates for “a revived form of critical pedagogy, using the museum . . . as a vibrant sphere of contestation where different views can be usefully confronted, based on the notion of creative struggle through which new identities as active agents may be forged” (p. 264). She contends that these institutions need to develop a “collaborative reflexivity” (p. 265) about the relationships they build with communities, the power relations therein, and their social responsibility. One way in which museums are becoming more vibrant spheres of contestation is by inviting artists to intervene critically in their collections and spaces in ways that are disruptive, offer alternative perspectives, and even conflict with the museum’s dominant narratives and hegemonic discourses. Monkman’s museum-based projects are part of this growing phenomenon of museums commissioning artist interventions. The institution however, has the power to authorize and legitimate the artist’s presence, and it benefits significantly by taking on what could be considered a more hip and relevant appearance. Yet, there are significant critical pedagogical implications. In her book *Curious Lessons in the Museum: The Pedagogic Potential of Artists’ Interventions*, Robins (2013) highlights how these institutions with their roots in the Enlightenment Project, and its prioritization of cognitive rationality, can have their authority and epistemologies disrupted when artists intervene in their spaces. Artist counter-narratives collide with official histories in ways that create potentials for
dialogic learning, and the arts create museum possibilities for “reclaiming lost sensations” and “re-investing in emotion and affect” (p. 163).

As museums increasingly deal with dark histories such as colonialism, critical pedagogy in the museum must consider the role of affect. This is the focus of Australian museum scholar Andrea Witcomb’s (2013) examinations of how museums are creating exhibitions that intentionally seek to engage visitors poetically in ways that connect affective, embodied and sensory knowledge to critical historical learning. Such exhibitions use nonlinear narratives, tensions between viewer and viewed, defamiliarizations, sensory shocks and other disruptions to produce a critical pedagogy that can provoke “unsettlement” (p. 267) of visitor identities and received narratives. By moving beyond conveying information to instead making visitors work intellectually and emotionally to “engage imaginatively in the space between themselves and the object or the spatial and esthetic structure of the displays” (p. 267) poetic approaches to exhibitionary practice can foster deep and meaningful engagement with the past and its relation to the present. Historical consciousness, which involves “a reflective state of mind about the past” (p. vii), is the subject of an edited collection by Gosselin and Livingstone (2016) which addresses the museum’s pedagogical responsibilities for “making the construction of museum knowledge more explicit; articulating the polysemic nature of artifacts; and revealing the presence of gaps in historical interpretations” (Gosselin & Livingstone, 2016, p. 9). Livingstone and Gosselin (2016), noting the dominance of European perspectives in scholarship on museums and historical consciousness, identify a need for engagement with Indigenous epistemologies which they state will “require navigating new forms of historical consciousness” (p. 268). The chapter in their text by Baird and Jacob-Morris (2106) discusses a project that brought together Indigenous and Western historical consciousness.
Historical consciousness, critical historical learning pedagogies that can engage visitors not only intellectually but also poetically, and critical interventions by artists are strategies that, although bound up within complex networks of power as they are implemented, suggest important possibilities for unsettling. In the next section, I situate my research in the public pedagogy literature which contributes to an understanding of the inherent educative functions of exhibitions as sites of struggle over meaning, identity, and whose knowledge counts.

Public Pedagogy and the Museum

The concept of public pedagogy has attracted growing attention since the mid-1990s, with scholars drawing on feminist, arts-based, cultural studies and other critical lenses (Sandlin, Schultz, & Burdick, 2010). As Sandlin, Wright, and Clark (2013) explain, public pedagogy is a theoretical construct employed in conceptualizing and examining “various forms, processes, and sites of education and learning that occur beyond the realm of formal educational institutions” (p. 4). Public pedagogy can refer to the educative work of the dominant culture in reinforcing the status quo but, especially when the term critical public pedagogy is used, it can also refer to practices and discourses that are resistive, counterhegemonic, disruptive, activist and aimed at critique and contestation (Sandlin, O’Malley, & Burdick, 2011). Giroux is a foundational scholar within the literature, although feminist analyses and actions predate his work.12 Giroux’s formulation of public pedagogy expands his concept of critical pedagogy to extend his analysis beyond schools in order to attend to the powerful influence of the broader culture, especially in the lives of young people (Giroux, 2011). As Giroux (2004a) contends, culture “plays a central

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role in producing narratives, metaphors, and images that exercise a powerful pedagogical force
over how people think of themselves and their relationship to others” (p. 62). Informed by the
emancipatory aims of Freire and concerned about the decline of democratic public spheres,
Giroux (2004a) has sought to bring together the traditions of cultural studies and critical
pedagogy to make “the pedagogical more political for cultural studies theorists and the political
more pedagogical for educators” (p. 62). Culture is conceived, drawing on Gramsci’s theorizing
of hegemony, as a site of contestation and negotiation in which meaning is produced and
struggled over within a network of power relations. Giroux describes culture “as a circuit of
power, ideologies, and values in which diverse images and sounds are produced and circulated,
identities are constructed, inhabited, and discarded, agency is manifested in both individualized
and social forms, and discourses are created” (2004a, pp. 59-60). It is the dark side of public
pedagogy that has attracted much of Giroux’s attention including how Disney is a corporate
“teaching machine” that hides its power behind a discourse of innocence (Giroux, 1998; Giroux
& Pollock, 2010) and how the public pedagogy of neoliberalism promotes corporate power,
individual self-interest and market-driven impulses (2004b). Giroux acknowledges possibilities
for human agency, oppositional readings and subversive pleasures but understands these as
occurring within structures of unequal power relations.

To overcome all this darkness, Giroux (2011) advocates for the fostering of critical
consciousness within public and higher education but also the wider culture:

Critical pedagogy within schools and the critical public pedagogy produced in broader
cultural apparatuses are modes of intervention dedicated to creating those democratic
public spheres where individuals can think critically, relate sympathetically to the
problems of others, and intervene in the world in order to address major social problems.

(p. 13)

What this critical public pedagogy might look like in museums can be found in Giroux’s framing of a critical “pedagogy of public memory” (2004a, p. 68). Giroux advocates for “analyzing public memory not as a totalizing narrative but as a series of ruptures and displacements” (p. 68). Such a pedagogy is about:

making connections that are often hidden, forgotten, or willfully ignored. Public memory becomes in this sense not an object of reverence, but an ongoing subject of dialogue, debate and critical engagement. Public memory also becomes about critically examining one’s own historical location amid relations of power, privilege, or subordination. (p. 68)

History needs to be understood as “not an artifact to be merely transmitted, but an ongoing dialogue and struggle over the relationship between representation and agency” (p. 68). This requires transforming institutions so that historical learning becomes:

not about constructing a linear narrative but about blasting history open, rupturing its silences, highlighting its detours, acknowledging the events of its transmission, and organizing its limits within an open and honest concern with human suffering, values, and the legacy of the often unrepresentable or misrepresented. (p. 68)

Giroux’s understanding of the critical public pedagogical potentials of historical learning and public memory suggests possibilities for exhibitions to become sites for blasting open dominant stories of the nation and for a settler education in which the focus is not object and artefact but instead disruption and dialogue. In addition, Giroux’s (2011) concept of “educated hope as a utopian longing” might be used to inform how exhibitions engage visitors in dialogue not only about the past and present but also the future as this form of hope “opens horizons of comparison
by evoking not just different histories but different futures,” and in ways that involve
“problematizing certainty” (p. 122).

Museums are emerging as an important site of inquiry in literature that takes up the concept of public pedagogy, and this includes scholarship at the intersection of museums, colonialism and Indigenous peoples. Work ranges from historical analyses such as Bennett’s (2004) examination of the public pedagogy of the 19th-century evolutionary museum to inquiries into the contemporary museum’s public pedagogical role in producing public knowledge about Indigenous identity (e.g., Trofanenko, 2006). Trofanenko and Segall’s (2014) Beyond Pedagogy, which examines the public pedagogical roles of museums, includes three essays (Clapperton, 2014; Richard, 2014; Segall & Trofanenko, 2014) that focus on “the dimensions and visual politics of displays involving indigenous objects and representation” (p. 4). Witcomb (2013) engages with unsettling museological experiences around colonial history and cultural diversity in Australia in a special issue on public pedagogy edited by Trofanenko for Museum Management and Curatorship. In my study and in previous research (Johnson, 2016a, 2016b), I address the critical public pedagogical potentials of exhibitions to foster unsettling and decolonizing experiences specifically within the context of Indigenous-settler relations and through interventions and work by Indigenous artist and curators.

In their extensive review of the public pedagogy literature, Sandlin, O’Malley and Burdick (2011) locate museums within a category that examines “informal yet institutionalized sites as spaces of learning” that “have been consciously created with pedagogical ends in mind” (p. 348). Some of these spaces, they note, “reinforce dominant culture” but “others create ‘counterinstitutional’ spaces in which the educational activity of artwork, performative display, and other pedagogical modes contrasts with the established culture” (p. 348). Their mapping of
the literature highlights a range of approaches including those informed by cultural studies such as Bennett’s (1997, 2004) analyses of the educative functions of the modern museum as a semiotic and performative space for the shaping of citizen behaviour and the construction of evolutionary hierarchies of human development. Sandlin, O’Malley and Burdick especially feature aesthetic approaches, notably poststructural feminist Elizabeth Ellsworth’s (2005) explorations into “anomalous places of learning” (which include certain museums and exhibitions) that stimulate new ways of thinking about pedagogy and are designed “with pedagogical intent . . . and in ways that emphasize noncognitive, nonrepresentational processes and events” (p. 6). As she examines spaces such as the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Maya Lin’s Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and a Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition on men in skirts, Ellsworth’s interest is in “pedagogy as the impetus behind the particular movements, sensations and affects of bodies/minds/brains in the midst of learning . . . and the embodied experiences that pedagogy elicits and plays host to” (p. 2). Her focus is the “learning self in the making” engaged in “experiences of being radically in relation to one’s self, to others, and to the world” (p. 2). In such sites, as Sandlin, O’Malley, & Burdick (2011) observe, “learning often takes on a subtle, embodied mode, moving away from the cognitive rigor commonly associated with education and towards notions of affect, aesthetics, and presence” (p. 348). The authors call for greater theoretical clarity and more empirical research to attend to how sites and practices of public pedagogy “actually work to teach the public and how the intended educational meanings of public pedagogies are internalized, reconfigured, and mobilized by public citizens” (p. 359).

Burdick and Sandlin (2013) offer a more selective follow-up review that focuses on scholarship that they identify as clearly addressing mechanisms of public pedagogy, and again the authors call for further research and theorizing. They make a distinction in the public
pedagogy literature between a “metaphor of transfer” and a “metaphor of relation” (p. 147).

Giroux’s public pedagogy scholarship serves as the foundation for their transfer strand, which the authors characterize as involving an understanding of “the subject as a rational, humanist entity, one that can be acted upon educationally via the introduction of content—typically content that is either culturally prescriptive or liberatory in nature” (p. 147). There is a focus in this “strand” on how cultural texts impart dominant ideologies or critical alternatives, and primacy is given to cognitive and representational processes, critical readings, and the development of critical literacies within a framework of understanding public pedagogy as cultural transmission. Burdick and Sandlin’s relational strand, on the other hand, emphasizes “the intersection of the subject and object of pedagogy—the relational meanings that are generated via active, sensate, embodied interactions” (p. 147). Ellsworth (2005) (discussed above) serves as a foundation for this strand, along with other approaches that focus on arts, aesthetics and activism. Informed by Ellsworth, Sandlin’s (2007) research into the critical, activist public pedagogies of culture jamming explores unpredictable, embodied, relational and affective pedagogical possibilities that she feels point to “what critical adult education could look like” (p. 81). In their re-examination of adult learning theories through public pedagogy lenses, Sandlin, Wright, and Clark (2013) apply this distinction between rational and relational approaches and highlight the importance of perspectives that emphasize ambiguity, non-representational processes, relational practices, and the self as multidimensional rather than unitary. The “posthuman”\textsuperscript{13} provides a third strand for thinking about public pedagogy with a

\textsuperscript{13} While this strand has potential to engage Indigenous epistemologies in breaking down Euro-Western binaries, for example in human/nature relationships, I do not find it helpful for an inquiry into museums which have constructed Indigenous people as a radical other.
focus that “embraces the monstrous, suggesting that crucial pedagogical moments occur within encounters with the radical other” (Burdick & Sandlin, 2013, p. 148).

These two literature reviews (Burdick & Sandlin, 2013; Sandlin, O’Malley, & Burdick, 2011) are part of a body of scholarship that maps, theorizes and problematizes the public pedagogy construct. In their introduction to the Handbook of Public Pedagogy, an interdisciplinary collection with contributions from scholars working within and beyond fields of education and from activists and artists, Sandlin, Schultz, and Burdick (2010) seek to challenge traditional notions of what constitutes education and to draw attention to the potential of critical public pedagogy to disrupt hegemonic discourses. Savage’s (2010) chapter is of particular note in seeking to overcome the “fabulous haze” (p. 103) around the term public pedagogy which he feels clouds much public pedagogy scholarship, including Giroux’s. Savage problematizes the notion of public because, as he points out, access to social and cultural resources are uneven, publics are plural and diverse, and notions of public space are contested. He also argues for definitional clarity of the term pedagogy, and for contextual examinations of specific forms of pedagogy with a consideration of what makes them pedagogical.

Savage’s call to “problematize” public pedagogy has remained an ongoing preoccupation in the literature. Burdick, Sandlin, and O’Malley’s (2014) book Problematizing Public Pedagogy follows from Savage’s (2010) chapter and from gaps the editors identified through the aforementioned literature reviews. Eschewing easy answers, the editors bring together education researchers to create a conversation around the public pedagogy concept in terms of its theory, method, ethics and practice. The extent to which conceptualizations of public pedagogy are contested becomes even more apparent through this collection, serving as an illustration of how crucial it is that researchers provide theoretical clarity. Savage’s (2014) chapter, for example,
offers a framework for defining different publics that have different pedagogical implications—political, concrete and popular. He cautions that even within these distinctions, researchers must take care to avoid totalizing conceptualizations, acknowledge the porousness of boundaries, and account for multiple influences and complexities that surround the ways and circumstances in which people engage with cultural texts.

In what follows, I seek to offer theoretical clarity around my use of the public pedagogy construct in this study. Savage’s framework makes an important contribution to research involving museums because, as Barrett (2012) argues, *public* is a slippery term in museum discourse. The Canadian public that Monkman’s exhibition seeks to engage can be understood as what Savage calls a “political public,” a public that is contained within a spatial boundary. Within that public there are Indigenous and non-Indigenous publics, and Monkman’s messaging to these publics is clearly not going to be the same. Moreover, an Indigenous public is as diverse as the many First Nations, Inuit and Métis experiences that are included within that public. I use the term *settler Canadians* to delineate the non-Indigenous public, but this is really a multiple, fragmented public given the complex range and intersection of histories, experiences and positionalities that comprise what it is to be a settler (Lawrence & Dua, 2011; Phung, 2011). The space of the museum exhibition creates what Savage identifies as a “concrete public,” a public which is contained within space and time. Access is differentiated in terms of who can get to and into the museums where *Shame and Prejudice* is being shown and also in terms of the different cultural resources that individuals bring with them. In the case of a high-profile exhibition such as *Shame and Prejudice*, many who never pass through the doors of the museum may engage with the exhibition through forms of popular culture such as the press and social media, and these could perhaps be considered what Savage terms “popular publics,” those that self-organize
around a cultural text but their experiences would be very different from actually visiting the exhibition. My analysis of *Shame and Prejudice*’s critical public pedagogical work is bounded by and grounded in my own experience as a settler Canadian ally who engaged with the exhibition deeply, using autoethnographic and exhibition analysis methodologies, in both the contained space of museum venues (and their surroundings) and as a popular cultural text outside the museum as I followed it through social media and press coverage.

I understand an exhibition’s public pedagogical work as operating through what Trofanenko and Segall (2014) identify as “positioning the public to know in particular ways” (p. 1). Drawing on Canadian scholar Roger Simon’s theorization of pedagogy, Trofanenko and Segall describe the museum’s pedagogy as “an attempt to influence experience and subjectivity” (p. 2) and as located in practices of curation, framing and staging which invite visitors into an organized experience:

> It is through the language and textual devices offered by the museum, as well as through the museum’s spatial organization, objects, textures, and lighting, and the degree to which they are combined that visitors come to know, negotiate meaning and identity, and explore the world presented to them. (p. 2)

Exhibitions are thus inherently pedagogical as they position visitors to assume particular perspectives within a constructed field of what knowledge is of most worth, who counts, and what views of the world are most desirable. A decolonizing exhibition suggests important possibilities for disrupting and altering the nature of visitor positioning and the experiences and fields of knowledge into which visitors are invited.

As I engaged with the literature discussed in this chapter, and reflected on my own experiences in museums as a visitor, I decided that a robust approach to examining *Shame and*
Prejudice’s public pedagogical mechanisms would be necessary. I opted for an approach that focuses equally on cognitive and non-cognitive, and representational and non-representational, pedagogical dimensions and that attends to narrative, story and storytelling. Although I initially thought in terms of separate “strands” (or analytical lenses), I came to understand the importance of a holistic approach, as I will relate in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Museums, through their exhibits, displays, spaces and discourses, address their publics with both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic potentials and through pedagogies that activate a range of learning dimensions. In the next section, I consider how critical adult education scholarship further enriches conceptualizations of the pedagogical space of the museum.

Critical Adult Education and the Museum

Although they have different focuses and trajectories, critical adult education and public pedagogy discourses share many of the same critiques, hopes and theoretical influences. These are critical, transformative, emancipatory perspectives on education that link knowledge to power and learning to social change. Both critical pedagogy (one of the pillars of Giroux’s conceptualization of public pedagogy) and critical adult education share roots in Freire’s literacy teaching amongst the poor and dispossessed within the revolutionary context of struggle against oppression in Latin America. Cultural studies (the second pillar in Giroux’s public pedagogy) and the adult education movement emerged together within post-war Britain and are united in the work of key figures such as Raymond Williams who recognized the significance of popular culture and everyday life in the teaching and learning of adults, and as sites for examining connections between culture and power (Turner, 2003).

Critical adult education is an educative practice that understands itself as a political act with a social purpose aimed at the transformation not only of individuals but also of society
It seeks to foster capacities for human agency, for learners as active shapers of their learning and their world. Clover, de Oliveira Jayme, Hall, and Follen (2013) describe critical adult education as a “sociologically rather than psychologically driven paradigm [in which] adult education and learning are viewed as instruments or tools for critical discovery, a means to challenge problematic normative values and assumptions, and a call to action and activism” (p. 12). In Canada, there is a long tradition of adult education as education with a transformative social purpose, and today Canadian critical adult educators engage with a wide range of social concerns, movements and struggles (Nesbit, Brigham, Taber, & Gibb, 2013). It is not possible to speak, however, of a single critical adult education discourse. For example, postmodern, poststructuralist, and postcolonial discourses have encouraged greater self-reflexivity within the field and encouraged more fluid notions of power, knowledge, and identity along with attention to situatedness and difference (English & Mayo, 2012).

The field of adult education has been slow to attend to the important adult education and learning that occurs in museums, and museums have been slow to engage with adult education theory and practice (Clover, Sanford, & de Oliveira Jayme, 2010; Dudzinska-Przesmitzki & Grenier, 2008; Styles, 2000, 2011; Taylor & Parrish, 2010). However, as activists, artists, marginalized groups, and educators challenge museums’ gender, sexual, class, race and other biases, along with their authority and claims to neutrality, museums are slowly transforming and as they do so they are attracting increased attention as significant sites of critical adult education. Critical adult educators are increasingly crossing disciplinary and institutional borders in order to engage in provocative conversations about transforming these powerfully educative institutions along with museums’ pedagogical ends and mechanisms. Engaging with museums and other cultural institutions provides opportunities for adult educators to learn from the many innovative
critical and creative approaches that are being developed in these spaces—especially by artists, activists, and oppressed groups—while at the same time contributing to a conversation about the transformation of these institutions through research, theorizing and engagement. Borg and Mayo (2018), for example, make a strong case for the transformation of Maltese museums into “dynamic and community-oriented democratic spaces” (p. 114). Critical adult education engages with a range of emancipatory discourses, including post-colonialism or anti-colonialism, critical race theory, feminisms, and queer theory (English & Mayo, 2012; Nesbit, Brigham, Taber & Gibb, 2013). This engagement is reflected in how adult educators approach museums. In my co-edited publications with Clover, Sanford, and Bell, we have featured work that offers diverse critical adult education perspectives on museum practices, exhibitions, and pedagogies, including decolonizing perspectives (e.g., Johnson, 2016a, 2016b; Van de Pol, 2016), feminist lenses (e.g., Clover and Sanford, 2016b; Spring, Smith & DaSilva, 2018; Taber, 2018; Voelkel & Henehan, 2018; Van de Pol, 2016), and work that addresses issues around race (e.g., Clarke & Lewis, 2016; Merriweather, Coffey, & Fitchett, 2016).

Adult education scholars conceptualize the pedagogical space of the museum in different ways as they attend to diverse possibilities for the critical, transformative adult learning needed for social transformation. Adult learning in museums is both informal through visitor encounters with exhibitions and displays (the focus of my research) and non-formal through facilitated activities that include courses, workshops and tours. Much of the adult education literature focuses on facilitated adult learning, but the need for critical, transformative exhibitionary practice is not ignored. Approaches rooted in critical pedagogy often prioritize cognitive learning, but there is also interest in a wide range of learning dimensions. This diversity of approaches is captured in a special issue on adult education in cultural institutions for New
Directions for Adult and Continuing Education edited by Taylor and Parrish (2010) which considers the potentials of these institutions as sites for cognitive change and emotional learning, new insights and discoveries, contestation and social change, and community and collaboration. In this issue, Borg and Mayo (2010) focus on how the museum can be used by critical adult educators as a site for critical pedagogy and interrogating representations. Informed by Giroux’s formulation of public pedagogy, the authors understand the museum as playing “its role in the politics of knowledge and representation” (p. 35). Museums, far from being neutral repositories of knowledge, both legitimate and marginalize as they select from and represent cultures; however, they are not “monolithic” but are instead “sites of struggle, of cultural contestation and renewal” (p. 37) in which cultural hegemony is not guaranteed but rather renegotiated. Using a Freirean approach, Borg and Mayo consider the museum as a space for the development of critical consciousness which for Freire (1970/2006) means coming “to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation” (p. 83) and as something in which we can intervene. Exhibits can be used as “objects of co-investigation” between educators and learners, and displayed objects are understood as “codifications”—catalysts for generating “themes that can stimulate discussions of wider issues concerning different aspects of reality” (p. 40). It is not their main focus, but Borg and Mayo also consider the critical pedagogical possibility of exhibitions that pose their content as a problem, instead of as didactic truth, through provocative juxtapositions of objects and other content. Engaging with the museum as a site of critical pedagogy is important work, but Borg and Mayo’s privileging of critical readings risks neglecting noncognitive ways of knowing that could be considered crucial to the full inclusion of the marginalized histories and voices the authors seek. Parrish (2010) points to the emotionally charged nature of this critical pedagogical work, but Borg and Mayo do not directly
address this aspect. An article in the same issue, by Grenier (2010), explores how adult learning through play in museums opens up pedagogical possibilities for ambiguity, creativity, emotional responses, make-believe, trying out new identities and other processes not rooted entirely in rational, cognitive learning that have important implications for fostering new ways of thinking about self, others and the world. Within these two very different perspectives on adult learning in cultural institutions, we find Burdick and Sandlin’s (2013) transfer/rational (Borg & Mayo) and relational (Grenier) strands of public pedagogy.

Some adult education perspectives draw out a connection between the building of critical literacies and the aesthetic dimensions of adult learning in museums. Acknowledging both the limits and liberatory potentials of public museums and art galleries, Clover (2015) has applied a critical adult educator’s eye to exploring examples of their “critical, creative, public pedagogical work” (p. 301) as they seek to become more responsive to our socially and environmentally troubled times. She considers how “through exhibitions, artworks, objects, workshops and seminars these institutions trouble identity, decolonize, mock, visualize, tell alternative stories, reorient authoritative practice, interrogate intolerance and privilege and stimulate critical literacies” (p. 301). Normative conceptions are problematized, othering and essentializing practices are deconstructed and, through “intentionality,” arts and objects are activated “as tools of ‘disobedience’” and “debate and conversations across difference” are fostered (p. 310). Clover and Sanford (2016a) consider the potentials for “critical cultural pedagogy—a combination of adult education and exhibitionary practices,” created within what they theorize as the “pedagogic contact zones” of museums (p. 2). Drawing on Pratt’s “contact zones” and McRobbie’s “pedagogic contact zones,” the authors understand museums as problematic sites of domination but also of reciprocity, critique and resistance especially when critical and creative pedagogies
are activated. Without giving up a concern with critical readings and representational practices, Clover (2015) and Clover & Sanford (2016a) move beyond focusing solely upon cognitive processes to engage with discoveries of empathy, discomfort, humour, connection, unease and delight.

Turning attention specifically to the educative work that exhibitions do and the unfacilitated adult learning that happens therein, Styles (2000, 2011) makes an argument for informing exhibitionary practice with Freirean dialogue and problem posing, for transforming exhibitions from authoritative to dialogic learning spaces “that involve visitors not only in the material and their meaning, but also in the process of making that meaning” (2011, p. 12). Key to this pedagogy is the notion of “self-reflexive techniques of representation” (p. 12) that alert visitors to issues of power and the constructed nature of representation thereby bringing visitors into dialogue with exhibitions. Within this formulation of informal museum education, the problematic histories of museums are made visible, representational practices (the interpreting, staging and framing that goes on behind the display of material) are revealed, and visitors are enabled “to see the questions and tensions arising from the material, rather than the answers alone” (2011, p. 18). In her envisioning of how the Australian War Memorial might be transformed into a more dialogic learning space, Styles (2000) attends not only to cognitive but also affective and spiritual domains of the Memorial which houses both a museum and a shrine to the war dead. She contends that the Memorial needs to break down an epistemological opposition it has constructed that privileges realist, informational exhibits in which “rational, instructional authority” prevails over other exhibits that work within a “more artistic, or mythical register” (2000, pp. 198-199). She writes that “were the realist enterprise to be abandoned, the
power of art to do something different to, and possibly more than, realist works would be unleashed” (p. 199).

Kawalilak and Groen (2016) emphasize the pedagogical richness of narrative and story in their experiences of exhibitions and museum spaces. They share how they were affected by museological experiences that activated multidimensional learning which helped them to make deep connections to their mothers’ immigration stories: “preserving or recreating aspects of time, place, situation, and cultural factors invites engagement at an intellectual, emotional, psychological, and, for both of us, a spiritual level” (p. 162). It is this sort of deep, multidimensional learning that leads Taber (2018) to note the “pedagogic force” (p. 5) of her own informal learning experiences in museums. Attending to sensory experiences, she shares what she learned about the lives of Acadian women “in an embodied way in museums” (p. 10) and the discoveries and insights that connected the personal, familial and social for her.

Museums are powerful sites of public pedagogy and informal adult learning that activate a full range of cognitive and noncognitive learning dimensions. There are possibilities for multisensory learning, storying, historical consciousness, dialogic learning, interrogating representations, discomfort, emotional learning, critical literacies, ambiguity, relational experiences, critical consciousness, play, embodiment, critical readings, humour, and more. Museums are colonial, patriarchal, heteronormative and cisnormative institutions, but they can also be spaces for blasting history open, decolonizing sexuality, engaging with Indigenous epistemologies, queering, intervening, truth telling, countering dominant narratives, and unsettling. They are perfect places for Miss Chief to trouble stories of the nation. The literature I have reviewed in this chapter informed my decision to develop a robust, multidimensional framework for inquiring into Monkman’s exhibition, an analytic framework that engages both
the rational and relational, the cognitive and the noncognitive, without prioritizing one over the other. But this was a framework that would itself become unsettled. In Chapter 3, I outline my framework for exhibition analysis along with my autoethnographic approach to inquiring into the pedagogies of *Shame and Prejudice*. 
CHAPTER 3: METHODS AND METHODOLOGIES—EXHIBITION ANALYSIS
AND AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

My study examines how Kent Monkman’s touring exhibition *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience* works pedagogically to contribute to my own unsettling. I also consider the implications of this type of exhibition for conceptualizing settler education and informing public pedagogy and adult education theory, practice and research within and beyond museums. I visited and studied two sites along the exhibition’s tour: the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta and the Confederation Centre Art Gallery in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. The Glenbow is both a history museum and an art museum, and its collections and exhibitions focus on western Canada. The Glenbow has a storied past as a site of museum-changing controversy with its *The Spirit Sings* exhibition in the late 1980s, as I noted in Chapter 2, but the museum is also known as a leader in developing partnerships with Indigenous peoples, particularly the local Blackfoot Nations. The Confederation Centre Art Gallery in Charlottetown partnered with the Art Museum at the University of Toronto in the production of *Shame and Prejudice*. The gallery is a key part of Confederation Centre of the Arts, a multi-purpose cultural centre that memorializes the Fathers of Confederation and celebrates Canadian heritage and the arts. I worked with these two venues not for the purpose of developing a comparative study, but rather to experience the exhibition’s pedagogies over time and space, a year apart and in different contexts thus providing a rich basis for my autoethnographic engagement with the exhibition. I chose these particular sites partly for the practical reason that the exhibition runs coincided with the timeline of my research project, but also because I identified them as offering especially rich and provocative contexts for my inquiry.
The content of the exhibition itself was much the same at both locations, apart from a few changes in artworks, the addition of a new installation, and some differences in staging and layout. My field notes at both sites attended to the exhibition (e.g., its art, objects, written text, design and layout) and its contexts (e.g., the museum, its other exhibitions and displays, and the surrounding area) as I recorded my observations, insights, feelings, reactions and personal reflections. After visiting the exhibition, I organized my field notes, along with my photo documentation, according to the exhibition’s chapters, other exhibits in the museum, and observations about contexts. Other data included press coverage, Monkman’s public talks, tours and interviews, and exhibition, museum and tourism brochures. The complete wall didactics, along with a foreword by Monkman, are contained within an exhibition souvenir booklet that was available at the museum venues. Together, this collection of data formed the basis for analysis, reflection and storying of my museological experiences. Chapter 4 provides an account of my experiences at the Glenbow Museum between June 21 and June 25, 2017 and reflections and observations that emerged in response to it. Chapter 5 provides an account of my experiences at and in relation to visiting Shame and Prejudice at Confederation Centre in Charlottetown between July 9 and July 13, 2018.

Since the “crisis of representation” that emerged in the mid-1980s, which entailed a loss of faith in the notion of an aloof researcher neutrally presenting findings, qualitative researchers have been confronted with difficult questions about how to observe, interpret and represent the world, with many turning to methods that allow for greater reflexivity and storytelling (Denzin &

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Lincoln, 2011). My study brings together exhibition analysis, a research method that offers a close reading of an exhibition’s elements to examine how they produce meaning and construct knowledge (Tucker, 2014), with autoethnography which is “an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)” (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011, section 1, para. 1). In what follows, I begin with an explanation of my framework for exhibition analysis and then turn to a discussion of my approach to autoethnography and its role in my research.

**Exhibition Analysis: Three Lenses for Thinking about Exhibitions**

As part of my research plan, I began with three lenses for exhibition analysis that I consider to be of particular value for my inquiry: *narrative, representational* and *relational/embodied*. These analytical lenses emerged as I engaged with critical adult education, public pedagogy, museum studies, and Indigenous scholarship and as I reflected on my own prior experiences as a museum visitor. My intention was to develop a robust, multidimensional framework for exhibition analysis that engaged both cognitive and non-cognitive domains without giving primacy to one over the other. In developing a bricolage approach to analysis, I was influenced by the penchant in cultural studies for disciplinary and methodological heterogeneity when developing frameworks for offering close readings of texts (Turner, 2003).

My narrative lens is informed by narrative inquiry and uses narrative analysis to inquire into the exhibition as a counter-narrative by attending to its storytelling elements. My representational lens draws on Halls’ (2013a) understanding of an exhibition as a system of representation and uses critical visual analysis to inquire into the exhibition’s visuality and the intertextuality of exhibition elements. My relational/embodied lens intersects with public pedagogy’s relational strand and is experiential and located within pedagogical encounters that activate noncognitive
registers of experience. I did not employ these lenses rigidly or systematically but instead organically and in response to Shame and Prejudice’s pedagogies and my emerging understanding of Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies. This framework itself became unsettled. As part of my study, I also attended to contextual and intertextual dimensions outside the walls of the exhibition and the institution, particularly the effects of viewing a decolonizing exhibition within the spaces of settler museums.

**The Narrative Lens**

My study engages with many stories, including Monkman’s and Miss Chief’s critical exhibitionary counter-narrative; the dominant national narrative of Canada 150 that forms the context for the exhibition; the storied institutions and places where I visited the exhibition; and my own settler storying and restorying in relation to my museological experiences.

Museums are at their very core storytellers, and the stories they tell construct and reinforce colonialist, patriarchal, heteronormative and cisnormative narratives. These colonial institutions have considerable power and authority over narrative as they tell tales of exploration, discovery, settlement and nation building. Moreover, they possess “extraordinary cleansing powers to remove the ugly stories of social and cultural conflict, injustice and contradiction and deny their own complicity in perpetuating these stories” (Clover, Bell, Sanford, & Johnson, 2016, p. 123). However, when they are activated as spaces for counter-narrative, museums can “bring tacit knowledge to the level of awareness and encourage museum visitors to question the universality of what they ‘know’ and to listen for silences and distortions” (Merriweather, Coffey, & Fitchett, 2016, p. 145). Narrative has emerged as a key area of interest for adult educators who study these institutions where stories are so powerfully told (e.g., Kawalilak & Groen, 2016; Merriweather, Coffey, & Fitchett, 2016; Taber, 2018).
The narrative lens recognizes that stories and storytelling have a central role within Indigenous knowledge systems (see Chapter 2). Museums, however, have been places for telling stories about Indigenous people, racist stories of white superiority that have constructed Indigenous peoples as frozen in the past and that have obscured the dark injustices of colonial past and present. Failing to engage in truth telling about colonialism, museums have hidden what Lonetree (2012) has called “one of the greatest untold stories” (p. 6)—the story of Indigenous survivance. Seeking to reconcile, decolonize and be more self-reflexive, Canadian museums are inviting Indigenous artists, curators and communities to intervene critically in their spaces thus creating opportunities for settler audiences to engage with counter-narratives and alternative ways of telling stories. Anderson (2017, 2018) has developed a national narrative framework that helps conceptualize the work of museums and other pedagogical sites in constructing Canadian national identity. She identifies two “master national narratives” that have taken root in museums: beginning in the 19th century, “a progressive, Euro-Western, colony-to-nation storyline of Canada” and, beginning in the mid-20th century, the presentation of Canada as “a progressive, tolerant, and multicultural mosaic” (2018, p. 324). She also identifies the intervention in these master narratives by “counter-national narratives” which present “storylines of competing, forgotten, or silenced aspects of Canada’s past and present” (p. 324). Counter-national narrative “throws into question taken-for-granted notions around the concepts of nationhood and national identity through narratives grounded in land, place, or global forces” (p. 324). Although museums can certainly create counter-narrative on their own, especially when they engage in self-reflexive practices, intervention by artists and those who have been historically marginalized by museums are a key means for the production of counter-narrative.
Narrative analysis provides methods for inquiring into dominant and counter narratives. In her examination of Indigenous resistance narratives in museums, from her perspective as an Indigenous Kadazan woman from Malaysia living in Australia, Guntarik (2009) observes: “Narrative analysis has emerged as a central analytical force in furthering critique of colonial discourse” (p. 306). I inform my narrative lens with a narrative inquiry methodology, which Connelly and Clandinin describe as “the study of experience as story” (as cited in Clandinin, 2006, p. 45). Clandinin (2006) explains how, within a “three-dimensional narrative inquiry space” (p. 47), narrative inquirers enter places where they find stories being told and engage in these places over time and in relation to, and interaction with, participants. She writes: “Being in the field, that is, engaging with participants, is walking into the midst of stories” (p. 47). I walk into the midst of stories told by Monkman’s exhibition (and the stories of the host settler museums), and the exhibition can be understood as a participant, as a storyteller, that I engage with in relation to and over time.

All exhibitions tell a story. Cultural theorist Mieke Bal (1996) explains how narrative in an exhibition emerges from the discursive act of “exposing” (putting objects on display and making a statement about them) and how another overlapping but different narrative arises from the “necessarily sequential nature of the visit” or “walking tour” (p. 4). The walking tour produces an order for viewing and reading exhibitionary elements for an implied addressee or visitor (“the walking learner”) “whose tour produces the story of knowledge taken in and taken home” (p. 18). An exhibition’s narrative, however, may not be transparent, and its storying may be hidden by the authority of its didactic panels, precision of its labels and careful chronological and categorical arrangements of its displays. Some exhibitions self-reflexively engage in narrative. *Shame and Prejudice* does this through devices such as its organization into chapters.
and use of a book motif. In any case, whether storying is largely hidden or made apparent, an exhibition takes a storied form which can be analyzed.

As Riessman (2008) explains, narrative analysis “refers to a family of methods for interpreting texts that have in common a storied form” (p. 539) and narrative analysts ask questions such as:

For whom was the story constructed and for what purpose? How is it composed?

What cultural resources does it draw on or take for granted? What storehouse of cultural plots does it call up? What does the story accomplish? Are there gaps and inconsistencies that might suggest preferred, alternative, or counternarratives? (p. 540)

These questions can be applied critically to museum narratives to examine dominant stories of nation building and resistive stories. As a counter-narrative, Shame and Prejudice is composed and draws on resources in alternative, provocative, subversive ways making it important to attend to its storytelling elements such as structure, voice, tone, temporal and spatial elements, plotlines, characters, settings, themes, genres, framing, points of view and how cultural resources and plots are used in the telling. Narrative practices are cultural practices through which we produce and exchange meanings and knowledge, practices in which representation plays a central role. In the next section, I discuss my second lens which considers how representation works within an exhibition through signifying and discursive practices that are highly visual and intertextual.

The Representational Lens

Representation, as cultural studies theorist Stuart Hall (2013a) contends, is central to culture as a practice of producing and exchanging meanings. Representation does not merely show things as they are but rather enters “into the very constitution of things” (p. xxi), and it is
never neutral or innocent. Representations shape how we think about things, mobilize desires, provoke emotional responses, and foster attachments and solidarities. As Hall observes, all “systems of representation,” including exhibitions, work “like a language” to produce and communicate meanings by using “some element to stand for or represent what we want to say, to express or communicate a thought, concept, idea or feeling” (p. xx). Language is conceptualized as a system of relationships among signs, of signifiers and their signifieds. Semiotics provides a methodology for reading any signifying practice and its underlying codes. Within an exhibition, signifying involves arranging and displaying objects in a physical space:

Every choice – to show this rather than that, to show this in relation to that, to say this about that – is a choice about how to represent ‘other cultures’; and each choice has consequences both for what meanings are produced and for how meaning is produced.

(p. xxiii)

Exhibiting can thus be understood as working semiotically, and as having what Lidchi (2013) refers to as a “poetics” which she defines as “the practice of producing meaning through the internal ordering and conjugation of the separate but related components of an exhibition” (p. 135). In an exhibition, objects, written texts, display techniques, and visual representations work on their own and together to produce meaning as they present and represent cultures within a “complex web of signification” (p. 157). Exhibiting can also be understood in terms of discourse, in the Foucauldian sense, as groups of statements across a range of sites that structure how a particular topic is thought about or talked about. Discourse governs what is sayable by whom and under what conditions, thus producing regimes of representation and of truth. This is what Lidchi calls a “politics of exhibiting” in which museums can be understood to operate as “seats of institutional power” (p. 170) that produce social knowledge and lay down claims to truth through
collection and display practices that are never neutral. Given the power of museums to produce meanings and knowledge, and especially of ethnographic displays to construct “other cultures,” it is crucial that we interrogate representations to, as Giroux (2000) writes:

ascertain how certain meanings under particular historical conditions become more legitimate as representations of reality and take on the force of common sense assumptions shaping a broader set of discourses and social configurations at work in the dominant social order. (p. 355)

Such interrogations should consider how exhibitions, as systems of representation, have constructed and spoken for Indigenous peoples, celebrated white male elites as heroes of the nation, contributed to and reinforced hegemonic narratives, hidden dark histories, and created and perpetuated racist and sexist images. Exhibitions work representationally to produce meanings and discourses which visitors have agency to negotiate or resist, yet which play a powerful role in shaping attitudes and identities and reinforcing or challenging dominant ideologies.

Critical visual methodologies hold much value for inquiring into the signifying and discursive practices of the museum, a site in which representation is a highly visual and spatial practice that brings together diverse semiotic resources and communicative modes. My inquiry draws on Rose’s (2001) formulation of a “critical visual methodology” which highlights the importance of looking carefully at images, considers their social conditions and effects, and engages in reflexivity. Rose (2001) discusses visuality as “the ways in which both what is seen and how it is seen is culturally constructed” (p. 6). Writing about visuality as a discourse, she states that a “specific visuality will make certain things visible in particular ways, and other things unseeable . . . and subjects will be produced and act within that field of vision” (p. 137).
She elaborates this idea in relation to psychoanalytic feminist film critic Laura Mulvey’s critique of the gendered visuality in narrative cinema that renders “woman as image” and man as “the bearer of the look” (as cited in Rose, p. 137). This produces a “phallocentric visuality” in which images of women depend on specific forms of masculine seeing: women are on display, there to be looked at, and “watch themselves being looked at” (Pollock, 2008, p. 192). Applying Rose’s concept of “discursive visuality,” feminist adult educators Clover, Taber and Sanford (2018) contend that “museum representations are powerful pedagogical devices that, through the seen and the unseen, influence our understandings of everything from history to ourselves” (p. 25). Clover, Taber and Sanford hack the museum, methodologically and pedagogically, countering the “masculine gaze” of the museum with a feminist “oppositional gaze. . . that is questioning, disbelieving and dissenting to function as a practice of resistance to messaging of gender identity and knowledge that hides in plain sight” (p. 16). This involves unmasking and challenging a gaze that positions man as looker and woman as image and that constructs masculinity and femininity in hegemonic ways that place man as superior and at the centre of the story. Their feminist museum hacking seeks to expose patriarchy as “both a practice of representation and a practice hidden through representation” (p. 12). As feminist visual theorist Griselda Pollock (2008) contends, interrogating, critiquing and contesting patriarchal regimes of representation and structures of looking are key ways to challenge patriarchal power.

Monkman’s art practice is deeply concerned with the gaze, what hides in plain sight, and visibility, and I especially attend to this in my engagement with *Shame and Prejudice*. This involves considering who is looking at whom and how, who is being seen, how difference is made visible, and what position is offered the viewer. As I discussed in Chapter 1, Monkman seeks with his Miss Chief persona to reverse the gaze of the European male, exposing it as a
voyeuristic, moralistic, sexually repressed gaze while upending a power dynamic in which European looking sought control over Indigenous bodies and lands. The gaze that Monkman addresses is produced and has its effects within a set of power relations different from feminist critiques of gendered visuality such as Mulvey’s which focus on women and men. It is a complex intersectional configuration that brings together gender, sexuality and race within structures of colonialism. Further nuancing of the notion of gaze emerges from gender conceived in nonbinary terms, and the bringing into visibility, in empowering ways, of nonbinary genders and plural sexualities. Within this critical public pedagogical space, my own gaze as a white, heterosexual, female, settler researcher is not exempt from scrutiny. That the visuality of the museum and art history is a key site of critique, resistance and artistic play for Monkman is not surprising given the long, problematic history of these institutions in representing Indigenous cultures. As Lidchi (2013) contends, visibility is central to the power/knowledge relationship within ethnographic display: “museums make certain cultures visible . . . they allow them to be subjected to the scrutiny of power” (p. 170). Her analysis points to how historically, within 19th-century processes for exhibiting “other cultures” and amidst evolutionary paradigms and colonial power relations, “a human subject” was transformed into “an ethnographic object” and “the colonizer/seer/knower was made separate and distinct from the colonized/seen/known” (pp. 170-171). Monkman appropriates and subverts Euro-western representational and visual practices and museum display technologies as he exposes to full view, ridicules, and overturns what often goes unseen in museums yet hides in plain sight: structures of patriarchy, heteropatriarchy, heteropaternalism and colonialism. Monkman creates space in which we settlers might see ourselves rendered visible in a way that invites scrutiny of our identities, histories and relations.
The gaze, looking, ways of seeing, spectacle, visibility, invisibility, seen and unseen in exhibitions are activated within a complex space of visuality. For Moser (2010), “displays create new worlds for objects to inhabit and these worlds are full of ‘devilish details’ that really matter when it comes to creating a system of meaning relating to the subject being represented” (p. 30).

A range of display resources and technologies function as “epistemic devices” (p. 30), working on their own and together to actively construct knowledge of the past, culture and difference. As Moser points out, these include written texts, images, objects, art, dioramas and audio-visual media; exhibition layout and other spatial aspects; design elements such as colour, lighting, and display furniture; arrangement of objects; text style and exhibition style; and even the museum architecture and its location and setting. To address this complexity, I inform my inquiry with critical understandings of multimodality or “the integrated use of different communicative resources, such as language, image, sound, and music, in multimodal texts and communicative events” (van Leeuwen, 2013, p. 2). Multimodal critical discourse analysis draws on the critical social theory of critical discourse analysis (especially pertaining to the constitutive nature and social effects of discourse) while expanding the field of inquiry beyond an emphasis on written and spoken language (Machin, 2013; van Leeuwen, 2013). A key insight is the need to attend to how “different kinds of semiotic resources have different affordances so they can be used to do different kinds of communicative tasks” (Machin, 2013, p. 349). This involves attending to what diverse semiotic resources can do, such as what a sculpture can communicate with its materials that it cannot quite “say” with its shape, or how the diorama form has different communicative capacities from the painting it is installed next to and yet the two share meanings.

This notion of sharing meanings involves intertextuality, which is key to a critical understanding of how exhibitions work as systems of representation. Cultural texts depend upon
each other and affect each other in the production of meaning. Feminist philosopher Julia Kristeva (1966/1986), drawing on Bakhtin’s dialogism, explains cultural expression as a dialogue amongst texts in which “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another” (p. 37). The concept of intertextuality deepens understandings of visual discourse for Rose (2001) who explains the concept as referring “to the way that the meanings of any one discursive image or text depend not only on that one text or image but also the meanings carried by other images and texts” (p. 136). For Hall (2013b), the focus is the intertextual dimensions of representations of “difference” and “otherness” as images accumulate “across different texts, where one image refers to another, or has its meaning altered by being ‘read’ in the context of other images” (p. 222). Images carry their own meanings but are read in particular contexts and in ways that connect to and play off against other images. Hall uses the term regime of representation to refer to “the whole repertoire of imagery and visual effects through which ‘difference’ is represented at any one historical moment” (p. 222). These scholars, with somewhat different emphases, all speak to intertextuality’s powerful discursive and meaning-producing capacities. Intertextuality knows no bounds, and its study can extend from the inter-relationships between an object and its label to those between an exhibition and discourses circulating in the wider culture.

In my inquiry into Shame and Prejudice, I attend to intertextuality within and beyond the exhibition’s walls. The exhibition’s written texts, art, objects, and design elements chain together; relationships accrue between Shame and Prejudice and its wider museological space (e.g., other exhibitions within the museum, the museum’s mission and mandate, its architecture, and the land it sits on); and Monkman reacts to, draws upon and transforms other cultural texts, especially Euro-Western painting and museological traditions. Moreover, Shame and Prejudice
overflows the confines of the museum as dialogue and discourses about the exhibition circulate through press coverage, social media, public interviews, artist talks, advertising and publications. Moreover, as a multi-year touring exhibition, its storytelling emerges and re-emerges, as the exhibition moves back and forth across the country. And, the exhibition’s discursivity intersects with the broader context and the discourses circulating there, particularly around Canada’s sesquicentennial, the country’s Truth and Reconciliation efforts, museum reconciliation initiatives, and ongoing local, national and international struggles pertaining to colonialism and Indigenous resilience and resistance within settler nations.

In my study, I do not commit strictly or rigidly to any one set of vocabularies, concepts or procedures for analyzing representations. As I elaborate later in this dissertation, it became unfeasible for me to try to force fit the exhibition into any one methodology or lens or system. These are all discourses in themselves and carry their own challenges and limitations. The methodologies I have considered in this section suggested to me things to look for as I engaged with the exhibition (such as gaze, visibility and intertextuality), and these became part of my experience. The rigour that I bring to my study is a reflexive, careful, detailed, close reading of the exhibition informed by these methodologies but not determined by them. In the next section, I discuss a third lens, one that expands my inquiry beyond the representational and the narrative, into the relational, aesthetic, sensory, affective and experiential dimensions of exhibitions.

**The Relational/Embodied Lens**

Visual studies scholars Lister and Wells (2011) observe that there is more to experiencing visual culture than “the intellectual processes involved in coding and decoding” because human beings “also have a sensuous, pleasure-seeking interest in looking at and feeling ‘the world’” and “looking is always embodied and undertaken by someone with an identity” (p. 65). For my
relational/embodied lens, I draw upon Burdick and Sandlin’s (2013) relational strand of public pedagogy literature which emphasizes an “alternative vision of critical learning” that “focuses more on embodied, holistic, performative, intersubjective, and aesthetic aspects of pedagogy and sees learning as tentative and ambiguous” (p. 157). Ellsworth’s (2005) explorations into “anomalous places of learning” (which include certain museums and exhibits) are foundational to this strand, as I noted in Chapter 2. Ellsworth prioritizes the “sensation construction” of exhibitions whose “pedagogical address . . . appeals to noncognitive, nonrepresentational processes and events of minds/brains/bodies . . . by configuring time and space in ways that modulate intensity, rhythm, passage through space, duration through time, aesthetic experience, and spatial expansion and compression” (p. 42). Such pedagogies put “inner thoughts, feelings, memories, fears, desires, and ideas in relation to outside others, events, history, culture, and socially constructed ideas” (p. 37). Foremost in Ellsworth’s conceptualization is her understanding that “to be alive and to inhabit a body is to be continuously and radically in relation with the world, with others, and with what we make of them” (p. 4). As I discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of relation figures prominently in Indigenous epistemologies, pedagogies and research. In developing this lens, I also thought about Donald’s (2012) argument for “ethical relationality” which he characterizes as “a transactional form of imagination that asks us to see ourselves implicated in the lives of others not normally considered relatives” (p. 93). As I will discuss in Chapter 6, Donald’s conceptualization of relationality moved to the foreground as I worked to understand my experience in Monkman’s exhibition.

My approach with this lens is, like Ellsworth’s inquiries into anomalous places of learning, experiential and located within pedagogical encounters that activate non-cognitive registers of experience stimulated through the power of art, curation and design. The pedagogic
force of an exhibition works not only cognitively but creates possibilities for relationality, embodied learning and a visceral and intense experience. In his messaging around *Shame and Prejudice*, Monkman tells the story of an epiphany he had as he stood in the Prado Museum in front of 19th-century Spanish painter Antonio Gisbert’s depiction of an execution scene:

When I saw that painting it really moved me because I knew that painting still had the potential to move people emotionally. I knew that painting still had the possibility to hold a narrative, to engage all the formal aspects of painting that had been kind of broken down by the modernists into reductive vocabularies. But to harness all of these vocabularies of painting and to channel them to serve a larger purpose which is to tell a story. And I really was taken by that painting because it was very strongly emotional; it was about a specific moment in history. It was so beautifully painted, the expressions on the men’s faces; the composition was very, sort of quiet. . . . What made that experience of seeing that painting so profound was time just collapsed, and there I was in that moment and I felt that the artist had achieved something by basically time travelling with his painting, 150 years into the future where I was completely moved by what I was seeing. So, I felt like I wanted to be able to create paintings that would enter art history and educate and move people not just in the present but 150 years from now. (Monkman, 2017b, 4:27)

Monkman is pointing to the possibility of painting to move us and affect us bodily, to how not only through its content but also through its language, art can offer something transcendent. Art fosters criticality as “a powerful form of representation” (Clover, 2018, p. 90), and it also works on us in powerfully nonrepresentational ways. As Pollock (2008), writing about painting as a site of feminist intervention, observes:
Painting is a physical practice, involving concrete materials and active gestures while creating an imaginary space on the canvas. This can be representational or non-figurative. It affects us as viewers not merely by offering a spectacle but by calling upon sympathetic responses that engage our bodies’ memories of space, colour and, importantly, touch. (p. 192)

Pollock thus speaks to the capacity of painting to engage us in a multidimensional experience that engages our whole being with its physicality and materiality.

Discussing the three lenses separately as I have done here is artificial in that they are not mutually exclusive, and they intertwine within lived experience. Initially, I believed that I would keep my analytical lenses separate as tools for reading the exhibition, organizing my data, and writing my account. However, the lenses continually blurred, merged and dissolved into each other within my experience of Monkman’s exhibition. Moreover, feelings of discomfort and doubt about my researcher tools quickly emerged during my first visit to the exhibition at the Glenbow. I began to see my lenses when kept separate as devolving into a heartlessness of categories that mirrors the cold gaze of the colonizer. Rejecting Euro-Western tendencies to keep head and heart apart, I have opted for a holistic approach that allows the lenses to emerge in response to the exhibition and through the telling of my experiences, while seeking to push at their boundaries. This approach has been shaped by the pedagogic force of Monkman’s exhibition, my learning through Indigenous scholarship, and the deeply self-reflexive nature of my autoethnographic engagement with *Shame and Prejudice*.

**Autoethnography and Settler Stories**

My research connects to the “narrative turn” in qualitative research (Clandinin & Caine, 2008, p. 542) and the growing interest within cultural studies in reflexivity and autoethnographic
approaches (Winter, 2013). In bringing together methodologies for a close reading of a cultural text with an autoethnographic methodology, I seek to subdue the expert stance of analyst, introduce reflexivity and vulnerability, and use the lens of my own unsettling to examine how Monkman’s exhibition works pedagogically to unsettle in ways needed for transforming settler relations with Indigenous peoples.

Autoethnography is a research methodology that uses “deep and careful self-reflection—typically referred to as ‘reflexivity’—to name and interrogate the intersections between self and society, the particular and the general, the personal and the political” (Adams, Holman Jones, & Ellis, 2015, p. 2). Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011) point out that autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that is both a process and a product. As a process, autoethnography involves “retrospectively and selectively” writing “about epiphanies that stem from, or are made possible by, being part of a culture and/or by possessing a particular cultural identity” (Section 2, para. 4), drawing on methodologies and the literature to analyze such experiences, and using the personal to illuminate the cultural. As an account of lived experience, autoethnography focuses on storytelling, and it engages with aesthetic, relational, affective and bodily experiences. Autoethnography involves looking “inward—into our identities, thoughts, feelings and experiences—and outward—into our relationships, communities, and cultures” and trying to take readers through this inward and outward process (Adams, Holman Jones, & Ellis, 2015, p. 46).

I approach my inquiry into the pedagogies of Shame and Prejudice as a storied self in interaction with a storied text. Similar to Kawalilak and Groen (2016) and Taber (2018), I use an autoethnographic methodology to reflect on, story and share the critical, transformative learning that emerges from engaging with an exhibition in ways that connect stories of self, family and
society to powerful museological experiences. In my study, this means looking reflexively at my settler self and settler culture and working through a process of settler storying and restorying as I engage with the unsettling pedagogical possibilities of Monkman’s exhibition. I conceptualize this as the writing of a critical, self-reflexive settler story in which I am willing to risk being a vulnerable self. According to Regan (2010), “settler stories as counter-narratives that create decolonizing space are both interior and relational. As such, they require us to risk revealing ourselves as vulnerable ‘not knowers’ who are willing to examine our dual positions as colonizer-perpetrators and colonizer-allies” (p. 28). Recognizing the value of autoethnography for unsettling, Regan (2010) inserts throughout her book “self-reflective critical personal narratives” that allow her to “situate and self-critique [her] decolonizing struggles” (p. 13). In my study, I tell the only story that I feel I can tell about Monkman’s exhibition as a white, heterosexual, cis-privileged settler Canadian woman working to be an ally, a self-reflexive settler story. Through my methodological choices, I have sought to offer a nuanced approach that brings multiple ways of knowing into this study.

My intention is not to claim an authority over any sort of final meaning of this exhibition or to speak for the artist/curator, or for Indigenous people whose lives, communities and histories this exhibition intersects, or for other visitors who will experience the exhibition from many different perspectives and points of privilege and oppression. It is not my purpose to make claims about how the exhibition will work on other visitors—if, to what extent, or in what ways they might experience an unsettling. An investigation into visitor responses to exhibitions such as Monkman’s, which seek to educate settler Canadians, is a rich area for future study. Inquiries such as Smith’s (2016) into how visitors negotiate historical narratives provide models for investigations that are both wide and deep. Sandlin, O’Malley, and Burdick (2011) call for more
research into “what public pedagogies mean and do from the viewpoint of their intended audiences” (p. 361). Like much scholarship in public pedagogy which is focused on sites of public pedagogy without studying how their intended audiences respond (e.g., Giroux and Ellsworth), my analysis is limited to the researcher’s perspective. In combining exhibition analysis and autoethnography, I have intentionally introduced a tension between, on the one hand, offering a reading informed by methodologies for engaging with sites of public pedagogy and performing close readings of cultural texts and, on the other, adopting a reflexivity and even vulnerability that deliberately complicates and disrupts my role as researcher/analyst and includes my position as learner.

In addition to process, there is also the product of autoethnography to consider. There are multiple narratives at work in this study. In addition to the storied self that I am, and the storied texts that I examine, there is also the story that I write. Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011) describe the writing of autoethnography as seeking “to produce aesthetic and evocative thick descriptions of personal and interpersonal experience” (Section 3, para. 5). The approach that I take is informed by the “layered account,” an autoethnographic approach that can be used to layer fragments of personal reflections, literature and theory, analysis, statistics, and other pieces of writing that offer different ways of knowing to the reader (e.g., Adams, 2006, 2012; Rambo, 2016; Rambo Ronai, 1992, 1995). Carol Rambo Ronai (1992) introduced the layered account as a way to write about lived experience that recognizes that “the telling of it is a circular process of interpretation that blurs and intertwines both cognitive and emotional understandings” (p. 104). Ronai (1995) has described the layered account as “a narrative form designed to loosely represent to, as well as reproduce for, the reader, a continuous dialectic of experience emerging from the multitude of reflexive voices that simultaneously produce and interpret a text” (p. 396).
Her layered account is “deliberately structured to resemble . . . the duree, the stream of consciousness as experienced in everyday life” (1995, p. 396) and uses “multiple layers of reflection . . . shifting forward, backward, and sideways through time, space, and various attitudes in a narrative format” (1992, p. 103).

My approach is much more structured than the notion of the duree suggests. My Glenbow Museum account is shaped by a mostly linear walk through the exhibition and my Confederation Centre of the Arts account is shaped largely around moving between the inside and the outside of the Art Gallery. Yet, within these relatively structured accounts, there are temporal, spatial and attitudinal shifts that convey an experience that incorporates different ways of knowing and my always changing understanding of my settler self and settler society in relation to the exhibition. There was, of course, no one walk through the exhibition at either location, but instead multiple walks through it and other spaces within the host museums and their environments over the time frames I have indicated. Even when I was not visiting the exhibition, I continued to reflect and everything from news media to everyday life coloured these reflections. And, the telling of the experience changes the experience as I quickly learned when it came to writing my account. As Ronai (1995) puts it: “I write myself, I edit myself, interacting with the self I wrote by objectifying it, judging it, and rewriting it in response” (p. 399).

In the end, the specific forms that autoethnographies take are always a reflection of what a particular writer seeks to say and accomplish. In my case, this is to integrate careful exhibition analysis with my settler story in relation to Monkman’s exhibition. My account shifts between observations in the exhibition, observations within other parts of the museum or outside the museum, written texts from the exhibition, statistics, literature, reflections, conversations,
CHAPTER 4: VISITING SHAME AND PREJUDICE: A STORY OF RESILIENCE
AT THE GLENBOW MUSEUM

I begin this chapter by considering the context for the exhibition of Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta (June 17- September 10, 2017). The public pedagogy of an exhibition extends beyond a museum’s walls as its audiences encounter it in different ways as part of an exhibition’s promotion machine. Social media, press coverage and artist talks become part of a chain of texts that have important implications for understanding an exhibition’s public pedagogy. Moreover, exhibitions are situated and experienced within specific contexts, within museum spaces and also the broader social and political environment in ways that connect with lands, histories, cultures and peoples. After providing context for the showing of Shame and Prejudice at the Glenbow, I offer an account of my experiences of the exhibition following the sequence of walking through its nine chapters.

Context for the Exhibition at the Glenbow

By the time Shame and Prejudice reached the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, only its second stop on a tour scheduled through 2017-2020 with showings in Toronto, Calgary, Kingston, Charlottetown, Halifax, Montreal, London, Winnipeg and Vancouver, it had already attracted extensive press coverage and social media buzz. Monkman’s messaging around the exhibition, disseminated through public interviews, tours and talks, provides audiences with insight into his artistic and curatorial intentions.\(^{15}\) He highlights the dark themes of colonization in Shame and Prejudice but also its message of Indigenous resilience. He also features Miss

\(^{15}\) I have selected quotations from specific sources, but Monkman’s messaging around Shame and Prejudice is consistent and can be found across the press, interviews and talks I have referenced in this dissertation.
Chief when discussing the exhibition, as a source of humour but also to discuss her roles as a time traveller who can interrupt and investigate history, a trickster who can cause major disruptions, and “an empowered persona to counter . . . colonized sexuality” (Hughes, 2017, para. 5). Monkman frames the exhibition as a critical response to Canada 150 that offers an Indigenous perspective and an educative experience for Canadians: “I really want Canadians to think hard about what the . . . last 150 years have meant to Indigenous people, and to educate themselves . . . and this was an opportunity to educate people” (Monkman, 2017b, 2:28). In addition to emphasizing his aim to “authorize into art history these very important events that happened to Indigenous people that are missing from the canon of art history” (2017b, 5:93), Monkman also talks about how museums have represented Indigenous people. *Shame and Prejudice* is one of his museum-based projects in which he works with museum objects and museum conventions of representation. Monkman explains that during a visit to the Natural History Museum in New York he noticed troubling representational practices:

> you walk through the museum and you see signage for primates this way and native people this way, and it’s a very disturbing experience. But in the Native American section you’ll see one face used to standardize all of Indigenous North America regardless of the nation or sex or gender or anything. (Art Museum at the University of Toronto, 2017a, 9:06)

This experience inspired him to put his face on all the mannequins in his dioramas. He also relates the effects of museum dioramas on him when, as a child, he would visit the Manitoba Museum in Winnipeg where he grew up: inside the museum he would see “Indigenous culture represented in a static way, frozen in time” and outside the museum he would see “skid row” and “the fallout of colonization”; through his art, he finds “a language to talk about some of these
things” (Art Museum at the University of Toronto, 2017a, 10:09). Monkman connects reconciliation to “restitution . . . real acts towards . . . Indigenous sovereignty, towards Indigenous people not being wards of the Canadian state” (Monkman, 2017b, 23:13). This exhibition is deeply personal for Monkman: he dedicates it to his grandmother Elizabeth Monkman, a survivor of the residential school in Brandon, Manitoba “who, like many of her generation, was shamed into silence in the face of extreme prejudice” (Monkman, 2017c, p. 9).

*Shame and Prejudice* debuted at the Art Museum at the University of Toronto on January 26, 2017 with a huge line forming on opening night and about a thousand people in attendance (Nahwegahbow, 2017). During its run until March 5, a total of 23,832 people visited the exhibition (Hart House, 2017). Promotion included a curator’s tour by Monkman at the Art Museum, a lecture that he gave at the University of Toronto, and an interview with the artist in his studio, all of which were made available online (Art Museum at the University of Toronto, 2017a, 2017b; University of Toronto, 2017). *The Globe and Mail* featured *Shame and Prejudice* as part of its Canada 150 coverage, with the tantalizing headline “Kent Monkman: A trickster with a cause crashes Canada’s 150th birthday party” (Everett-Green, 2017). The article previewed *The Daddies*, Monkman’s provocative response to the iconographic image of the Fathers of Confederation, along with other paintings from the show, and it concluded, “Party if you will, but Kent Monkman insists you remember the pain in our history too” (para. 39). *The Toronto Star* ran a preview, just a few days before the opening, featuring a shot of Monkman seated in the black-painted walls of the gallery in front of his painting *The Scream* which depicts children being torn from their mothers to be taken to residential school (Whyte, 2017). *CBC News* covered the exhibition as part of a piece on how Indigenous artists were choosing to participate, or not participate, in Canada 150 with Monkman opting-in in order to educate
Canadians (Sumanac-Johnson, 2017). The exhibition was featured in Canadian Art (Morgan-Feir, 2017); a Maclean’s article about Indigenous “rebranding” of Canada 150 singled out Shame and Prejudice as “the year’s most talked-about art exhibit” (Macdonald, 2017); and TVOntario ran an in-depth conversation with the artist (Monkman, 2017b). Monkman was a guest on CBC’s Indigenous radio program Unreserved (Monkman, 2017d), and the exhibition was reviewed in Indigenous media (e.g., Isaac, 2017; Johnson, 2017; Nahwegahbow, 2017; Potts, 2017). The Art Museum’s, Miss Chief’s, and Monkman’s social media accounts promoted the exhibition extensively, and an image of The Scream posted to Facebook went viral with about 300,000 views in about a week and a half (Monkman, 2017b).

Interest in the exhibition continued to accumulate after its close in Toronto. Highlights included a Canadian Art (2017) video of a studio visit with Monkman and an announcement that Colonialism Skateboards had obtained Monkman’s permission to reproduce an image of The Scream across a set of five boards (Taylor, 2017). Shame and Prejudice’s opening at the Glenbow was part of the summer season’s Launch Party on June 16. Programming for the exhibition included an artist talk by Monkman, a one-day screening of his video art, and tours by Glenbow Museum staff. Monkman promoted the exhibition locally with an interview for CBC Calgary’s The Homestretch, a radio news program designed for Calgary commuters (Monkman, 2017a). Local coverage also included pieces by the Calgary Herald (Volmers, 2017) and the Calgary arts and entertainment magazine Swerve (Hughes, 2017). On June 25, soon after the Glenbow opening, Monkman appeared in Toronto’s Pride Parade as the grand marshal, accompanied by volunteers dressed as Fathers of Confederation and giant peeing beavers.

With its Old West associations and abundance of triumphal narratives of progress and development—from cattle ranching and crops to railways and oil—Calgary is a rich site for
engaging in anti-colonial counter-narrative. Located at the confluence of the Bow and Elbow rivers in southern Alberta and where the Prairies meet the foothills of the Canadian Rockies, Calgary is built on the homelands of the Blackfoot peoples whose traditional territories extend across areas of southern Alberta and Saskatchewan and into northern Montana. The city originated in Fort Calgary, a post established in 1875 by the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) who were sent by the federal government to establish Canadian sovereignty over the West, and today Fort Calgary is a museum and heritage tourism site. Calgary is the third largest municipality in Canada (City of Calgary, 2018), and the economy of this major energy and finance centre is closely tied to oil markets. However, beneath the business suits and office towers, Calgary retains a Wild West heritage promoted in its tourism and celebrated every year during the Calgary Stampede. This multi-day outdoor festival and exhibition features a rodeo in which “cowboys” and “cowgirls” demonstrate their skills with horses, bulls and steers. Elbow River Camp, known until 2018 as “Indian Village,” has been a part of the Stampede since its founding in 1912. Through an agreement that the Stampede’s founder secured with the federal government, the Nations of Treaty 7 were given passes to leave their reserves in order to share their traditions and cultures publicly, practices that had been otherwise outlawed by the government. The Village, although functioning as a touristic spectacle, has thus played an important role as a site for the Nations to gather, maintain cultural practices, and get some control over their own representation (Onciul, 2015). The Glenbow Museum addressed this local heritage, commissioning Monkman to respond to the Stampede’s 100th anniversary in 2012. His response was the installation *The Big Four* which explored themes of Indigenous incarceration and mobility in relation to the Stampede’s beginnings and to contemporary disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Previously, in 2010, the Glenbow hosted *Kent*
Monkman: The Triumph of Mischief, a touring exhibition and retrospective of Monkman’s work.¹⁶ Featuring the campy adventures of Miss Chief across the Old West, the exhibition would have had much resonance in relation to its location.

Figure 2. The Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta. Exterior view near Stephen Avenue entrance, with advertising for Shame and Prejudice. June, 2017. Author photograph.

The Glenbow Museum is a place full of tensions and contradictions that derive from its origins, its important relationships with Indigenous peoples, and its dual roles as both a history museum and an art museum. An independent, non-profit organization, the museum is funded

¹⁶ See the Glenbow’s archived exhibitions on its website (https://www.glenbow.org/) for descriptions of The Big Four and The Triumph of Miss Chief.
through admissions and memberships, fundraising, the Government of Alberta, and revenues from other sources (Glenbow Museum, 2018). Located in the cultural district of downtown Calgary, the Glenbow occupies a 1970s-era building designed to also house the Telus Convention Centre (Figure 2). Within the public areas of the Glenbow, the ground floor has a reception desk, a theatre, and a shop; the sixth floor is dedicated to library and archives; and the second, third and fourth floors comprise the exhibition space. The collection of over a million objects, artworks, photographs and documents has its origins in the collecting habits of Eric Lafferty Harvie. In 1954, the oilman, lawyer and philanthropist established the Glenbow Foundation. In 1966, he donated to the people of Alberta his international collection of art and artefacts and his “extensive collection of artifacts from North America that tell the fascinating story of Aboriginal peoples, frontier exploration, and the development of western life” (Glenbow Museum, 2019, para. 8).

Harvie’s interest in Indigenous cultures and the location of the Glenbow Museum on Blackfoot homelands has shaped the museum’s history and development. A text panel on the ground floor informs visitors that Eric Harvie was made an honorary chief in 1962 by the local Blackfoot who named him “Old Sun” after one of the chiefs who signed Treaty 7. His daughter, Joy, received the name “New Sun” from the Blackfoot, Mohawk and Ojibway in 1995 in recognition of her work with Indigenous peoples. Within a few decades of its inception, however, the Glenbow found itself to be a centre of international controversy over its 1988 exhibition *The Spirit Sings*, as I discussed in Chapter 2. However, committed early on to transforming museum-Indigenous relations, the Glenbow became a leader among museums through its internationally-recognized, ground-breaking partnerships with the Blackfoot peoples developed with the support of then-CEO Robert Janes and under the leadership of senior curator
Gerald Conaty whose Ethnology department focused on building relationships rooted in establishing trust, participating in Blackfoot ceremonies, employing Blackfoot people, introducing cultural programming, implementing Blackfoot protocols, improving Blackfoot access to their cultural and sacred materials, and repatriating items (Conaty, 2015; Onciul, 2015). Most visible to the visiting public was the Glenbow’s opening in 2001 of Niitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life, The Blackfoot Gallery, an 8180 square foot, $1.915 million exhibition that was the result of an intensive, four-year collaboration with Blackfoot Elders from the Siksika, Kainai, and Piikani Nations in Alberta and the Blackfeet Nation from Montana (Onciul, 2015). The Glenbow provided technical expertise to develop the exhibition while recognizing the authority of the Blackfoot Elders to “tell their story in their own way—through stories and in relation to the land and territory” (Brown, 2002, p. 71). Onciul (2015) has expressed concern that this relationship-building did not extend across the wider institution, particularly when in 2008 the Glenbow began to focus on art. The Glenbow’s mandate, as stated in its 2017-2018 report to the community, is “to be a leading centre of art in western Canada” (Glenbow Museum, 2018, p. 6), a statement that oddly ignores the history museum part of its dual functions. According to the brochure, “Find Your Way at Glenbow,” that I picked up at the reception desk, the museum’s mandate is “to celebrate and share the history, creativity and beauty of western Canada” (Glenbow Museum, n.d.), which misses an opportunity to address the museum’s important relationship with Treaty 7 peoples. I am unable to comment on the museums’ current engagements with the Blackfoot Nations, or aspects of its non-formal educational programming, as my research inquires into what is made visible to the visiting public.

I visited Shame and Prejudice at the Glenbow from June 21-25, 2017, and I also attended sessions of the Commonwealth Association of Museums’ Heritage and Nation Building
Symposium that were being hosted at the Glenbow. When I was not doing either of those things, I explored the numerous galleries and displays of this large museum. This was not my first time at the Glenbow, but it might as well have been. I had visited in 1998 when the museum’s exhibits would have been very different and my main motivation was keeping our ten-year old entertained during a family holiday. I barely recall that visit. This time, I was aware of the striking disparities in museological and curatorial sensibilities as I moved from one exhibit to the next, encountering the colliding discourses of a museum that offers a celebratory settler narrative of western Canada while at the same time demonstrating a commitment, through exhibitions such as Monkman’s and workshops that bring in the art of Indigenous youth, to creating a vibrant, dynamic space for Indigenous voices, stories and perspectives. I viewed a highly romanticized version of settling the West in *Picturing the Northwest*, a permanent display of historical western North American art which takes up a prominent space on the second floor. From there, I could look across the lobby to where Monkman’s powerful counter-narrative was installed. I visited two temporary art exhibitions on the second floor, *Romancing the Canoe* (June-September 2017) which explored how the canoe is celebrated in Canadian art and *North of Ordinary* (February-August, 2017) which featured the Arctic photography of Geraldine and Douglas Moodie. As I relate in my account, both of these exhibitions feature a settler perspective on the lands and peoples thus creating intertextual tensions when read in relation to Monkman’s exhibition. I also quickly dipped into the *Art of Asia Gallery*, a showcase of sacred objects from the Buddhist and Hindu cultures which has since closed. On the third floor, I felt the shock to my system of moving from the Blackfoot storytelling of *Niitsitapiisinni* into the dominant settler narrative of *Mavericks: An Incorrigible History of Alberta* which celebrates the adventurous men and women who shaped Alberta’s development. The multi-gallery, multi-media 24,000 square
foot exhibit opened in March 2007 at a cost of $12 million (Lewis, 2007). The exhibit highlights Alberta’s past and present with sections on exploration and the fur trade, the railroad, ranching, the oil and gas industry, newcomers, and more. Also on the third floor, I saw a contemporary, dynamic exhibit called *The Power in Pictures: The Outside Circle and the Impact of the Graphic Novel* in which images from Métis author Patti Laboucane-Benson’s graphic novel hung alongside art made by young people from the Urban Society of Aboriginal Youth during workshops led by the book’s illustrator Kelly Mellings. I also visited the *New Sun Gallery* (named after Harvie’s daughter) with its displays of Indigenous art and culture. Up on the fourth floor, I wandered through five centuries of warfare, displays of rocks and minerals, a West African Gallery and an artist’s video-based installation, feeling completely overwhelmed. Still reflecting its beginnings in Harvie’s ambitious vision to be "Where the World Meets the West" (Glenbow Museum, 2019, para. 9), the Glenbow has a tendency to come across as eclectic.

I do not write about all of my Glenbow experiences in my account but instead incorporate moments from some of them, selectively, and in relation to my experience of *Shame and Prejudice*. My account consolidates experiences accumulated and documented over the five-day period I was at the Glenbow during the summer of Canada 150, as Canada was celebrating its 21st National Indigenous Peoples Day,¹⁷ as Calgary was gearing up for its 105th Stampede, and with Canada’s big birthday bash a little over a week away.

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¹⁷ Previously called National Aboriginal Day, this day recognizes and celebrates the contributions of Indigenous peoples.
Walking through Shame and Prejudice in Nine Chapters

As we near the Glenbow, I see that the museum has placed its advertising for Monkman’s exhibition in a well-travelled spot, near the entrance to Stephen Avenue Walk, a pedestrian mall of shops and restaurants. The advertisement, featuring Monkman’s The Daddies (2016), is attention-grabbing with the gender-bending Miss Chief exposing herself to the group of white men in their 19th-century suits as they sit and stand around a table in a grand, red-carpeted chamber—likely an odd sight to passersby unfamiliar with Monkman’s exhibition. We’ve arrived early, my husband and I, so that I can have a full day of visiting. We had discussed the possibility of his joining me at the museum later, but going to museums is something we usually do together, and I want to feel more like a visitor than a researcher for my first encounter with the exhibition. Besides, I know that as an artist he is eager to see this exhibition too. Entering the building, we find ourselves at first in a rather bland, functional space that feels more like a convention centre than a museum. Entering the museum proper, we purchase our Glenbow memberships at reception and then head up via the grand, brass-railed central staircase to Monkman’s exhibition on the second floor, past a giant, multi-faceted, glittery sculpture that ascends to the ceiling several stories above.

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“Chapter I: New France, Reign of the Beaver”

At both of the entrances to Shame and Prejudice, there are souvenir exhibition booklets and an advisory notice. Visitors are advised that the exhibition “contains mature content, including sexuality and nudity” and, in smaller font, that “it addresses the subject of residential schools and subject matter that may be disturbing to some visitors.” There is a contact number
for the National Residential School Crisis Line “to access emotional and crisis referral services” which suggests that there is much more at risk here than being offended by sexuality and nudity.

I have already spotted Miss Chief. She is in period costume, but I would know her anywhere. Drawn to Miss Chief, my husband and I decide to enter into what turns out to be Chapter I of the exhibition. But first, the exhibition title wall. On a wall painted deep blue, elegant gilt lettering is set within decorative lines and swirls that frame the text. There is the title *Shame and Prejudice* and, below it, the subtitle *A Story of Resilience* and then, below that, *Excerpts from the Memoir of*. Finally, with an extra bit of flourish and in cursive lettering, there is the name *Miss Chief Eagle Testickle*. Just outside and above the decorative framing there is an image of two winged beavers who appear to pray, each with hands clasped together and looking upward as though towards heaven. The name Kent Monkman appears in smaller font just below the beavers.

Bal (1996) writes that, “Walking through a museum is like reading a book” (p. 4). Like the title page of an antiquarian book, the exhibition title wall invites me into its story. I feel like I am walking into a book, not just any book but a personal account, a life story told by Miss Chief.

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That part about feeling like I was walking into a book connects to my narrative lens for exhibition analysis. I had supposed that the way I could write this up would be as a walk through the exhibition, three times, written in three parts, each one attending to a different analytical lens. But my plan fell apart. I felt that I was trying to impose an order that I definitely did not experience in the exhibition. Trying to determine where this should go, where that should go, began to seem like a futile exercise. More than that, it felt false, distant, cold and colonizing. Cold and colonizing, like Sir John A. Macdonald’s gaze, something I will get to later in this
account. Instead, I have decided to let my lenses emerge holistically through the telling as I follow the exhibition’s story.

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Miss Chief is seated on a swing, the ropes of which are festooned with garlands of leaves and flowers (Figures 3 & 4). The trimmings on her gown are lace and beaver fur and she wears moccasins. Her dark hair is curled and piled high, and it is ornamented with dreamcatchers. She has an Indigenous-Rococo look. In the romantic vignette suggested by this odd twist on a museum diorama, two white, wigged men in 18th-century uniform appear to be courting her. They hold onto ropes, making it seem as though they are swinging Miss Chief across the patch of flowering garden on which they kneel and recline. The motion-activated installation creates an awkward creaking and bumping noise whenever someone approaches. All three figures have

Monkman’s face, but Miss Chief’s slightly darker complexion and dark hair signal her Indigeneity. The suitor in blue holds out a bouquet towards Miss Chief. The suitor in red seems to have come to life and walked off the canvas that hangs on the nearby wall. The painting is attributed to the workshop of Anglo-American artist Benjamin West. It is his famous history painting *The Death of General Wolfe* (ca. 1760) in which the British General swoons, tended by his men and near death from the mortal wounds he suffered on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. An Indigenous man, chin on hand like Rodin’s “Thinker,” looks on. Although Wolfe lay dying, the French, led by the Marquis de Montcalm, lost the battle, and the city of Quebec fell to the British. The end of New France was nigh.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir:

I had them both wrapped around my elegant pinkies in those days, Montcalm and Wolfe. They fell over themselves to curry my favour.

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Montcalm and Wolfe, rivals for Miss Chief’s attention, signify Britain and France—great empires, bitter enemies, aggressive competitors for colonies and riches, and rivals in a grand commercial enterprise driven by the desire for beaver. The piece is cleverly titled *Scent of a Beaver* (2016). It is an obvious pun that alludes to what has attracted the two rivals: the lucrative beaver trade in “luxurious pelts” and castoreum for “opulent perfumes,” as Miss Chief writes in her memoir, but also (as in the title of a popular film) the scent of a woman. Pelts and perfumes, in either case, to these men. Miss Chief, revealing nothing, sits stolidly on her swing, with the power to favour one suitor, or neither, or both.

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In his foreword to the exhibition booklet, Monkman refers to French painter Jean-Honoré Fragonard’s Rococo painting *The Swing* (1767) as his inspiration. Fragonard’s young woman sits on a swing with one man pushing her while another man, who is reclining in the shrubbery, looks up her skirt. Like her, Miss Chief balances the attention of two men, or rival nations. This allusion to the Rococo, with its penchant for depicting scenes of courtship, seduction, amorousness and the erotic situates Miss Chief’s early adventures with European men within the romance genre, a rich site for investigating gendered power relations.

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*Figure 5. Romancing the Canoe,* installation view, Glenbow, Calgary, 2017. Author photograph.

Across the foyer from Miss Chief on her swing, I find more romance. The feature exhibition *Romancing the Canoe* explores the passion for the canoe in Canadian art from the
19th to the 21st centuries. The font for the word “Romancing” on the title wall looks like it has been pulled from the cover of a romance novel. The didactics for this exhibition begin, as love affairs often do, with “The Encounter.” When French explorer Samuel de Champlain arrived near what is now Tadoussac, Quebec in 1603, he “marvelled at the light and quick canoes that circled his comparatively cumbersome ships.” With romance in the air, I imagine the “Father of New France” looking out lustfully from his large, powerful ship at these smaller, darting vessels, pondering how they might increase his prowess and deciding to make them his. The panel goes on to explain that canoes were soon adopted by the European newcomers who, also benefitting from Indigenous peoples’ knowledge of trade and travel routes, found them to be indispensable to the fur trade and exploration. The artwork in the exhibition, curated from the Glenbow and other collections, is used to tell the story of how the canoe entered European and settler imaginations, was romanticized, and became a Canadian symbol. As one didactic points out, however, the canoe carries multiple meanings including colonization and appropriation, but also Indigenous revival.

A beautiful birchbark canoe is the centrepiece for one part of the exhibit (Figure 5). Positioned in a way that emphasizes its shaft-like and phallic shape, the canoe’s form extends visually as a thrust across the gallery. It penetrates the space as it might the waterways of a great continent under the command of intrepid men eager to explore and commodify “new” lands, pushing ever inward against a harsh climate, unforgiving wilderness and forbidding shores.

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An official symbol of Canada, prized for its role in the development of the nation, the beaver is almost everywhere in Chapter I which is titled “New France, Reign of the Beaver.” In a display case to the right of West’s painting of Wolfe, objects serve as tangible reminders of the
beaver as a source of currency and wealth on these fought-over lands. Silver headband, gorget and cross pendant, all are decorated with beaver motifs. Monkman’s *Beaver Rosary* (2016), with its pewter crucified beaver standing in for Christ nailed to the cross, disrupts with its dark humour this display of objects from the Glenbow’s collection. The religious iconography in the displayed objects meets up with West’s painting, underscoring visual associations between the dying British general and paintings of the Lamentation of Christ and reminding me that Christianity and European empire building are deeply intertwined. Mid-room, a display of early 20th-century Anishinaabeg moccasins and gauntlets trimmed with beaver fur connect the beaver to Indigenous culture and trade.

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Along the wall opposite West’s painting, there are more beavers, offering a riot of beaver imagery in artworks both historical and created by Monkman. In his large-scale painting *The Massacre of the Innocents* (2015) and in *Study for Les Castors du Roi* (2011), Monkman represents the violence of beaver hunting. The violence, which involves not only traps but also brutal beatings and slayings by both non-Indigenous and Indigenous hunters, is made all the worse because the beavers have human expressions as they struggle, pray, and plead for their lives. In *Massacre*, Miss Chief, wearing nothing but her signature Louboutin red-soled high heels, comforts a beaver behind a tree while two other beavers beg for her help. Amidst the slaughter, Monkman’s *Study for the Beaver Bacchanal* (2015) offers a bit of levity with its revelling beavers who lounge about drinking wine, eating fruit and urinating. They seem blissfully unaware of the horrors coming their way. The pairing of this image of bacchante beavers with a Baroque painting from Peter Paul Ruben’s Studio, *The Fruit Dance* (ca. 1616-17), in which plump cherubs frolic with a garland of fruit, emphasizes abundance, sensuality and
excess. These lighter themes combine in my mind with the scenes of violence in the other work to create a deep sense of unease. European demand for furs was unsustainable, and the reign of the beaver had to come to an end. For now, however, this is a time when Indigenous peoples had power as highly desired economic partners in the fur trade.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir:

The power was in our camp back then, when we, the Cree, Iroquois, Assiniboine, and the other Red Nations, controlled these territories. No one got rich or powerful without us on their side.

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Appearing in each chapter as three large pages pinned to the wall beneath the chapter title text, Miss Chief’s memoir excerpts are presented in Cree, English and French. The presence of an Indigenous language and its priority of placement before Canada’s “official” languages serves as a powerful reminder that it was spoken here on these lands long before the arrival of Europeans, and it is still here. The pages look yellowed and aged as though really taken from an old, oversized book. These memoir pages weave Miss Chief’s unique and passionate voice throughout the exhibition, connecting past, present and future, connecting history to real people, connecting everything. The didactics in which museums speak authoritatively and all-knowingly have been replaced by this deeply human narration. In Chapter I, Miss Chief’s tone is naughty, saucy and self-assured. And, she is not afraid of a good sexual pun: “Our poor beavers, almost decimated by overuse (something I’ll never say about my own).” Sometimes, though, she makes deeply human errors in judgment: “Why not humour those handsome Jesuit priests? There were far too few to cause much confusion. . . .”
Quotations in Miss Chief’s memoir support and heighten the impact of her words, connecting her narrative to real people and events and thus serving as a reminder that although Miss Chief and Monkman intervene creatively in history, there is also “real” history in this exhibition. For this chapter, Miss Chief quotes the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* in which the British Crown recognized that the Indigenous nations under its protection would retain title to lands not ceded to or purchased by the Crown.

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“Chapter IV: Starvation”

Figure 6. “Chapter IV: Starvation.” *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman*, installation view, Glenbow, Calgary, 2017. Author photograph.
The nine chapters of Miss Chief’s memoir tell the story of Canada from the period of New France to the harsh urban streets of Winnipeg today. Two entry points at the Glenbow offer two very different experiences. To go one way is to start with a prequel to the story of Confederation, a time when Indigenous people were valued as trade partners; to go the other is to start with the cruel outcome of the past 150 years of Confederation and then work back to a time that would by comparison seem a golden age in Indigenous-settler relations.

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Moving from Chapter I to the next chapter, I find myself pushed forward in time, ahead in the story to Chapter IV (Figure 6). My expectation that the exhibition would be sequenced according to the numbered chapters had not accounted for the logistical issues in trying to fit a touring exhibition into different museums. The effect is jarring in its disruption of the routine of walking a chronological, linear path through history in a museum. It seems fitting though. The exhibition’s narrator is, after all, a time traveller.

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The long dining table that spans most of the length of Chapter IV is set as though for a celebratory meal, an extravagant one. I walk along, bending and peering into the vitrine that covers almost all of the tabletop. There are filled champagne flutes, bunches of grapes, elegant candelabra, and serving plates with an assortment of crackers, cheeses and glistening caviar; there are dinner rolls, silver-plated tableware, commemorative plates and cigar boxes, and wine and spirits. Symbols of nation-building cover the surfaces of objects: General Wolfe, the beaver, the railroad, and the Fathers of Confederation are all proudly displayed. I am drawn into the beauty within the vitrine as I photograph it, a sparkling, glittery world full of reflections, fine things and history.

Then, there is less food, a spilled glass of red wine, an image of Queen Elizabeth II on a plate, and the vitrine ends (Figure 7). The glossy finish of the table devolves into rough, bare boards, and the white lace table runner becomes yellowed and tattered. Six plates decorated with reproductions of archival photographs of huge mounds of buffalo bones form place settings amidst a scattering of small animal bones. Some of the little bones are portioned out onto each plate. Reading a legend on the wall that outlines the table’s contents, I learn that these are Monkman’s *Starvation Plates* (2017). Placed outside the vitrine, these plates are not part of the usual national iconography or proud stories that history museums exhibit. The meal outside the
vitrine is a meal for those who have been excluded from the plenty on display and instead of offering food these dishes promise hunger. Collected, crushed, and sent to England to produce bone china, the bones of the nearly exterminated buffalo were turned into plates for fine dining. For those who relied on the buffalo for food, plates became empty.

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I hear a creepy sound in the exhibition, the clatter of bones on china. A visitor has taken the Starvation Plates to be an interactive display. After he leaves, I go back to the table installation. He has tried to assemble the tiny bones into an animal form on one of the plates, a horrific indicator of how little food this would be for a party of six.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir:

Before the settlers came, all of us across Turtle Island were rich, in buffalo robes, in food, in our ability to go out on the land or water and bring back whatever we needed for our people. We didn’t beg for scraps at anyone’s table. They told us how important the Iron Horse was, and the riches it would bring to all. Blinded by their promises, I led the way. It was only later that I realized they did not consider us part of the “all.”

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Miss Chief is leading the way, wearing her black stilettos and a hot pink breechcloth that is diaphanous enough to leave her penis slightly visible (Figure 8). Her muscular arms are wrapped in the same fabric, recalling the gossamer-like veils of the floating putti and angels of art history. She appears as some sort of anachronistic vision within a sublime, mountainous North American landscape. In depicting the land this way, Monkman is working within and subverting 19th-century landscape traditions, especially American artist Albert Bierstadt’s panoramic views of the West. The gauzy material and her hair flutter as though caught by a breeze. Her pose is fashion-conscious but also somehow delicate, as she stretches one hand out towards a giant iron horse, reminiscent of the Trojan Horse, which is being pushed and pulled on
wheels by Indigenous people along a railway track. Monkman has titled the painting *Iron Horse* (2015), referencing locomotives, those powerful instruments of westward expansion and nation building. Miss Chief’s other hand is poised above her heart. She glances back over her shoulder towards where, under the trees, there are clusters of white men clad in dark frock coats and top hats. Railroad men perhaps, or politicians. She seems to be having a moment of doubt about what their national dreaming means for her people.

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Monkman, in his foreword to the exhibition booklet: “Miss Chief lives in the past, present and future. She embodies the flawed and playful trickster spirit, teasing out the truths behind false histories and cruel experiences” (2017, p. 4).

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Four cowboys on horseback with pistols held aloft seem to be having a riotous good time. I imagine them shouting “yee-haw” as they tear across the plains stirring up a cloud of dust in their wake, and I suspect that they are up to no good. Perhaps they are on a reckless, drunken
binge or they are even chasing after “Indians.” They are part of the Glenbow’s permanent exhibition *Picturing the Northwest* (Figure 9) which features historical art from the museum’s collection. The cowboys are part of a bronze piece by Frederic Remington, one of the white chroniclers of the Old West on display here. The wall didactics note the near extermination of the buffalo by white hunters and point out that First Nations were “confined to reserves and provided with inadequate rations and no means of subsistence.” However, the art visually overpowers such statements, creating an overwhelmingly celebratory atmosphere around a Northwest filled with abundant wildlife, exotic “Indians,” magnificent scenery, and settler opportunities just there for the taking. The sculptors and painters on display cast a European lens on Indigenous people, creating static, romanticized representations such as Austrian Carl Kauba’s bronze, *Indian with Birchbark Canoe*.

Across only a few feet of carpet, Monkman and Miss Chief counter with a narrative of Indigenous resilience. The Glenbow does nothing to engage visitors in examining critically how its permanent display collides with Monkman’s. The museum misses the opportunity for self-reflexivity about how it constructs knowledge of the past and for bringing visitors into critical dialogue with *Picturing the Northwest*’s interpretation of history.

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Miss Chief tells in her memoir of how settlers shot buffalo from the trains, leaving them to rot, of how “the soldiers knew we couldn’t live without the buffalo. . . . our people were starving. It was one more way they tried to make us disappear, but the buffalo came back, and we never left.”

She offers two quotations. In one, Lawrence Clarke writes in 1880 of how Indians on the reserve “receive from the Indian Department just enough food to keep soul and body together,
they are all but naked, many of them barefooted. Should sickness break out among them in their present weakly state the fatality would be dreadful.” In another quotation, a Lakota holy man’s dream has foretold the coming of a “strange race” that weaves a spider’s web around the Lakota who find themselves starving beside “square gray houses, in a barren land.”

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Images chronicling the buffalo hang on the wall next to Monkman’s Iron Horse painting. There are 18th- and 19th-century illustrations presented as framed pages that connect to the exhibition’s book motif. These are complemented by artworks by the American painters Albert Bierstadt and George Catlin. Romantic Euro-depictions. To the left of the grouping of images, the wall has been left bare, signifying an absence, the near extinction of the buffalo. Below this emptiness, a display case presents a military rifle, the weapon used in their mass slaughter. The conventional display case and neutral label (“Sharps Model 1874 Military Rifle. steel, iron, wood. Collection of Glenbow”) might in an ordinary museum position the rifle as just another artifact of westward expansion. But here the display is disrupted through the juxtaposition of the rifle with the empty wall, the Starvation Plates, and Miss Chief’s powerful memoir excerpt. The rifle is activated in my mind as a weapon of starvation aimed at containment, erasure and genocide.

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Figure 10. Buffalo Jump display, *Niitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life* (Blackfoot Gallery), Glenbow, Calgary, 2017. Author photograph.

Up on the Glenbow’s third floor, buffalo are prominently displayed in the Blackfoot Gallery (Figure 10). Didactic panels written by Blackfoot exhibition team members tell visitors that the buffalo “were everywhere” until they “had disappeared.” A buffalo skull on the ground behind barbed wire fencing signifies what the written text calls “The End of the Buffalo Days.” The panel explains that the Canadian and US governments insisted that the Blackfoot move onto reserves and reservations if they wanted help. The people were starving and could not resist. In this space filled with Blackfoot stories and voices, I have an overwhelming sense of the land I am on, that *Shame and Prejudice* is on, that the museum is on, and that the city of Calgary has been built over. Miss Chief’s narrative of settlers and soldiers decimating buffalo herds and
Monkman’s *Starvation Plates* connect to the place where I am standing. I think of all the buffalo that once covered this land. And then, gone. Disappeared. I am standing where starvation happened.

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My husband was making dinner, and I was making him cry. This was several months after visiting *Shame and Prejudice* at the Glenbow. I wanted to know more about Miss Chief’s narrative of starvation, and I needed to share the horror of what I had been reading. It was James Daschuk’s (2013) extensively researched book *Clearing the Plains: Disease, politics of starvation, and the loss of Indigenous life*. The Dominion of Canada, led by Sir John A. Macdonald, eager for railways and western settlement deemed Indigenous people to be in the way. With buffalo on the brink of extinction and food scarce, First Nations communities on the Plains were desperate. Macdonald’s government brought food in, but it became something to stingily dole out, to avoid accusations of government overspending, to withhold as a way of coercing First Nations onto reserves, and to punish perceived resistance. In the hands of some federal Indian agents, food became something to exchange for sex with women and girls. Thousands of Indigenous people succumbed to severe malnutrition and disease while food rotted in government ration houses. I told my husband all this, and we stood there in our kitchen struggling to fathom the magnitude of what can only be described as a state policy of forced starvation, and how we had never been taught this in school.

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After visiting “Starvation,” I look back to Chapter I, to “New France, Reign of the Beaver” with Miss Chief on her swing and the two doting, beaver-entranced white men at her feet. Chapter I tells a story of European rivals courting Indigenous allies in a power struggle over
the riches of the “new world,” and there are riches for all. By Chapter IV, with romance at an end, the narrative has turned far away from courtship to one of forced starvation. The plentiful beaver and Indigenous freedom of Chapter I have been replaced by the nearly exterminated buffalo herds and the dependence of Chapter IV. Monkman’s table installation cuts sharply between the two chapters.

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“Chapter II: Fathers of Confederation”

Figure 11. Kent Monkman, The Daddies, 2016, acrylic on canvas, 60 x 112.5 in. Image courtesy of the artist. With permission.

At first glance it is an iconic image, one that Canadians will even find printed in their passports: The Fathers of Confederation. The subject of the painting is the meeting of the delegates representing the British North American colonies which led to the creation of the Dominion of Canada. In Monkman’s version, The Daddies (Figure 11), Miss Chief has crashed
the party and is stealing the show. She appears naked, with her back to the viewer and her legs open as she exposes herself to the delegates. Always fashion-conscious, she has accessorized with black stiletto heels, perfect make-up, and manicured nails, and her long hair is pushed back enough to reveal a dangly earring. One of her muscular arms is raised with an oratorical flourish as she addresses the Fathers who are grouped around a table in the grand chamber. I imagine that Miss Chief is telling the Fathers of Confederation that her people deserve a seat at this table, to have a say in the nation-building process.

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Miss Chief begins the second chapter of her memoir by quoting the memorable first line from Jane Austen’s widely-read and frequently-adapted romance, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813): “It is a truth universally acknowledged that a single man in possession of a good fortune must be in a need of a wife.” As alluded to in the exhibition title, and as Monkman explains in his foreword to the exhibition booklet, the narrative frame for *Shame and Prejudice* is inspired partly by Austen’s book. I had to read the novel many years ago for an undergraduate English literature course. I remember not having much empathy for the Bennet sisters who must navigate the complexities of class and propriety in 19th-century England as they seek to reconcile their romantic ideals with the realities of needing to secure a profitable marriage for their and their family’s future. The girls seemed somewhat silly and annoying to me at the time. But now I think about how what Austen’s opening line seeks to capture is not so much “truth” but instead the young women’s wishful thinking. I find myself wondering if Miss Chief hoped that, like Elizabeth Bennet, she too would make a good match and live happily ever after with her own rich Mr. Darcy. Perhaps Wolfe, or maybe Montcalm, or possibly one of those Fathers of Confederation.
From the Chapter II space there is a clear sightline back to the *Starvation Plates* in Chapter IV. Monkman’s table installation has a visual echo in *The Daddies*, the table around which the delegates have assembled and where they are carving up and deciding the future of Indigenous lands. As I look at Miss Chief in Monkman’s painting, working hard to try to secure a prosperous alliance for her people, my heart fills with a deep sadness. Miss Chief has already shown me the future. The near-extinction of the buffalo and forced starvation come soon after Confederation. It is a reversal of fortune of devastating proportions.

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*Figure 12. Monkman’s The Daddies with works by Harris. “Chapter II.” Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman, installation view, Glenbow, Calgary, 2017. Image courtesy of the Glenbow Museum. With permission.*

I’m sitting on a bench in front of *The Daddies*, one of those standard black benches they have in art museums (Figure 12). Beside me, there is a Hudson’s Bay Company blanket. The
multi-stripe iconic woolen blanket conveys to me its long history and multiple meanings: historically a colonial trade good, now a desirable consumer item, a slice of nostalgic Canadiana, a signifier of the colonial relationship, and a dark piece of material culture associated with epidemic and death.\textsuperscript{18} It is a duplicate of the blanket in \textit{The Daddies} where Monkman has draped it over a crate, transforming it into something for Miss Chief to perch her bare bottom on as she digs her anachronistic spiked heels into the blanket’s folds. I am not sure if the security guard will object if I touch it or sit on it, so I leave the blanket on the bench alone. It seems to me that the blanket beside me is extending Monkman’s painted version into the real-life space of the museum and the two spaces are becoming one. I feel that I am somehow sitting with Miss Chief as she challenges the Fathers of Confederation, sitting in solidarity with her as an ally. Bench, blanket, painting, and the act of sitting are somehow working together to put me into this relationship. Yet, I am also deeply aware of my settler complicity and of the privilege that has accrued to my family and left Miss Chief’s family subjected to countless forms of colonial violence.

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With her heightened expression of femininity, masculine body, and unabashed sexuality, Miss Chief adds an unexpected erotic charge to the staid scene (Figure 11). There is also the suggestion that the daddies have been drinking (there are bottles and champagne glasses on the table) and that Miss Chief might be encouraging this in order to make them more pliable. The wooden crate she sits on has elegant partial lettering (\textit{Chate Miss Ch}), perhaps a clue that the drinks are of the “Chateau Miss Chief” variety. Daddies’ eyes, pale blue and bloodshot, stare out

\textsuperscript{18} See McDonald (2012) for an analysis of how contemporary Indigenous artists are repurposing the woolen blanket to create new, resistive meanings.
disconcertingly at Miss Chief, perhaps bewildered, or bedazzled, or lustful. She gazes right back at them, and I am invited to assume her viewing position as she exposes their sexually repressed hypocrisies.

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Miss Chief makes gender and sexuality, often hidden territories for museums, visible. She makes it impossible to not think of gender and sexuality, and how these relate to power, history, identity and our own personal experiences. Miss Chief brings to the surface all of my own lifelong questions around gender. Her heightened femininity, although I find beauty in it, causes me a little discomfort because that is not something that I can see myself doing or being. It also causes me much pleasure, though, because she is so disruptive and not easily deciphered. Constructions of girlhood, womanhood and femininity are spaces that I have navigated clumsily and awkwardly and with resistance but also a fear of failure. I have not liked being told who I should be as a woman—a being-told that comes from both patriarchal hierarchical structures and also (yet I identify as a feminist) from some feminisms that also create binaries, but in a way that is supposed to be liberating. Within the safety net of cisgender and heterosexual privilege, I nudge at the confines of gender constructions. My visible transgressions have never been much more radical than rejecting the white wedding dress for tailcoat and trousers.

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Against gallery walls painted a deep red that suggests power and desire, daddies seem to be everywhere in Chapter II. There are daddies upon daddies, a multiplicity of representations that build up an image of patriarchy as the source of the Dominion, of dominion and paternalistic control. In The Daddies, Sir John A. Macdonald, who became the new nation’s first prime minister, is framed in the central window of the composition. He stands out as the first daddy of
Canada. On the same wall as Monkman’s painting, there are six pieces by Canadian painter Robert Harris, the originator of the image of *The Fathers of Confederation* (Figure 12). Sketches, studies, and completed works (on loan from the Confederation Centre Art Gallery) depict the Fathers of Confederation. Some of these Fathers are expressive, scratchy pencil marks; some are ink or gouache; others are more firmly rendered in oil.

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Later, I did some research into Harris’s Fathers. They have a history that adds even more layers of meaning to the proliferation of daddies in Chapter II. The Canadian Government commissioned Harris in 1883 to create a group portrait of the representatives at the 1864 Charlottetown Conference consisting of the twenty-three Fathers and one secretary. When he was asked to change the setting in the painting to the Quebec Conference, the second of the conferences that led to Confederation, Harris added another ten Fathers for a total of thirty-four figures. Harris’s painting was destroyed in the 1916 fire at the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa, but to mark Canada’s centennial in 1967, Confederation Life Insurance Co. commissioned a new version by Canadian artist Rex Woods. Woods added to the painting the three Fathers who attended the London Conference of 1866. He included on the right side of the painting, hanging on the wall above the delegates, a reproduction of a self-portrait by Harris. It isn’t necessary, though, to know this history of the famous painting to appreciate that there are many daddies on display in Monkman’s exhibition.

Monkman’s version, like the Woods painting, has thirty-seven figures plus the Harris self-portrait where Monkman has placed his own signature. By painting a subversive version starring Miss Chief for Canada’s sesquicentennial, Monkman has disrupted the tradition of painting the nation’s “founding fathers.” Like Woods and Harris before him, he has added to the
group of delegates. That the addition is an Indigenous person who disrupts gender binaries provokes a consideration of who is made visible and invisible in stories of the nation, and in Canadian art history and museums. By adding Miss Chief to the group, a presence that underscores an absence in the original work, Monkman draws attention to the fact that Confederation negotiations were the colonialist enterprise of elite white men. Indigenous people, women, and everyone else for that matter, were excluded. By telling an alternative story, an imagined one that seeks to offer a corrective, the painting not only invites the scrutiny of celebratory narratives, it upends them.Replacing “Fathers of Confederation” with the wonderfully irreverent term “Daddies” in the painting’s title creates opportunities to poke fun at the patriarchs. The term draws attention to the paternalism of a Confederation process that excluded Indigenous people and women from decision making and treated them like dependent children while the Fathers deliberated. It also playfully calls to mind “sugar daddies,” powerful older men who are willing to share their wealth in return for sexual favours. But daddies can be toyed with and tricked.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir: “My people needed an ally in power, and I had my ways of getting a seat at the table. . . . Naked, I am at my strongest. I did not get where I am today by being a wallflower.”

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Figure 13. Kent Monkman, *The Bears of Confederation*, 2016, acrylic on canvas, 76 x 132 in.

Image courtesy of the artist. With permission.

Figure 14. Monkman’s *The Bears of Confederation* with *Fate is a Cruel Mistress*. “Chapter II.”

Monkman’s *The Bears of Confederation* (2016) hangs on the wall directly opposite *The Daddies* with the gallery bench and its Hudson’s Bay Company blanket between the two paintings (Figures 13 & 14). A romantic European vision of the North American landscape, an often cleverly appropriated and subverted painting tradition in Monkman’s work, erupts into a chaotic drama. The representation of majestic wilderness, with the grandeur of its mountains, waterfall, lake and lush forest set beneath a magnificent sky, creates a sense of the sublime, until one’s eye reaches the bottom of the painting. There, a campy defamiliarization of a familiar landscape tradition awaits the viewer who finds not an empty wilderness or romanticized “noble savages” but instead Miss Chief wielding her sexual power as a dominatrix in the midst of frolicking white men and bears. Wearing only fashionable thigh-high red boots and a sheer red breechcloth that somewhat shows her penis, she has hold of a white man by leash and collar. He holds his pants down to present his buttocks to the fierce-looking Miss Chief who cracks her whip. A red handkerchief hangs from his pocket, presumably code for the kind of sex he is into. White men are scattered throughout this landscape populated by bears. The men are older, fair-haired, bearded, pudgy and pale. Barely distinguishable from one other, they are ethnographic curiosities. Many of them are in black leather bondage harnesses, and some wear vestiges of formal clothing, tell-tale signs that these too are daddies. The bears are clearly having their way with the men, treeing them, mounting them, and chasing after or running with them. One man who is on all fours has what appears to be a bright red sex toy protruding from his bottom. Some of the men look to be a little frantic, but mostly they seem to be having a good time, I think.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir: “My muskwas (bears) enjoy converting those Christians back to their authentic natures; how many times now have I seen their true selves blossom forth.”
I overhear visitors as they look at *The Bears of Confederation*:

Appreciative chuckles.

Nervous giggles.

Whispers.

Sometimes there is only uncomfortable silence.

Placed across from *The Daddies* and also in an elaborate gilt frame, *The Bears of Confederation* similarly offers a new take on the national tradition of a painting commission to commemorate Confederation. It turns the table on the Fathers who presumed to look upon “empty” lands and carve them up, and reverses the colonizer’s gaze by populating the lands with mockingly fetishized daddies caught in the act of exposing their repressed sexuality.

In a quotation from Miss Chief’s memoir, Native American author Vine Deloria, Jr. writes about the important relationship between Indigenous peoples and bears. Bears are seen as prophets and medicine animals.

I am kneeling on the floor, down in front of *The Bears of Confederation*, over on the right side of the painting where much of the frenzied sexual action is taking place. I am leaning in for a really close look when I sense someone behind me. I realize he wants to take a photograph of the painting, and I get up hastily, apologizing for being in the way. I blush, feeling embarrassed that I have been “caught” examining so closely such a naughty scene. I recognize the man from the Commonwealth Association of Museums’ Heritage and Nation Building Symposium that I
have been attending at the Glenbow, where there have been many excellent presentations on challenging dominant national narratives and museum practices, but gender and sexuality have been largely neglected topics. I can’t think at the moment of anything clever or smart to say about Miss Chief, daddies, bears, or stories of the nation so I just smile and move on to another part of the exhibition.

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Monkman, in his foreword to the exhibition booklet: “Using humour, parody and camp, I’ve confronted the devastation of colonialism while celebrating the plural sexualities present in pre-contact Indigenous North America” (2017, p. 4).

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_Fate is a Cruel Mistress_, a series of five giclée prints by Monkman and collaborator Chris Chapman, hangs on the wall adjacent to _The Bears of Confederation_ (Figure 14). In keeping with the book motif of the exhibition, the work’s presentation mimics pages torn from an old book. Miss Chief is featured in the roles of “bad” women of the bible. These are women who are associated with sex and seduction, acts of violence, and gaining power over men: Delilah, Potiphar’s Wife, Salome, Judith and Jezebel. Miss Chief as a “cruel mistress” ensures that the daddies she has in her grasp are doomed, as she prepares to snip a lock of hair, gets coattails in her grip, displays a head on a platter, holds a knife above a vulnerable neck, and flaunts her sexuality in a church. That these scenes are being played out against the backdrop of Indigenous-settler relations in the story of Canada emerges through visual cues that disrupt the biblical framing of Miss Chief’s activities. As Delilah, Miss Chief does her hair-cutting in front of a pictograph-covered tipi, and there are woolen trade blankets on the ground (Figure 15); as Salome, she wears a feather in her hair and her dress is decorated with jingle cones; as Judith,
she wears a headdress, and a Hudson’s Bay blanket peeks out from beneath a cot. Throughout this role play, Miss Chief appears to celebrate her queer sexuality and her Indigenous being against the dominant, repressive Judaeo-Christian tradition that was imposed through colonization. That the work is photographic heightens my awareness of Monkman’s body and that he has brought Miss Chief’s highly-feminized look into being through cosmetics and fashion, but at the same time I am left with the impossibility of trying to sort out where Monkman ends and Miss Chief begins.

Figure 15. “Delilah” from Fate is a Cruel Mistress, Kent Monkman, in collaboration with Chris Chapman, 2017, archival giclée print, 14 x 17 in. Image courtesy of the artist. With permission.

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The red wall colour of Chapter II ends and meets up with the stately green of Chapter III, a space that is filled up with the state, its representatives, and its sources of order and control. Queen, prime minister, parliament, police and church are all here.

Miss Chief looks absolutely forlorn as she gazes up, with runny mascara and furrowed brow, at Sir John A. Macdonald (Figure 16). The setting is formal, with Macdonald wearing tails and bowtie and the couple framed by European architecture which opens out onto the landscape.
Miss Chief is seated, wearing a long white gown that looks almost matrimonial, and the black veil across her lap adds something sombre and chilling to the scene. She is dressed as a “proper” lady: high-necked, modest dress, pearl necklace, and ringlets framing her face. There are no see-through breechcloths or thigh-high boots for Miss Chief here. Yet, could the black, pointy-toed shoe peeking out from beneath her gown be a hint of the Louboutin heels that she favours? For now, her positioning is submissive with Macdonald standing over her, one hand atop her chair. He looks towards her coldly with puffy eyes that barely seem to see her. His paternalistic power is on display, but it is easily ridiculed. He seems hardly fit to be the boss of Miss Chief, or anyone else for that matter, as he stands there drunkenly tilting his champagne glass, dribbling it onto the floor, having dribbled it onto his vest. The empty bottle lies by his foot. His ring finger bears the tell-tale mark of a removed wedding band, likely a sign of his philandering. Miss Chief may have found her man “in possession of a good fortune,” but she appears to have got herself into a dreadful situation. The courtship and seduction storylines of Chapters I and II have resolved into this narrative of a terrible marriage. Monkman has titled the painting *A Country Wife* (2016), a reference to women of Indigenous or part-Indigenous descent who were joined in common law marriage to men of the fur trade.

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In the exploration and fur trade section of the *Mavericks* exhibition upstairs, I meet another “country wife.” This is Charlotte Small (1786-1857), wife to famous fur-trade company man David Thompson who surveyed and mapped the Northwest. There are large text panels for Charlotte and David that feature their silhouetted profiles and biographical information. Although the panels are the same size, the text for David is longer, and the text for Charlotte is primarily about how she was a helper to her husband:
Charlotte Small’s marriage to David Thompson is a powerful reminder that Europeans could not have survived without the help of Native women. David Thompson’s “country wife,” Charlotte Small, made his clothing, his snowshoes and took care of his physical well-being. Her presence probably helped to strengthen trading opportunities for him.

I learn from the panel that she was thirteen when she married him and that they had thirteen children; that she was “described as plain, neat and rather reserved,” but that she had an “adventurous spirit” as evidenced by the distance she travelled with Thompson, half as far as his 50,000 miles; and that, “unlike most traders,” her husband brought her with him when he left the West. There is a display case filled with the kinds of objects Charlotte might have made for her large family, including snowshoes, moccasins, mitts, baskets and a cradleboard.

The exhibit recognizes Charlotte for her role in the fur trade, but how did she feel about this adventure that took her so far from home? I think of all the country wives who were less fortunate than Charlotte, whose trader husbands abandoned them. And I think of Miss Chief, of what little pleasure she would get from the drudgery of being anyone’s “country wife.”

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A very different depiction of Sir John A. Macdonald hangs next to A Country Wife. This is Robert Harris’s portrait of the man (Figure 16). The paintings, both set in imposing gilt frames, create an amusing juxtaposition or Jekyll and Hyde effect between the dignified Rt. Hon. prime minister sitting for a formal portrait and the hard-drinking, inattentive husband. The framed 19th-century chromolithograph that hangs next to the Harris portrait underscores Macdonald’s authority. It depicts the Houses of Parliament in Ottawa, the federal seat of power and of policy-making to control Indigenous lives.

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In her memoir, Miss Chief quotes Duncan Campbell Scott, Minister of Indian Affairs, 1920:

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

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Figure 17. “Chapter III: Wards of the State/The Indian Problem.” Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman, installation view, Glenbow, Calgary, 2017. Author photograph.

Across from A Country Wife, the theme of an authoritative, paternalistic Canadian state continues (Figure 17). In Monkman’s The Subjugation of Truth (2016), two Indigenous men sit
facing each other in a room that looks, with its large, arched window, red drapes and red carpet, similar to the chamber in *The Daddies* (Figure 18). Shackled in leg irons, the men look worn and weary. It is not immediately obvious to me who they are, but through the exhibition I come to know that these are Chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear. The Chiefs’ names are only vaguely familiar to me, an outcome of years of absorbing settler history with its focus on white explorers and nation builders.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir:

Oh, how I cried when they took Pihtokahanapiwiyin away in chains. You would know him as Poundmaker, but to me, he was my leader, my brother, my hero, my dear friend. He was our defender, our peacemaker. He stood firm against the lies others believed, and led us with calm steadiness as he negotiated the treaty for peace. Our dear friend Mistahimaskwa, Big Bear, was the strongest of our warriors, both in wisdom, and in medicine. His gifts allowed him to see that the reserves would keep us poor and beholden to the settlers. He kept his people free for as long as he could, until to keep them from starving, he was finally forced to capitulate. . . . The sight of our proud leaders, later taken in chains to Stony Mountain prison under false charges, was meant to break our spirits. But even though they weakened under illnesses contracted in that stone fortress, Mistahimaskwa and Pihtokahanapiwiyin’s spirits stayed strong; they knew we would persevere.

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The Chiefs are wrapped in woolen blankets, with Big Bear in the iconic multi-stripe Hudson’s Bay blanket (Figure 18). The white man at the desk is poised to sign a document, another waits holding pen and paper, and yet another leans in threateningly and points back at the window, out towards the land, his hand making the shape of a gun. A stern-faced priest leans forward and points at the document on the desk. The crucifix that hangs heavily from his neck

*Figure 18. Kent Monkman, The Subjugation of Truth, 2016, acrylic on canvas, 72 x 51 in. Image courtesy of the artist. With permission.*
bears not Christ but instead one of Monkman’s beavers nailed to the cross, reminding me of the long history of the colonial relationship that has led to this moment of incarceration.

The scene is incredibly tense, but Monkman eases it with a little humour. Macdonald is here too, looking dapper and with a glass of champagne in his hand, but his attention seems to be elsewhere as he gazes distractedly at the Mountie who appears to have captured his fancy. The Mountie, with his dashing scarlet tunic and wide-brimmed Stetson. Canada’s national police force, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), which today has jurisdiction in eight provinces and three territories, began as the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) which was established in 1873.

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Up on the Glenbow’s third floor, pith-helmeted mounted police on horseback cross the grassy Prairies in a deeply red, colourized archival photograph. The panel, with text superimposed over the image, is part of the North-West Mounted Police exhibit for Mavericks. It tells the story of the Canadian government’s creation of the NWMP “to control a territory that threatened to turn renegade” and of their arduous 1000-mile March West. The panel’s text emphasizes the dangers of American whiskey traders, and the good intentions and good relations around the arrival of the NWMP in “turbulent times.” The exhibit does not only inform about but helps to construct and reinforce the myth of “these raw men” who, as the panel states, became “irresistible to storytellers and Hollywood alike” and “helped secure a Canadian west defined by law and order instead of bloodshed and violence.”

Throughout Mavericks, circular text panels labelled “A First Nations Perspective” and written in first-person plural struggle to compete with a barrage of settler stories, images and objects. In the Mounties exhibit, these panels tell of how some of the police were good and
shared food, but some were mean and disrespectful and traded whiskey for the women. The Mounted Police brought laws from the East and enforced the *Indian Act*, rule by Indian agents, the banning of ceremonies, and the restriction of travel. They are referred to not as myth but as symbol: “They were the symbol of the great changes that were coming to our territory.” The clash in worldviews is striking, between the Canadian government’s aim to get permanent control over the West and the Blackfoot perception of a short visit built around mutual understanding and helping. The wood-coloured disks offering a Blackfoot perspective are lost amidst an intriguing multimedia Mountie encampment diorama, the touching love story of a Mountie and his wife told through domestic and personal objects, and a riot of red that runs from panel backgrounds to Mountie tunics.

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In Monkman’s work, it is not unusual to find Mounties as the target of sexual humour aimed at reversing colonial power relations. In *The Subjugation of Truth*, Monkman sexualizes the Mountie under Macdonald’s gaze while also representing the Mountie’s dangerous authority (Figure 18). Macdonald may find the man in uniform dreamy, but the Mountie’s heavy, leather-gloved hand on Poundmaker’s shoulder and his holstered pistol behind the Chief’s head serve as a reminder of the Mountie’s dark role as an enforcer of government policy in Indigenous lives.

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Official portraits, borrowed from museum collections, give the state a face in Chapter III. Two portraits hang next to *The Subjugation of Truth*: Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister from 1896-1911, and Queen Victoria who reigned from 1837-1901 (the “Her Most Gracious Majesty”

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19 See, for example, Monkman’s painting *Cree Master I* (2002) and his etching *The Treaty of 1869* (2016).
of treaty making). If Confederation had any “Mothers,” Queen Victoria would have top billing. Miss Chief also gets an official portrait as she watches, costumed in the style of Queen Victoria, over the Chiefs in *The Subjugation of Truth*. She appears to be using the hand that she holds her fan in to give the state officials the middle finger. This cheeky image of Monkman as Miss Chief as Queen recalls the self-portrait by Harris that Woods painted into *The Fathers of Confederation*, but it offers an Indigenizing and queering of the European tradition of artist self-portraiture.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir: “Our leaders thought we were going to share the land. Macdonald and Laurier’s ideas of purchasing land as one would a trinket was as foreign to Mistahimaskwa and Pihtokahanapiwiyin as buying air, for we shared all.”

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On the wall that adjoins *The Subjugation of Truth*, there is a framed reproduction of Treaty 7, one of the eleven numbered treaties signed between the Crown and First Nations between 1871 and 1921. Made in 1877 at the Blackfoot Crossing of the Bow River with the Blackfoot and other First Nations in Southern Alberta, the document has particular resonance in this space, in a museum that sits on Treaty 7 territory. The treaty sets out that in exchange for the land set aside for them on reserves, along with payments, provisions and promises of continued hunting rights, the Nations would “cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of Canada for her Majesty the Queen and her successors forever, all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to the lands included. . . .”

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In the Blackfoot Gallery, a text panel in a display on treaties notes that no mention of the already-passed *Indian Act*, which made them “absolute wards of the state,” was made when the Blackfoot signed Treaty 7 in 1877. In the display case, commemorative treaty medals serve as a powerful reminder of the treaty relationship and promises made by the Crown. One medal shows the side with the bust of Queen Victoria, and the other shows a British officer and a First Nations chief standing as equals on the land and shaking hands.

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I have lived on treaty lands and not known it, and I have lived on unceded lands and not known it. Now that I have begun to think about what land I am on, my memories of the lands I have lived on are inflected with something different, an understanding that I have not always been a good guest. For some years, I lived on Treaty 6 lands (not knowing that they were Treaty 6 lands) where I worked in a college library. One of my strongest memories of my time there was when an Indigenous student expressed disgust at the Library of Congress Subject Heading “Indians of North America.” I apologized, although all I could manage to say at the time was that we were using the standardized subject heading, and there was nothing we could do about it. But is there really nothing we can do about it?

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In a display case along the wall that holds Treaty 7 there are a pair of moccasins and a Plains Cree powder horn (Figure 19). According to the label, these are Chief Poundmaker’s moccasins made from “glass beads, painted rawhide from parfleche container, smoked brain-tanned buffalo hide,” and they are from the collection of the Canadian Museum of History. The display case and label are conventional to any museum that puts ethnographic objects on display; however, any resemblance to the conventional evaporates within the context of Chapter III. Poundmaker wears the same, or very similar, moccasins as he sits facing Chief Big Bear in *The Subjugation of Truth*. I move back and forth between the moccasins in the display case and the moccasins depicted on Poundmaker’s feet in Monkman’s painting where leg irons, dark and heavy, hide the tops of the moccasins. The displayed moccasins are free of shackles, revealing the worn buffalo hide into which Poundmaker once slipped his feet, and they are placed in a way

*Figure 19. Poundmaker’s moccasins. “Chapter III.” Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman, installation view, Glenbow, Calgary, 2017. Author photograph.*
that suggests a standing pose. In a different way, there is also a freeing of the moccasins through Monkman’s painting because they are removed from the controlled environment and dislocation of a museum display case. The moccasins are put back on their owner and recontextualized in history. Through the intertextual workings of display, painting and Miss Chief’s memoir, Poundmaker’s moccasins are powerfully reconnected to the man who wore them, to a history not only of subjugation but also of resilience.

I am caught up in the moccasins’ presence, their life and spirit, but I am also very much aware that I am an outsider, a settler who can only imagine what these moccasins presented in this space might mean for someone who is Indigenous. Poundmaker becomes present to me, more than a historical figure I had barely heard of, someone who perhaps still points to a different way forward in Indigenous-settler relations.

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Months after visiting the Glenbow, a petition to pardon Poundmaker, who was unjustly convicted for treason, came my way via social media. As I signed it, I wondered what would come of it, and I wondered what if we not only pardoned Poundmaker, but embraced him as hero, a brother? 20

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After my visit to the Glenbow Museum, I went looking for reviews of Monkman’s exhibition that offer Indigenous perspectives. Among the reviews I found, there was this: “this is a love letter in nine chapters to the resilience of Indigenous people” (Potts, 2017). I paused on

20 On May 23, 2019 Prime Minister Justin Trudeau exonerated Chief Poundmaker 134 years after the Cree leader was wrongly convicted of treason-felony. Chief Big Bear has yet to be exonerated.
those words “love letter,” words that would not have come to my settler mind, words that express what the reviewer experienced in the exhibition, something which was most clearly not all about settler Canadians.

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“Chapter V: Forcible Transfer of Children”

From Miss Chief’s memoir: “This is the one I cannot talk about. The pain is too deep. We were never the same.”

She has no other words for this chapter.

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I sit on the black bench in front of Monkman’s painting *The Scream* (2017) (Figure 20). Mountie reds. The black robes of priests. Black and white nuns’ habits. Children being grabbed and pulled in every direction to be taken to residential school. At the centre of it all, a woman lunges forward with her arms outstretched towards the child that a priest is about to carry away. Mounties restrain her, and her mouth is open in a scream.

Cradleboards hang on the adjoining walls on either side of the painting. The ones from museum collections are beautifully crafted with mothers’ love for their children, but others are plain wood frames painted grey and yet others are haunting chalk outlines suggesting families emptied of children, children who are missing or dead.

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Miss Chief quotes the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015:

It can start with a knock on the door one morning. It is the local Indian agent, or the parish priest, or, perhaps, a Mounted Police officer. The bus for the residential school leaves that morning. It is a day the parents have long been dreading. Even if the children have been warned in advance, the morning’s events are still a shock. The officials have arrived and the children must go.

The quotation goes on to explain this happened for over a century to tens of thousands of Indigenous children who were taken from their families and put into residential schools, places that were “strange and frightening” and where “their parents and culture would be demeaned and oppressed.”

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The painting seems in motion, roiling with the violence of pulling, grasping and tugging at children and women (Figure 21). A snarling dog, the threatening presence of a rifle, children about to be trampled, and the heavy weight of brown leather Mountie gloves and boots fill the chaotic, tight space of the painting. An ominous inner light in the painting suggests the glare of early morning sunlight, a light to expose all this darkness. Birds swoop in, perhaps witnesses to the trauma of stolen children. An iconic Mountie figure stands rigidly on the porch of the run-down reserve house, and he points impassively towards the children who are running away. Behind the screaming woman at the centre of the painting, another scream comes from the wide-open mouth of a small child squirming against a nun’s tight grip.
Here in this dimly lit space, with the black-painted walls closing in on me, I feel that there is nowhere else to look. I do not just see the painting, I feel it. I know what it is as a mother to feel that my child is in danger. I know what it is to be a child who is frightened by the world of incomprehensible adult actions. But this collective experience of horror and loss represented in Monkman’s painting, I cannot begin to fathom.

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In her memoir, Miss Chief quotes Prime Minister Macdonald, 1879:

When the school is on the reserve, the child lives with its parents, who are savages, and though he may learn to read and write, his habits and training mode of thought are Indian. He is simply a savage who can read and write. It has been strongly impressed upon myself, as head of the Department, that Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to put them in central training industrial schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men.

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Macdonald seems to stare out emptily, coldly, dispassionately. This is the Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald from the Robert Harris painting that hangs on the wall of Chapter III (Figure 16) and positioned opposite The Scream. Chief architect not only of Confederation but also of the residential school system. As I sit in front of The Scream, I feel him lurking there behind me from his place on the wall and registering nothing in response to children being torn from their mother’s arms. I also feel myself filling up with worry that my researcher tools—analytical lenses, categorizations and classifications, data and documentation—put me at risk of emulating that cold colonial gaze of Macdonald. Three lenses for exhibition analysis. There seems a
heartlessness of categories in it. What in this heartbreaking space could possibly be earmarked for, and compartmentalized into, my narrative lens, my representational one, my relational/embodied one? It seems an impossible task to structure my experience in this space, or in any other part of this exhibition, around lenses.

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_The Scream_ doesn’t relegate its action to some distant colonial past, to the times of Macdonald. It also speaks to now. The children’s jeans and tee-shirts, the reserve house—they look contemporary. And there is a sense of immediacy and urgency in all that violent action. This forcible taking of children is not past but instead ongoing, from the residential school system which continued into the late 20th century, to the Sixties Scoop, to the child welfare system of today. It is not possible for me to place myself outside this story, to find any sort of comfort or deny my settler complicity through the trick of trying to distance myself from history.

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The exhibition pulls me into an experience that requires a sort of letting go that I am not used to. So, I don’t structure, categorize or compartmentalize my experience, but instead allow it all in at once. I abandon the inclination to try to impose order. Yet, I comfort myself with the thought that I will somehow wrangle my “data” into the structure of the analytical lenses, later when I organize and write about my experiences.

I should have known, even then, that Miss Chief would never let me pin down her story with my rigid categories.

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My husband joins me on the bench and we sit for a while not speaking. We both get up and walk towards _The Scream_. We express our disappointment almost at the same moment as we
near the painting. There is something “wrong.” The painting has a flatness to it that immediately
signals it is a reproduction, and the label confirms this: “This full-size reproduction of The
Scream is on view while the original artwork undergoes restoration.” Our talk becomes about
what might have happened to the painting and about the power of viewing an original artwork
compared to a reproduction or a digital image. I begin to feel uncomfortable that we are standing
in this emotionally-charged space, in front of this devastating painting, having what for us is an
everyday conversation.

I say to my husband: “I feel guilty. I’m so disappointed that the “real thing” isn’t here.
It’s like I’ve lost track of what’s important in this exhibition, and I feel bad about that.”

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I overhear visitors:

“Residential schools” and “the native kids” float in the air barely audible from within
hushed conversations.

Often there are no words.

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A display case placed below the pages from Miss Chief’s memoir holds objects made by
residential school children for their principal. Whether letter holder, book cover, pouch, or doll,
they carry the cultural identity of the children who have incorporated hide and seed beads into
their making. The doll is, poignantly, a white baby.

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“Schools almost destroyed us.” This is from a text panel in the Blackfoot Gallery in a
space designed to look like a school hallway. At the end, there is a door on which there is a large
archival photograph that makes it seem as though I am looking into a classroom filled with
Indigenous children. More photographs, but these are in frames, line the walls. One shows Siksika children who are being admitted at Old Sun’s Boarding School. They sit and stand draped in multi-stripe woolen blankets, reminding me of Big Bear wrapped in the Hudson’s Bay blanket as he sits captive in leg irons in Monkman’s painting. The children are not physically shackled, but they too seem to be prisoners, inmates, incarcerated.

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“Chapter VI: Incarceration”

In *Seeing Red* (2014), Miss Chief is a glamorous bullfighter (Figure 22). Her short jacket and tights are close-fitting and sheer, and they make a striking fashion statement as she stands in the middle of a city street in her Louboutin heels, hand on hip. She looks away from the pitiful creature that she has vanquished, a form I recognize as Picasso’s twisted, misshapen *Dying Bull* (1934).

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Monkman, in his foreword to the exhibition booklet:

The last hundred and fifty years of Canada are concurrent with the rise of European Modernism and of the emergence of Modern Art. . . . [Manet’s] flattening of pictorial space echoes the shrinking of space for Indigenous people who were forced onto reserves. Picasso’s phallic bulls and his butchering of the female nude were contemporaneous with the European aggression against the female spirit (homophobia, violence against women) in North American Indigenous societies, many of them matrilineal. (p. 7)

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Pierced and bloodied by multiple lances, Picasso’s bull bows down before Miss Chief. Her bullfighter’s cape is a Hudson’s Bay blanket which, through a clever re-working of a colonial trade good, becomes an instrument to vanquish colonialism and modernism. It seems the end of a fight in which Miss Chief, signifying the female spirit, has put an end to the work of the macho cubist painter. Meanwhile, Manet’s *The Dead Toreador* (1864), another modernist art icon, lies on the pavement behind Miss Chief, perhaps dead or dying. An Indigenous man kneels beside the toreador and appears to be trying to help him. A second man, holding bowl and eagle
feather, seems to be doing a smudging ceremony, but he is looking up towards an ominous-looking police helicopter, or maybe it is the naked angel that hovers mysteriously above that has caught his attention. The blonde, white angel has a man’s body and wears makeup, a winged camouflage-patterned helmet, and a length of gauzy veil around her/his/their arms.

The painting is filled with tensions and contradictions, leaving me not so sure about Miss Chief’s confident toreador pose, yet still hopeful. There are signs of a neighbourhood in distress in the form of tagged homes and the fire that rages in the alley, and there are signs of incarceration as a police helicopter hovers above and an Indigenous man wearing an ankle monitor appears to be running away. Yet, there are also signs of Indigenous healing and resilience in the smudging and drumming, buffalo-masked dancers, and telephone pole that has been transformed into a carved totem pole. The bodies of the young Indigenous men are canvases for tattoos that suggest a complex mixing of cultures: prison tear drop, Christian cross and praying hands, skull and crossbones, Indigenous raven and buffalo head. The surveilled urban space suggests a city as prison, but I also sense that the city can be reclaimed as decolonized Indigenous space: two majestic buffalo approach Miss Chief as though ready to replace Picasso’s dying bull.

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In her memoir excerpts for this chapter, Miss Chief writes about how “they wanted to take the Indian out of us; they couldn’t do that, but they did beat down our spirits.” She writes passionately of generations of children taken from their families to residential schools and in the

21 Smudging is a First Nations tradition of burning medicines gathered from the earth in order to purify and cleanse. Eagle feathers hold great spiritual significance within North American Indigenous traditions and ceremonies.
1960s and 1970s given by social services to other families “far from us, our languages, and our land.” She writes of “being told over and over again that we were inferior, until we believed it ourselves . . . told that our loving parents were bad, that our devoted grandparents practiced devil worship, that we were dirty, inside and out.” She makes the connection between generational trauma and present-day incarceration: “So many of our people grew up broken — is it any wonder that they fill the prisons, crowd the wards, and line the sidewalks, lost in the cycle of self-loathing, trauma and addiction?”

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*Figure 23. Handcuffs used on Louis Sam with leg irons. “Chapter VI.” Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman, installation view, Glenbow, Calgary, 2017. Author photograph.*

The leg irons (Figure 23) on display in Chapter VI connect in my mind to the painted irons that shackle Chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear in The Subjugation of Truth in Chapter III.
They connect across the spaces between chapters, reinforcing the theme of unending Indigenous incarceration in its many forms. The irons date from the late 19th century and are displayed alongside what the label tells me are the steel handcuffs used on Louis Sam. When I googled the name later, I learned that Sam, a Sto:lo First Nations youth, was the victim of the only documented lynching by vigilantes in British Columbia (Carlson, 1996). Framed for the murder of a shopkeeper in Nooksack, Washington, Sam was abducted by a mob of about one hundred American settlers while in the custody of the British Columbia Provincial Police and then lynched. Macdonald’s government failed to secure justice for his murder.

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Figure 24. “Chapter VI: Incarceration.” *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman*, installation view, Glenbow, Calgary, 2017. Author photograph.
Along the wall opposite *Seeing Red*, a row of five framed photographs, reproductions of the originals taken in 1885 and 1886, also draw a thread between chapters (Figure 24). They are settler representations of Chiefs Big Bear and Poundmaker incarcerated at Stony Mountain Penitentiary for their activities during the North-West Rebellion of 1885, despite the fact that both leaders had worked for peace. The photographs show the two Chiefs together, other Rebellion prisoners at Stony Mountain, French journalists visiting Poundmaker during his imprisonment, a group photo during the trial, and Big Bear while he was in prison. The Chiefs look exhausted and exhibited. Settler photographs that proudly displayed captive Indigenous leaders become photo-documentation of settler brutality.

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Miss Chief offers some statistics in her memoir:

46.4%

That is the percentage of the Prairies Region (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) inmate population that was Aboriginal according to the Office of the Correctional Investigator, Government of Canada, 2013. The number was higher for particular institutions. At Stony Mountain Institution in Manitoba, the federal penitentiary where Chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear were incarcerated under false charges of treason-felony, the number was listed as 65.3%.

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The theme of incarceration continues in *Reincarceration* (2013) (Figure 25). At first, I misread the title from the label as “Reincarnation.” The two words play off one another in my mind, one suggesting rebirth and new life and the other an endless return to prison. Figures holding aloft eagle feathers dance ceremonially in a circle with smoke rising from the centre while other figures cross a lake to join the circle. The further away they are from the group, and the closer to what looks to be a penitentiary on the far side of the lake, the more stick-figure like the figures appear. As they near the ceremony, they acquire bulk, hair and colourful clothing. Perhaps this is a rebirth.
Referencing the positioning of figures in French painter Nicholas Poussin’s The Abduction of the Sabine Women²² (1634-35), Monkman’s Cash for Souls (2016) depicts a struggle between guards and prisoners (Figure 26). Two of the inmates reach out in theatrical poses, straining against the holds the guards have on them. The reference to the abduction of the Sabines, which is sometimes referred to as a rape, suggests sexualized violence as does the

²² The Roman myth in which Roman soldiers carry off brides from a neighboring people by force is a popular art historical subject.
forceful positioning of the guards’ bodies and the vulnerability of the inmates with their bared skin and efforts to look away from their captors. Again, there is the theme of Indigenous incarceration and, as with Seeing Red, there is the suggestion of the city as prison. Two angels and a military-green helicopter hover above the violent scene being played out in front of shuttered shops. The clothed, blonde, white angel has swooped in with arm raised, perhaps to make some imperious announcement. The second angel is unclothed and looks vulnerable from her/his/their perch beneath the helicopter. I think this angel may be Indigenous because of the darker skin colouring but also the eagle feather that the angel reaches down with towards the struggling group, perhaps offering hope.

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In Chapter VI, I feel not only that I have been time travelling with Miss Chief through the story of Canada but that I could now be within any time as colonial present and colonial past bleed into one another. The art, written text and objects around the theme of incarceration combine and cross-reference with previous chapters. The disorienting effect reinforces that colonization is not only history but is instead deeply woven into the structures of present-day society. Incarceration is reincarceration, the imprisonment of Indigenous people again and again throughout Canada’s history in different forms: reserve, residential school, penitentiary and violent urban space. The row of sepia photographs of the imprisoned Chiefs, Monkman’s paintings of city streets as prisons, 19th-century leg irons, Chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear in leg irons in The Subjugation of Truth, Louis Sam’s handcuffs, children being stolen from mothers in The Scream, Treaty 7—these together represent the past one hundred and fifty years of the Canadian state subjugating and confining Indigenous people.
But shining through the colonial continuities of past and present, there is the promise of a post-colonial or decolonized future that involves lands, bodies, genders and sexualities.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir:
I shine brightly for these souls through the darkness, slaying savage masculine force with the dazzling power of my beauty and allure. I am the light, the two-spirited gentle man and fierce woman. Walk towards me, my children, fall into step and let the drum guide you. You will be reborn, free to rise again with the buffalo.

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Miss Chief slays the large-testicled bull, modernist “master” Pablo Picasso’s vessel for signifying his own virility. Both man and woman, both gentle and fierce, the gender-fluid, Two-Spirited Miss Chief is a complex signifier. She disrupts the patriarchal focus in museums and art history on “great men” (usually elite white men). She overthrows not only patriarchy but also the notion of a gender binary, making visible gender possibilities that typically go unthought-of amongst most Canadians. She dazzles as she brings to light assumptions about femininity and masculinity, throws them into confusion, and casts them off. She makes visible and vital through her very form, her counter-narrative, and her passionate words what Eurocentric essentializing notions of gender and sexuality have sought to completely destroy.

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Exiting Chapter VI, I find myself in the more open space of Chapters VII to IX which features a diorama, Monkman’s *Nativity Scene* (2016) (Figures 27 & 28). The structure is a cramped shack that barely holds together; it is a miserable assemblage of bare boards, plywood, bits of tarp and a cracked window. I take this to be the “Res House” of Chapter VII’s title, a representation of the shockingly substandard housing often found on reserves, a representation of the absolutely dismal failure of the Canadian state to meet its treaty obligations. I am reminded of the “square gray houses” of the Lakota holy man’s dream quoted by Miss Chief in her Chapter IV memoir excerpt. But there are signs that this is not just any res house. Its façade features an arched opening ornamented with a decorative flourish of vines and flowers above which, on either side, praying, winged beavers stand out against gold leaf background. At the top, within
the pediment, are the Latin words AMOR VINCIT OMNIA, “love conquers all.” Inside the residence, there is a familiar tableau with one figure standing and the other kneeling as they both look down at a baby.


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Miss Chief quotes Luke 2:12: “And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger.”

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In Monkman’s version of the nativity, an Indigenous mom and dad are with their baby. The mom, or Mary, wears a blue hoody and track pants, a colour typically associated with the
Virgin. The dad, or Joseph, wears an NHL jersey decorated with a subverted version of a racist “Indian head” sports logo glamourized à la Miss Chief with bright lipstick and eyeshadow. The wrinkly, newborn baby is Miss Chief.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir:

Not so long ago (well, my sense of time may be different from yours), my family crowded into the same drafty substandard housing familiar to so many of our people, for the most sacred of occasions—a birth. And this was not just any birth. This was my birth, into this period of history, anyway. The skies opened up and all manner of angels and supernatural beings awaited my arrival.

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Having Miss Chief’s birth in Chapter VII may seem a bit odd, but linear time is inconsequential when one’s narrator is a time traveller. Miss Chief has been there and seen it all, forwards and backwards across the story of Canada, and she can tell us what ongoing colonization looks like and what it means for her people. Signs of the continuities of the colonial relationship frame Miss Chief’s birth: the blanket that provides comfort and protection is a baby-sized version of the Hudson’s Bay blanket, and the rosary that her mom uses to pray over her is one of Monkman’s beaver rosaries, an invented artefact of the fur trade era. Inside the res house, a beaver pelt hangs on one wall as a reminder of a time of riches for all and Indigenous independence.

Not only time but identity is disrupted as Monkman references the ethnographic museological tradition of representing Indigenous people with the same standardized features. Mom, dad and baby all have Monkman’s face.
From Miss Chief’s memoir: “I was born in humble circumstances, yes, but to my beloved parents, brothers, sisters, cousins, aunties, uncles, grandmothers and grandfathers, I was a treasure, for there is nothing more important to us than our children.”

The ornate façade with its praying beavers is a façade not only architecturally but also metaphorically. It promises something with its gold leaf and lovely scrollwork that is not realized by the condition of the res house that it fronts. What is most pronounced is the horror of a newborn being in these conditions, of a mother giving birth in such a place. Riffing off the famous line of the nativity story— “There was no room at the inn”—Miss Chief writes in her memoir: “There was no room at the hospital. Actually, there was no hospital at all.” Miss Chief writes that her father had to haul water for her mother, poisoned water that blistered Miss Chief’s baby skin and made her mother sick. There is no sign of running water in the res house, and for heat and cooking there is only a hot plate. The colonization of food continues, from tiny animal bones on *Starvation Plates* to these res house shelves on which sit a meagre supply of overpriced canned goods (Spam, evaporated milk, etc.), a package of KD, and a little case of “Good Start” formula for the new baby. On the floor there are exorbitantly-priced bottles of Coca Cola ($12.45 + tx) and a bottle of water ($65.95 + tx) reflecting the high food costs and lack of safe drinking water on many reserves.

Behind the Indigenous holy family, a painted scene appears to open out onto a beautiful green and flowered vista, a respite from the poverty. But then I look more closely. There are figures in the landscape. In front of another res house, a nun holds onto a child while a Mountie tries to drag a distressed woman away. Miss Chief and her family are not safe in this place.
A row of framed images runs along a wall near Nativity Scene. These are inkjet reproductions of pages from the mid-19th century journals of Nicolas Point. Again, there is the idea of a book, of a story. In his journals, the Jesuit missionary chronicled his travels and observations of Indigenous people, their daily lives and Christianization. The images are beautiful, colourful, detailed, fascinating, and filtered through a European lens.

When I look through the window of the res house, I can see some of the Point journal pages framed by the window panes, just above the meagre assortment of overpriced food items on the plywood shelf.

“Chapter VIII: Sickness and Healing”

Against the wall with the pages from Pointe’s journal, a display case holds two sculptures, one red and one black, each depicting hands clasped in prayer (Figure 29). These are Miss Chief’s Praying Hands (2015) and, according to the label, they are made from silicon rubber. The sculptures recall a drawing of Praying Hands (1508) by German artist Albrecht Dürer, an association that connects them to a long tradition of the Church shaping Western art history. To the right of the sculptures, in an elaborate gilt frame, Giustino Menescardi’s mid-18th century painting The Holy Family and the Holy Dove appearing to S Francesco di Paola offers a heavenly vision replete with putti and clouds. To the right of Menescardi’s painting, another depiction of a “holy family” is provided by a small giclée version of Monkman’s Nativity Scene in the form of a winged altarpiece covered in gold leaf and titled Love Conquers All (2017).

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Miss Chief’s Praying Hands seemed hardly out of place set amidst all the Christian iconography but, even then, I suspected some sauciness on Miss Chief’s part. It was the suggestive rubberiness of the hands, I guess. But it was only much later while looking through my photographs of the exhibition that I finally began to get the humour and made the visual connection between the red sex toy sticking out of the exposed daddy bottom in Bears of Confederation and these sculptures. A bit of Google image searching confirmed it. Likely anyone with a knowledge of these things would have caught on to the humour immediately. Miss

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23 Because of the continuous blue colour of the walls, I was uncertain about where Chapter VII ended and Chapter VIII began. I read Miss Chief’s Praying Hands as being a connector between the two chapters, and then Chapter VIII as running the length of the wall that adjoined the wall holding the pages from Pointe’s journal. When I saw the exhibition in Charlottetown, Chapter VIII was on its own on a grey wall and held only Death of the Virgin (After Caravaggio) and the nurses’ bags. I have retained for my Glenbow account my initial interpretation of the chapter presentation because that is how I experienced the exhibition.
Chief’s Praying Hands are indeed sex toys. More specifically, they are butt plugs. As I thought about how this is a clever, subversive joining of the sacred with the profane, a provocative commentary on the Church’s role in colonizing sexuality, I also began to think about my own sexual outsider failure to get some of Monkman’s campy humour.

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Cast from Miss Chief’s very hands it would seem, and protected within a display case, the praying hands look like they could be precious objects of veneration. Contemplating their luminous glow under gallery lighting, I am taken back to a time when I climbed, not for religious reasons but rather out of morbid curiosity, the steps at Saint Joseph’s Oratory in Montreal to see Brother André’s heart encased in glass. The shrine had a wall of crutches that were left behind by those who claimed to have been healed by the saint. Is it Miss Chief’s love for her people that “conquers all” I wonder?

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From Miss Chief’s memoir: “I visit my people to bring them the solace of our spirituality, that they may rise up out of this cycle of destruction, learn the language of their souls and be free once more.”

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Death of the Virgin (After Caravaggio) (2016) depicts a young woman lying in a hospital bed surrounded by a group of people who are overcome with grief (Figure 30). Monkman’s borrowing of the emotionally intense composition of Italian Baroque painter Caravaggio’s depiction of disciples mourning the dead Virgin conveys to me the immensity of the losses that Indigenous families experience every day and that should be treated with similar gravitas.

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Monkman, in his foreword to the exhibition booklet: “Where were the paintings from the nineteenth century that recounted, with passion and empathy, the dispossession, starvation, incarceration and genocide of Indigenous people here on Turtle Island?” (p. 3).

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In her memoir, Miss Chief recalls the epidemics brought by the Europeans (smallpox, influenza, and measles) and she writes of present-day sicknesses:

Now the sicknesses of the body that stalk us have different names: tuberculosis, diabetes, HIV, AIDS and FAS. The sicknesses of the soul are many: far too many of our young people, growing up broken in the long shadow of residential school, are so bereft of hope that they take their own lives at horrifying rates. My heart aches for our missing and murdered Indigenous women – each one a sister, mother, daughter, friend . . . We mourn for those of our men we have lost to violence, trauma, mental disturbance and despair.

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As in Caravaggio’s painting, light enters as though from some upper window, cutting diagonally across the room and bathing the young woman’s body in its brilliance while overhead a dark canopy of cloth adds a feeling of heaviness to the scene (Figure 30). Where Mary Magdalene sits with her head buried in her hands beside the Virgin in Caravaggio’s painting, Monkman has placed a young Indigenous man who kneels by the young woman’s bed, his head resting at her feet. Where Caravaggio has only male mourners, except Magdalene, Monkman has four women, possibly the young woman’s mother, aunties and sisters. The painting is filled with Indigenous spirituality and ceremony in the form of sweet grass, drumming and smudging. One woman has a praying hands tattoo, a reminder of the presence of Christianity in Indigenous communities.
Miss Chief quotes Duncan Campbell Scott (1910) who, noting the high rates of sickness and death amongst the children in residential schools, contends chillingly that “this alone does not justify a change in the policy of this Department, which is being geared towards the final solution of our Indian Problem.”

To the right of Death of the Virgin (After Caravaggio), a display case holds two vintage leather nurse’s bags, one opened to reveal its shiny steel medical instruments—sterile, functional and impersonal.

Adjacent to Monkman’s exhibition, I visit a collection of images of northern Indigenous peoples and lands. Titled North of Ordinary, it is a large exhibition of the Arctic photography of Geraldine and Douglas Moodie. The image that catches my eye is an intimate portrait of two children by Geraldine Moodie, “western Canada’s first professional woman photographer,” who travelled to the Northwestern shores of Hudson Bay with her Mountie husband whose policing work brought them there. The label for the photograph, which Geraldine took in 1905, tells me that these are “Southampton orphans.” They are Sadlermiut children whose people on Southampton Island near the mouth of Hudson’s Bay were in the winter of 1902-03 almost completely eradicated by infectious disease “possibly spread by Scottish whalers.” The label includes an entry from Geraldine’s diary where she writes about photographing a baby, about two and half years old, who had been found with two other children and a dying woman who “were in the last stages of starvation.” Two now healthy-looking children, bundled up in warm, traditional clothing stand posing for Geraldine, looking perhaps a little uncertain about being
photographed by her. The gallery walls are painted snowy-white possibly to signify the North, but in proximity to the colourful walls of Monkman’s exhibition the space seems clinical. Even Geraldine’s gaze through her camera lens, which I imagine from the images she captured was surely caring, cannot overcome the distance between looker and looked upon.

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On the Glenbow’s third floor, there is more sickness and healing in The Power in Pictures exhibition in which pages from Métis author Patti Laboucane-Benson’s graphic novel tell the story of Indigenous incarceration, addictions, foster care, poverty, gang violence and intergenerational trauma but also healing and transformation. Hanging with these are responses from Indigenous youth in the form of comics, drawings and masks that explore meanings of identity and belonging. Expressions of resilience in the face of sicknesses that are the outcome of colonization, the art work seems a perfect complement to Miss Chief’s story.

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“Chapter IX: Urban Rez”

Three large paintings hang spotlighted against the dark grey walls of Chapter IX. A contemporary urban scene plays out in each of them as bears roam, angels hover, fire rages, smoke billows, and women’s broken bodies lie in the streets. The story has moved from the ramshackle res house of Chapter VII to a different kind of “rez,” the urban rez. It is a reserve just the same in the containment of, and violence done to, Indigenous people. From Chapter IX, I can look back into parts of Chapter VI, “Incarceration.” The display case that holds leg irons and Louis Sam’s handcuffs bridges the chapters.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir:
Here in the cities, my people struggle. We have no space, we cannot see the horizon or feel the wind. Crowded into ghettos in these prairie and northern towns, broken and bleeding from the wounds of our parents and grandparents, we may as well be surrounded by the same concrete walls of the prisons.

Miss Chief quotes Cree artist and filmmaker, Floyd Favel: “We’re surrounded by violence here, self-inflicted violence, or violence by Indians to other Indians, or violence by whites to Indians.”
Figure 32. Kent Monkman, *Struggle for Balance*, 2014, acrylic on canvas, 84 x 126 in. Image courtesy of the artist. With permission.

*Struggle for Balance* (Figures 31 & 32). It is the crumpled, bleeding woman lying naked on the sidewalk that I cannot take my eyes away from. The image is visceral, calling to my mind Indigenous women and girls that have been murdered or are missing in this country. If she had been realistically rendered, I feel the image would be too much to witness. Monkman has painted her as a stylized Picasso nude, referencing with her fragmented, cubistic body modern art's violence against the female form. Blood runs from her mouth, smears across her buttocks and near her head, and pools on the pavement beneath her. It is a lurid red. Within her praying hands, she clasps a rosary above her bare breasts. A fashionable bag with the interlocking Cs of the Coco Chanel logo, signifying femininity, sits on the sidewalk beside her. With her twisted form,
she looks like she could have slid off one of the modern art canvases that lean precariously against a picket fence in the background: she is a casualty of modern art, of colonization, of both.

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From Miss Chief’s memoir: “Too many of my sisters are stripped of their honour and grace by men who are afraid of the power of the feminine.”

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Two Indigenous men kneel at the head and feet of the broken and bleeding woman (Figure 32). One, wearing a mask, wipes blood from her haunches with a cloth and the tattooed letters on his fingers spell out the word “love.” His Winnipeg Jets jersey references the city where Monkman grew up and where these paintings are set. The other man cradles a bloodied cubist fold attached near the woman’s head. The tattoo on his chest depicts a bloody Wild West fight between cowboys and “Indians,” another signifier of the colonial relationship. This city street reads as an outcome of that relationship, similarly a space of violence, but there are the caring gestures of the two men. There are other signs of Indigenous resilience: someone has carved the telephone pole, a bear walks along the side of the house, a brightly-costumed Indigenous woman sits on the steps holding a baby in a cradleboard, and a shamanistic figure performs a ceremony.

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Later, when a friend shared an image on social media of George Catlin’s Medicine Man, Performing his Mysteries over a Dying Man (1832) I recognized Monkman’s “shamanistic figure.” Curious, I did a little investigating:

While painting this Blackfoot medicine man, Catlin became obsessed with owning his costume, cajoling, begging, even threatening, until the owner gave in and sold it to the
artist for an unrecorded sum. Catlin took the outfit abroad with him, donning it to great effect when he introduced ‘live’ Iowa and Ojibwa performers in London and Paris.

(Eisler, 2013)

Is the figure in Monkman’s painting Catlin’s depiction of the medicine man? Is he Catlin in costume? Or, is he the Blackfoot medicine man? Is he all these things? Does he signify the appropriation of Indigenous culture by whites? Is Monkman re-claiming the image, taking the costume back and returning it to its rightful owner, a medicine man who brings healing to a city street torn apart by the outcomes of colonization?

I studied Monkman’s paintings carefully in the exhibition and then many times later at my computer, zooming in, zooming out, scrutinizing the details, reading the signs, looking for the art historical references, searching for meanings. Often uncertain. His paintings are tricky, complex, always eluding a final answer. That woman on the steps, in Struggle for Balance, with her baby in a cradleboard. . .

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The residential city street in Struggle for Balance is filled with signs of urban distress and chaotic action (Figure 32). An Indigenous man looks over his shoulder and grips a hammer as he runs by a burning vehicle behind which a deer lies in the road. The deer’s prone, broken body bleeding out onto the pavement echoes the woman’s broken form. A masked figure struggles with a white, crazed-looking cop who fires his gun next to another masked man who is down on one knee with his hands raised. The masks perhaps signify Indigenous cultural resilience but also perform the function of disguise within this patrolled urban space. A camouflaged soldier with automatic rifle emerges semi-translucent and ghost-like from a wooden fence in the background. Overhead, angels perform their mysteries. A blonde, white angel, whose chest is tattooed with
Indigenous art, watches the scene below seemingly unaware that a giant eagle, a signifier of Indigenous spirituality, is about to swoop down. Another blonde, white angel lies in the clouds which are actually smoke billowing up from the burning vehicle. One of the angel’s biceps sports a tattoo of a bare-breasted woman with feathers in her long dark hair, and a dollar sign is tattooed on his palm. The angel looks towards the Indigenous figure in the cloud beside him who sits serenely, wrapped in a blanket and holding a peace pipe. These otherworldly beings infuse the scene with a sense of the supernatural, promising I am not sure what while creating a sense that anything could happen.

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Edmonton. These Winnipeg streets in the “Urban Rez” series remind me of my life in Edmonton, in the pretty but affordable character home set amidst gritty streets, wailing sirens, condoms and needles in the alley, and women on street corners. People pushed shopping carts loaded with whatever they could find to live by. We believed in our neighborhood, in the promise of its revitalization. But now I wonder revitalized for whom? We thought of ourselves, the well-being of our child, the value of our property, and having nice places to walk and shop. We were dreaming of a lovely place to live while all around us people, many of them Indigenous, were caught up in the midst of the harshness of those streets. Looking at Monkman’s paintings, it seems impossible to me that I had been unable to see in Edmonton the interconnectedness between my life and the lives around me, our intertwined history, and my own role and privilege within colonial structures.

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Bad Medicine (Figure 33). Another woman is down on another residential city street. She is a swirly, distorted, fleshy-coloured organic mass painted in the style of 20th-century British painter Francis Bacon. The contents of her purse have spilled out onto the pavement: a bottle of pills, a bottle of Chanel No. 5, a lipstick, compact makeup, another lipstick, a coin purse. Near her purse, there is a dart syringe (initially I mistake it for a hypodermic needle) which has presumably come from the tranquilizer gun that lies in the street beside her. It is the sort of thing one would use to sedate a bear. And there are bears, seven in all, but they don’t seem to be harming this vulnerable woman. A huge, roaring bear stands above her, but I sense this bear is more likely sounding an alarm than about to attack. Yet, a can of bear spray amongst the
woman’s purse contents creates uncertainty around the relationship between the woman and the bears. Other bears are lumbering off, looking like they want to get away from this violent scene, and two cubs are up a telephone pole. There is danger here, hiding in the bushes. A soldier with an automatic weapon begins to emerge. He is made of leaves. A chameleon, camouflaged, he seems to have transformed his colour to blend in with the greens of the shrubbery. Another camouflaged soldier points his weapon in the other direction, at whatever might be behind the houses. A camouflaged Indigenous warrior is also emerging from the bushes, and there are other signs of Indigenous resilience and resistance: Indigenous carvings on the telephone pole, pictographs on a house, and a Warrior Flag in a window. A white, blonde angel with Indigenous tattoos who hovers over the scene seems to be communicating with the standing bear, a spiritual animal. The painting continues the themes of violent city streets, supernatural presences, clashing cultures and belief systems, Indigenous resilience, and violence against women.

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In the Glenbow’s Discovery Room, located across the lobby from Shame and Prejudice, I watch a video of Monkman in his studio surrounded by paint brushes and artist materials. He talks about the tension in his “Urban Rez” paintings between “the predator and prey, the idea that Indigenous women are preyed upon” (University of Toronto, 2017, 1:25).

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*Le Petit déjeuner sur l’herbe* (Figure 33). The title references 19th-century French painter Edouard Manet’s painting *Le déjeuner sur l’herbe* (1863), a work considered to have been ground breaking in launching modern art. In Manet’s painting, a naked, modern woman gazes directly at the viewer, returning the viewer’s gaze, as she sits with two clothed men on the grass in a park-like setting. Manet’s representation collapsed the illusion of an idealized, timeless nude
and also collapsed the illusion of realistic space by rejecting depth in favour of calling attention to flatness.

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Monkman, from the exhibition booklet:

The Canadian treaty signings of 1873 occurred ten years after Manet’s innovative painting, *Le déjeuner sur l’herbe* (1863) transformed conventions of pictorial space and set Modernism on its path. The painter’s flattening of pictorial space echoes the shrinking of space for Indigenous people who were forced onto reserves that are tiny fractions of their original territory, now comprising only 0.2% of Canada. (p. 7)

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The space of *Le Petit déjeuner sur l’herbe* is not the compressed space of the reserve nor is it Manet’s perfect spot for luncheoning, a wooded green place. It is the confined space of the city, another form of flattening and compression in Indigenous lives. There is little *l’herbe*, apart from the glimpse offered through a chain-link fence. The naked figures in the street reference not Manet’s flatly painted, largely unmodelled, female form but instead what Monkman refers to in the exhibition booklet as Picasso’s “butchering of the female nude” (p. 7). These women are made of multiple flattened planes, sharp angular shapes, and chopped, blocky forms rearranged into monstrous distortions. Visually, they recall *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon* (1907), Picasso’s radical re-invention of the female nude bound up in his memories of Barcelona sex workers and his fascination with “primitive” art. Monkman’s appropriations of these stylizations mark out the colonialist and modernist violence done to the female form, women’s bodies and the female spirit. Although there is no blood in this painting, what I see are shards of flesh, what is left after
multiple cuts, dislocations, injuries, surgeries, violations and beatings. A fan of Picasso and modern art, I have never looked at cubist representations of women this way before.

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I think of the women, many of them Indigenous, that I walked by who were working on the streets of Edmonton, women who were largely invisible to me because I refused to see them. Women who had lives, responsibilities, worries, joys and pain. I think of the women who ended up murdered or missing. Dehumanized in the legal system and the press. Lives reduced to a story of prostitution and/or addiction. Talked about as if what happened to them was their own fault.

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The *Petit déjeuner* of the painting’s title suggests breakfast time, when dawn rises on the activities of the night before. The women are outside a hotel that, according to its signage, offers cold beer, happy hour and karaoke. The restaurant has a closed sign in the window and another sign that says it opens at 6 am. The women seem to have nowhere else to go. One appears to stumble along, one sits in a doorway, one has collapsed onto the sidewalk, and one stands in the entranceway to the restaurant. At the centre of the composition, at its focal point, there is another woman. With her mouth opened wide and her tongue thrust out, she kneels on the sidewalk as she hunches protectively over her child. The image reminds me of the screaming mother in *The Scream*. The woman’s form is as twisted as those of the other women on the street, but this is a different sort of reference to Picasso. I recall standing in front of such a woman at the Museo Reina Sofia in Madrid, seeing her within Picasso’s monumental painting *Guernica* (1937), his response to the horrors of the Spanish Civil War. Picasso returned to this image of a woman
howling in anguish as she holds her dead child, many times\textsuperscript{24} capturing with incredible intensity the suffering, monstrosity and incomprehensibility of all war. What these women experience on these “Urban Rez” streets is like a war, physically, emotionally and spiritually.

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In 2010, the Native Women’s Association of Canada, based on cases in their database, identified Alberta as second only to British Columbia in having the highest number of cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Canada. Fifty percent of the murder cases happened in urban areas such as Calgary and Edmonton and 76\% of the missing disappeared from an urban area. Canada-wide, the actual number of missing and murdered is considered to be significantly higher than the police-documented cases in the 2014 RCMP report (1017 homicides and 164 missing persons between 1980-2012). Indigenous women are 12 times more likely to be missing or murdered than other women in Canada, and 16 times more likely than white women (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2017).

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White angels swoop in, pointing to the heavens, above the mother with her dead child. A second set of angels ascends with what appears to be cubist body parts, perhaps the remains of some woman who has died in the street. Within an expensive-looking car parked partly up on the sidewalk, as though the driver was in a hurry, a rosary hangs from the rear-view mirror and there is a Christian fish symbol on the car’s front plate. I suspect the absent driver is not at this place

\textsuperscript{24} Monkman’s version is especially close to Picasso’s \textit{Mother with Dead Child [II]. Postscript of "Guernica"} (1937) from the collection of the Museo Reina Sofia.
out of Christian charity to help the women but rather he is here to take advantage of their desperate need for cash. Whatever is happening, there appears to be little solace.

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Miss Chief concludes her memoir with a powerful message of hope and resilience filled with love for her people:

I try to bring hope, some laughter, a respite from the crushing weight of poverty and violence that keeps my people from seeing the sacred within themselves. I show them who they truly are, my beauty reflecting theirs, but only some have eyes to see. The others cannot see our magic, they try to tell us it is not there, but they do not understand the power of Miss Chief and they sorely underestimate the resilience of our people.

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July 1st, 2017, Canada’s 150th birthday, ended up being a day like any other. At least it was for me. With my research at the Glenbow complete, my husband and I had driven up from Calgary to Edmonton to visit our son. Over the course of the visit, I went through my Glenbow photographs during spare moments, organizing them into the exhibition chapters, and revisiting the experience. On the evening of the big birthday bash, there was talk of heading out to see the fireworks display but, much to my relief, plans fell through.
CHAPTER 5: VISITING SHAME AND PREJUDICE: A STORY OF RESILIENCE
AT CONFEDERATION CENTRE ART GALLERY

In this chapter, I approach the writing of my account somewhat differently. Instead of following the sequence of the exhibition’s numbered chapters, I move between the inside and outside of the Confederation Centre Art Gallery. When I visited Shame and Prejudice at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, I was in a city that I know fairly well within a province where I had previously resided for about fifteen years. I had never been to Charlottetown, or Prince Edward Island, or any of the other Maritime Provinces. I knew little of the history and culture of the place. I was a tourist in Charlottetown from the evening of July 9 to the morning of July 13, 2018, with an excursion on July 12 to Cavendish to see the beaches. As at the Glenbow, my experience of the exhibition was shaped partly by its contextual and intertextual dimensions, perhaps even more so because historic downtown Charlottetown is itself deeply steeped and active in constructing the dominant settler narrative of nation building that Monkman’s exhibition seeks to counter and subvert. To capture the almost surreal relationship between an exhibition that critically addresses what Confederation has meant for Indigenous peoples and a city that memorializes the “founding fathers” and proudly promotes itself as the “Birthplace of Confederation,” my writing weaves between experiences of visiting the exhibition and engaging with the place’s heritage tourism. Although the Birthplace narrative has a very strong presence in Charlottetown, it is not impermeable. Ruptures cannot help but emerge as Canadian cultural institutions attempt to transform and decolonize within a national context that speaks of reconciliation. My account draws out some of the tensions and contradictions that result. Before presenting my account, I offer an overview of the broader context for this stop on Shame and Prejudice’s tour.
Context for the Exhibition at Confederation Centre Art Gallery

Between its run at the Glenbow Museum and the Confederation Centre Art Gallery, the exhibition’s public pedagogical presence expanded across Canada. After Toronto and Calgary, *Shame and Prejudice* had its third showing, from January 6 to April 8, 2018, in Kingston, Ontario at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre which functions as Kingston’s public gallery and a learning centre for Queens University.²⁵ Media coverage of Monkman and *Shame and Prejudice* continued. *The Globe and Mail* offered an in-depth look at the artist’s studio, team of assistants, and multistage artistic process (Bascaramurty, 2017). *Border Crossings*, a high-profile Canadian magazine covering contemporary art, showcased the exhibition in one of its extended interviews (Enright, 2017). In the piece, art critic Robert Enright, with his words printed prominently against a lush, two-page reproduction of *Iron Horse*, gave the exhibition high praise: “Kent Monkman’s revisioning of the Canadian artistic, social, political and sexual landscape is the most radical rethinking of the way our society functions any artist has accomplished in the 150 years since Confederation” (p. 27). *Shame and Prejudice* opened at the Confederation Centre Art Gallery in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island on June 23, 2018 as part of the gallery’s summer exhibitions celebration, and Monkman gave an artist’s/curator’s tour on June 24. The exhibition received coverage in local press such as Charlottetown’s daily newspaper *The Guardian* (Cole, 2018), and it was promoted through Confederation Centre Art Gallery’s website and social media.

A coastal city with a population of about 36,000 (City of Charlottetown, 2018), Charlottetown is the capital of Prince Edward Island and has long claimed its legacy as “the

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²⁵ A virtual tour at the Agnes, where the exhibition was not presented in its entirety due to limited space, can be accessed at http://liberty360.ca/QueensUniversity/Agnes/2018/Winter/360.html?s=pano40 Monkman’s artist’s/curator’s talk for the Agnes showing can be accessed at https://vimeo.com/254548613
Birthplace of Confederation.” Charlottetown’s claim was recognized in a bill that went before the Canadian senate and was then enshrined into law on December 12, 2017 (Senate of Canada, 2017). Prince Edward Islanders have the slogan on their license plates and another phrase that is popular at heritage tourism sites is “Cradle of Confederation.” A designation as Canada’s birthplace is not mere whimsy but instead an honour closely tied to the province’s tourism and its heritage funding, and hence its economy. This was much in evidence when neighbouring New Brunswick touched off a rivalry by launching its Canada 150 tourism campaign as “Celebrate Where it All Began” (CBC, 2017). Although Prince Edward Island did not join Confederation until 1873 (six years after Confederation), Charlottetown was the host of the first of the meetings of delegates in 1864 to discuss a possible union of the colonies. That meeting was followed by the Quebec Conference one month later where the men who came to be known as the Fathers of Confederation drafted the 72 Resolutions. The third conference, the London Conference of 1866/1867, culminated in Queen Victoria’s signing into law *The British North America Act* which created the Dominion of Canada on July 1, 1867.

*Figure 34.* Province House during conservation work. Charlottetown, July, 2018. Author photograph.
Together, two national historic sites, Province House and the Confederation Centre of the Arts, sit at the heart of Charlottetown’s downtown. Province House (Figure 3), with its neo-classical columns, porticos and pediments, is situated in a space of urban gardens, lawns and a cenotaph to Prince Edward Islanders who have served in the wars. The building is where the Charlottetown Conference was held in September 1864, and it served as the seat of the Legislative Assembly of Prince Edward Island since it opened in 1847 up until its closure in 2015 for structural conservation work. Adjacent to Province House is the Confederation Centre of the Arts which opened in 1964 with much ceremony, including a visit from Queen Elizabeth II and an impressive roster of Canadian politicians and entertainers. The Centre was developed to commemorate the 1864 Charlottetown Conference during a period when Canada was gearing up to celebrate its centennial in 1967 and federal dollars were flowing into projects of national significance (Sawler, 2014). The project also had the backing of all the provinces, each committing 15 cents per capita, which combined with federal funding to total $5.6 million. Today, most of the Centre’s funding is derived from programming revenues and public sector grants, along with fundraising and revenues from commercial operations (Fathers of Confederation Buildings Trust, 2017-2018). A massive, multi-building cultural complex that takes up an entire city block, the Centre is architecturally representative of other Canadian cultural institutions that were built in the 1960s and 1970s in the Brutalist style. Province House and Confederation Centre talk to each other despite their different architectural styles: the sandstone for their construction was sourced from the same quarry, and the building where the founding fathers had their first meeting is in direct view of the Centre’s Memorial Hall which was designed to commemorate the Fathers. The Hall, a one-story building with a glass roof of pyramidal, diamond-shape skylights, is the centrepiece of Confederation Centre. Around it, in a
U-shape, there are three multi-story pavilions, one of which holds Confederation Centre Art Gallery (Figure 35). Terraces, modernist sculpture, benches, small gardens, an outdoor amphitheatre and courtyard dining break up the Centre’s rigid geometry. Such features also contribute to its presence in the downtown as a lively public space as does the fact that it also holds a public library and a crowd-pleasing 1,100-seat theatre.

![Figure 35. Confederation Centre of the Arts with view of the Art Gallery. Charlottetown, July, 2018. Author photograph.](image)

A Birthplace of Confederation narrative spreads down from the two national historic sites to the waterfront and to Confederation Landing which is situated along the Hillsborough River. The River’s banks hold a complex history of Mi’kmaw habitation, Acadian, Scottish and English settlement, and 19th-century shipbuilding, yet the waterway seems most prominently celebrated by the city as the arrival point on the Charlottetown waterfront of the delegates from the Province of Canada in 1864. Charlottetown tourism literature gushes, quite deservedly, about the city’s small-town feel, vibrant arts and culture scene, historic charm and lively waterfront.
Moreover, the city is a gateway location for day trips to the Island’s picturesque fishing villages, stunning coastlines, and white and red sand beaches. All of these wonders, yet the logo for Discover Charlottetown is a top hat with a maple leaf tucked into the brim—founding fathers are rarely out of sight in Charlottetown, in one form or another. That the Birthplace narrative is considered a major tourist draw was on display when Prince Edward Island celebrated the 150th anniversary of the Charlottetown Conference as a “year-long event” with “music, record tourism spending and a host of legacies” (Day, 2014). Not all of the manifestations of Birthplace tourism have been successful, however. Canada’s Birthplace Pavilion at Founders’ Hall opened in 2001 to take visitors on a tour of Confederation, but a serious decline in visitor numbers, blamed on static displays that failed to excite in increasingly digital times, led to the exhibit’s closure in 2016 (Martel, 2016). Seeking a contemporary edge, Discover Charlottetown’s 2018 marketing targeted millennials for the first time, with video advertising set to catchy local music and featuring young people enjoying the attractions of food, culture, nightlife and a coastal lifestyle (The Guardian, 2018). Charlottetown is filled with the tensions of being, on the one hand, stodgily dependent on the Birthplace narrative and, on the other, seeking the transformations needed for new times and new audiences.

Even as Confederation Centre of the Arts (n. d. -a) positions itself as “the Centre for all Canadians” (para. 1), it struggles with the challenge of appealing to diverse audiences. It is “officially Canada’s memorial to the founding fathers” (para. 3), a space of commemoration, but it is also an arts centre that fosters and celebrates Canadian arts and culture. Its mandate is to “inspire Canadians, through heritage and the arts, to celebrate the origins and evolution of Canada as a nation” (para. 7). Within its dual functions as both memorial and cultural centre, the Centre constructs and circulates not only a mostly unified national narrative of the country’s
birth but also the notion of a national cultural identity that connects past, present and future. Yet, the Centre has a vision for change, which I found expressed in a stylish brochure that I picked up while there:

Today, as our nation continues to evolve, the Centre has made a commitment to expand our relationship with Indigenous artists, presenting and supporting the creation of Canadian performing and visual arts and heritage programming relevant to all Canadians. At Confederation Centre, we see an important role in re-evaluating Canadian confederation, and proposing new ways to define our country. As a living memorial we look to not only honour the past, but are committed to lead in redefining our national priorities, expressed in particular through arts, culture, and heritage. (n. d. -b, para. 1)

The Centre’s response to Canada’s sesquicentennial reflects this evolution. Its Canada 150 project *The Dream Catchers* featured Indigenous-led creative workshops for young people to explore their dreams for the future. The national dream catcher, created from the smaller dreamcatchers made by the youth, is displayed in Memorial Hall (along with information about the project) in order “to emphasize the Centre’s commitment to working towards the goals in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report and Calls to Action” (Fathers of Confederation Buildings Trust, 2017-2018, p. 3). The project also resulted in *The Dream Catchers* musical production, an energetic combining of hip hop, spoken word and folk with contemporary and Indigenous dance, performed in Charlottetown and across Canada in 2017 by the Confederation Centre Young Company, a training program for young performers. The spirit and flavour of the 2017 production re-emerged in the 2018 summer festival season with the Young Company’s production *Aqsarniit* (Inuktitut for northern lights), an upbeat, critical and decolonizing performance that was so engaging and moving that I felt the need to watch it twice. And, of
course, there is Confederation Centre Art Gallery’s partnership with the Art Museum at the University of Toronto to produce *Shame and Prejudice*.

Confederation Centre Art Gallery’s national mandate is “to develop appreciation and understanding of Canadian visual arts,” and its collections and programmes “reflect on Canadian identity and the origin and evolution of the country” (Confederation Centre of the Arts, n.d.-c, para. 3). The gallery holds a Canadian historical and contemporary art collection with over 17,000 items, including Harris’ sketches for *The Fathers of Confederation*. The exhibition of Monkman’s critical counter-narrative, not to mention his radical subversion of Harris’ famous painting of the Fathers, throws a wrench into the story of nation-building that Confederation Centre has played an important role in helping to construct. In addition to the co-production of *Shame and Prejudice*, other art gallery initiatives aimed at redefining priorities include large-scale mural painting commissions from Cree artist Jane Ash Poitras, with her provocatively-titled *Those Who Share Together, Stay Together* (1997), and Anishinaabe Salteaux artist Robert Houle who re-imagined Benjamin West’s *The Death of General Wolfe* for *O-ween du muh waun* (*We Were Told*) (2017).

The exhibit area is comprised mainly of galleries on two levels and smaller spaces in the lower concourse. *Shame and Prejudice*, which ran from June 23 to September 15, 2018, took up the entire main level. On the second level, and visible from below, *Marlene Creates: Places, Paths, and Pauses* ran from June 9 to September 30. Smaller exhibits included *Missing the Island* (May 19 to October 7) and *Luminous* (January 20 to September 9). In my account, I explore some of the intertextual connections that I experienced between these other exhibitions and *Shame and Prejudice*. With admission by donation and multiple entry points via either of the
two entrances from the plaza (one off Grafton Street and the other next to the amphitheatre), or through the lower level concourse, the Art Gallery is an inviting space to wander into.

**Troubling the “Birthplace” of Canada with Miss Chief**

“That’s Province House where the Fathers of Confederation met. That’s how we got the country going.” The cab driver who picked my husband and me up at the Charlottetown airport, an older man, has not been especially talkative. He perks up, however, as we drive by a view of Province House on our way to where we will be staying for the next four nights, a charming ship-themed inn restored from a Confederation-era house constructed by a local shipbuilder. After unpacking, we spend the evening eating lobster on the waterfront and wandering around the exterior edges of Province House and the Confederation Centre of the Arts plaza in the dark.

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The next morning, we enter Confederation Centre Art Gallery via the Grafton Street entrance, stopping briefly to read the advisory notice about mature content and disturbing subject matter, the same sort of notice as at the Glenbow. This entrance delivers us directly into Chapter I of Monkman’s exhibition, and I am surprised to find a reception area in the midst of it. The woman at the desk greets us warmly and tells us about the summer exhibitions. Her friendly demeanor pulls the Art Gallery into the charming, small-town feel of downtown Charlottetown.

The chapter layout, starting from the Grafton Street entrance, is similar to that at the Glenbow Museum. On my first walk through, I begin in New France and then find myself again jumped ahead in time to Chapter IV which then connects with Chapter II where the numbered chapter sequence picks up but with a more maze-like layout than at the Glenbow. A few pieces have been removed, a new installation has been added, and the exhibition design has been adapted for this space. There are more visual and spatial interruptions than at the Glenbow, in the form of staircases, windows, doors, views to the second-floor galleries, and directional wall text that tells visitors Chapters I-IV this way and Chapters V-IX that way. Wall text also offers a detailed statement of responsibility for the exhibition (including not only the artist but the exhibition’s producers, funding sources, sponsors, and studio, curatorial and technical team members), a statement that helps identify the exhibition as being a large, inter-institutional project.

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Miss Chief swings between Wolfe and Montcalm, the British and French generals who seem intent upon wooing her (Figure 36). The gallery spotlights cause her to cast a giant, distorted shadow that extends across the floor and up the wall. A docent asks me if Miss Chief’s
swinging was this loud in Calgary. As I pause to think, my husband observes that she’s been swinging non-stop and not just when someone is standing there.

Her creaking is incessant and insistent, bringing to my mind Indigenous author Thomas King’s (1993) Totem. In the short story, a totem pole mysteriously appears in an Alberta museum amidst a show of seascapes from Atlantic Canada. Irritated by the noises it is making, its gargling, chuckling, laughing or perhaps chanting sounds, the director of the museum orders its removal to the basement. But cut one totem pole down and another takes its place, first one that grunts and then one that shouts. Finally, the director gives up after a singing totem pole appears. Although he eventually barely notices the singing, he continues to be a little annoyed that the pole takes up space and by the low pulsing sound coming from the other totem poles in storage.

Miss Chief swings back and forth, filling the room with her disruptive creaking. Behind the scene of her courtship, light seeps in through a semi-transparent window blind that reveals a glimpse of downtown Charlottetown’s historic charm and the Centre’s imposing architecture.

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If you’re homesick on your own homeland, something’s gotta give and something’s gotta go. If Turtle Island’s in the peoples’ heads, it’s got me thinkin’ and thinkin’ and thinkin’ it’s time to move and grow (lyrics from Move and Grow, by Young Company, 2018, arr. Douglas Price).

My husband and I are outside in the Centre’s amphitheatre watching the Young Company perform a perfect complement to Monkman’s counter-narrative inside the Art Gallery. They have come from all over Canada, these young people of different cultural backgrounds, sharing their languages, traditions, stories and hopes. They are singing their hearts out, dancing

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26 The production, called Aqsarniit (Inuktitut for northern lights), ran Monday to Saturday at noon from July 1 to August 18, 2018.
exuberantly in a range of styles, contemporary and traditional. Within the large, appreciative audience, small children dance and sing along to the performance. A young Mohawk woman performs a hoop dance, adding more hoops and more hoops until it seems as if she won’t be able to move. A young Inuk man leads the group in throat singing as cast members pair up and dance together. They are all critical storytellers, here to tell us not only that we have much to celebrate but also to rouse us into questioning the stories about Canada that we have been told, and to consider what we have not been told. “Why don’t we know this?” they yell. They draw our attention to Province House behind us, to Memorial Hall behind them, to how in the Confederation process there was not mutual accommodation for all, there was not mutual accommodation for them. Within this site dedicated to memorializing the founding fathers, they are not afraid to shout out uncomfortable truths: “This is where the Indian Act was born!” The sun is hot, especially hot in this sandstone amphitheatre that has begun to feel like an oven. I feel the performers’ energy moving through me, causing a breathlessness, an anticipation of something—I’m not sure what, but new and different and exciting. They talk about love and togetherness, and dreams for a better future. They also talk about injustices throughout Canadian history: towards the deported Acadians, Black Canadians, and Chinese railroad labourers, and they tell us about the stereotyping and discrimination they have all each faced personally. They speak up for those who don’t identify as the genders they were assigned at birth. They tell us about Indigenous language loss and missing and murdered Indigenous women, and about how Mi’kmaw people took Acadians in to protect them from the British and of the bond that was formed. They tell us that “you can’t have reconciliation if you haven’t told the truth” and remind us that we are all storytellers, and we need to think about telling the right stories.

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The entrance to Memorial Hall from the outdoor amphitheatre is recessed under a glass roof comprised of series of pyramidal skylights (Figure 37). Signage indicates that this is “Canada’s National Memorial to the Fathers of Confederation.” We first find our way into the Hall via the concourse, wandering by chance into the light-filled, grand space in which the names of the Fathers of Confederation, all thirty-six of them along with the names of their provinces, are carved into the marble-lined walls. There is an inscription above the names: “This building was erected to honour the Fathers of Confederation who held their first Confederation Conference in Charlottetown in September 1864 and whose work and vision resulted in the union of the provinces into a great nation.” Light rakes in from the glass ceiling across the floor, the walls, and the provincial flags that hang down. At the ceiling, this shrine-like space of
memorialization is interrupted by a giant, beautiful dreamcatcher made out of, as interpretative panels explain, smaller dreamcatchers created by youth across the country dreaming of “what Canada should be.”

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*Figure 38. Chapter IV meets Chapter II. Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman, June 23 to Sept 15, 2018, Confederation Centre Art Gallery, Charlottetown. Author photograph.*

I stand at the head of Monkman’s table installation from Chapter IV looking down it towards Chapter II’s *The Daddies* (2016) in which the Fathers of Confederation gather around the negotiation table, much as they did here in Charlottetown at the first conference in 1864 (Figure 38). The resplendent spread of drinks, hors d’oeuvres and fine tableware deteriorates into the meagre meal of small animal bones on Monkman’s *Starvation Plates* as it gets closer to the
daddies whose conference table shows signs of celebratory drinking. The painted figure of the cheeky, naked Miss Chief bridges the two tables, the installation one and the painted one, as she seeks a voice for her people in this grand scheme of nation building. Monkman’s daddies and, behind them, the lofty windows of their chamber are reflected in the vitrine that covers the table installation. The military rifle from Chapter IV, the instrument that killed the buffalo thus forcing Indigenous people onto reserves, appears to aim at the red wall that holds *The Daddies* and Harris’s sketches for *The Fathers of Confederation*.

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Founding fathers seem to be almost everywhere in the historic centre of downtown Charlottetown. Spotting them is almost as easy as finding Mickey Mouse at Disney World. Are they playful mascots of a different sort, I wonder? My head whirls and spins with them, a condition aggravated by the hot sun as I walk along the streets where the Fathers once strolled and engaged in the conversations out of which a country was formed. At times, it seems to me as though all these founding fathers have tumbled out of Monkman’s exhibition and spilled out into the streets—as though Monkman’s Daddies have left off ogling Miss Chief and escaped the frame that binds them and taken all of Harris’s Fathers of Confederation along for the jaunt. But then my head clears, and I remember that the founding fathers have been here for a long, long time. They are always here in Charlottetown, memorialized in various forms. The Art Gallery is even the home of the Robert Harris Archives with its collection of sketches of the Fathers. And then I start imagining Miss Chief, in her Louboutin heels and hot pink gauzy breechcloth, luring the founding fathers away from the historic streets and grassy lawns of Charlottetown, the exhibits and interpretative panels, the tours and re-enactments. She assembles all these daddies and puts them on display in the gallery to show us another way of seeing them. And that’s when
it fully hits me just how controversial Monkman’s representations of founding fathers are in this place. In downtown Calgary, a newer, oil-driven city with a skyline of skyscrapers, founding fathers are far away and long ago, but here in Charlottetown the civic pride around them is palpable and present. A key element in the city’s tourism, they are the main characters in the story that Charlottetown tells about itself as the Birthplace of Confederation.

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At the corner of Queen Street and Victoria Row, I sit with Sir John A. Macdonald on his bench for a photo op as he appears to lean in for a close conversation (Figure 39). The menu in the window of a nearby restaurant advertises the “Founding Father”: “Two 3 oz. beef patties, shredded lettuce, pickle chips, cheddar blend and familiar sauce.” I pass on the burger.

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In Victoria, BC on August 11, 2018, our very own Sir John A. was hoisted out of his spot outside City Hall. It was a bold move, to pluck out and pack up the leader of the Fathers of Confederation until a way to recontextualize him is found. He stood for many years by the front doors, a dynamic, imposing figure in a long, billowing coat. The statue’s removal was part of the City’s reconciliation process. I never gave the statue of Macdonald much thought other than thinking it was an odd place to commemorate Canada’s first prime minister. I never thought about the pain he would cause, especially for the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations on whose traditional lands this city was built.

I don’t think Macdonald will be leaving his haunts in Charlottetown anytime soon.

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Figure 40. Fence wrap around Province House during conservation work (detail). Charlottetown, July, 2018. Author photograph.
Province House, where the delegates met in 1864 to discuss a possible union of the British colonies, is closed for conservation work. Around it, a vinyl fence wrap acts as a semi-concealing device that keeps the real building at a distance while at the same time re-presenting it. The wrap is full of heritage images. Looking at a reproduction of the famous photograph of the delegates on the steps of Province House, with Sir John A. seated waggishly on the low step in the front row, top hat in hand, I have a strong sense of the Fathers’ presence in this place (Figure 40). Canadian symbols of national identity repeat and accumulate along the brightly coloured fence wrap: the Fathers, the maple leaf, the Canadian flag, and the Parks Canada beaver logo. There are also many images of Province house itself. With his portrait set against a map of North America, Macdonald appears to gaze thoughtfully upon this site of commemoration that honours him, the other Fathers, and especially the Prince Edward Island delegates whose names and brief biographies are cast in bronze on the national Historic Sites and Monuments markers.

Out of reach behind the wrap, behind the fence, and swaddled in heavy scaffolding, the historic building and its historic chamber are made somehow even more desirable. I find myself wanting in. Anticipating this desire, and constructing it, Confederation Centre offers options for tourists craving more Province House: a replica of the chamber, a guided tour app, and even a virtual reality experience of the interior of Province House. Not having the technology for the app, and fearing the virtual reality would make me feel sick (although I did end up watching my husband try to maneuver about), I opt for the replica chamber.

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The replica chamber, presented as “The Story of Confederation,” is next door in Confederation Centre (Figure 41). The premiers who attended the Charlottetown Conference are in statue form and are placed at various points in the display: John A. Macdonald of Canada West, George-Étienne Cartier of Canada East, Charles Tupper of Nova Scotia, S. Leonard Tilley of New Brunswick, and John Hamilton Gray of Prince Edward Island. Colourless and stiff, these Fathers strike statesmanlike poses and appear frozen in a moment of deep thought. But I find many other, much livelier Fathers in this place. I watch as some are brought to life by the actors who play them in the Parks Canada film being screened at both ends of the Chamber.\textsuperscript{27} They

\textsuperscript{27} The Parks Canada (2017) film “A Building of Destiny” can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t06kcoHAQRw
drink champagne and eat oysters, and Macdonald steals the show with his eloquent arguments designed to win over hesitant delegates. I walk around the long, replica Confederation table reading the name plates and imagining the Fathers sitting at such a table back in 1864. Sitting in the speaker’s chair, I try on a top hat, feeling not Father-like but self-conscious as my husband snaps a photo. It is founding father and Prince Edward Island delegate George Coles, I believe, who bids me good morning as he heads into the chamber to play a game of chess with a fellow Father. They are part of the troupe of Confederation Players who re-enact vignettes on the lawn of Confederation Centre, offer walking tours along historic Great George Street and in Queen Square, sing with the Confederation Brass band, and wander about the site interacting with the public.

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*Figure 42.* Confederation Players, Confederation Centre of the Arts. Charlottetown, July, 2018. Author photograph.
As I watch a genteel game of croquet being played on the lawn by the Fathers of Confederation in their top hats and wool suits and the “Ladies of Confederation” in period gowns and bonnets (Figure 42), I imagine the present-day city blurring into its former self. There are “Ladies” in this story, but Confederation Centre does not call them “Mothers.” However much the words “birthplace” and “cradle” figure prominently in Charlottetown’s story of Confederation, it would seem that only Fathers are needed to give birth to a nation. Or, could there be an implied mother in this narrative after all? Might the city of Charlottetown itself, hesitant and skittish about joining the Fathers in union—especially the Canadian ones, as I gather from the interpretive panels—be not only “cradle” but perhaps also mother, womb, and birth canal in this settler story?

Later, I watch the Players re-enact on the lawn outside Confederation Centre a lively discussion about a union of the colonies, the sort of talk that might have occurred when casually meeting up in the marketplace and where Ladies might get a word in. The local politicians disagree, the Ladies strive to have their views heard, and “the Canadians” Macdonald and Cartier show up to make their interests known. Regrettably, I miss a re-enactment of a duel between then-premier George Coles and Edward Palmer who was leader of the Opposition. But it is only driftwood pistols and a snare drum for the gunshot so I am just as happy to imagine my own version of duelling daddies, with Miss Chief officiating of course. The story of Confederation is not one about weapons and violence anyway (the duel between Coles and Palmer happened some years before the Charlottetown Conference). Instead, the Confederation story is one of charisma and persuasion, wit and words, debates and negotiations, and many fancy parties. This story allows us settler Canadians to imagine that, unlike our neighbours to the south, we were able to birth a country without blood or pain, as if a non-bloody, painless birth is even possible.
In Confederation Centre Art Gallery, Monkman’s daddies are having a blast. The alcohol appears to be flowing freely around the Confederation table in *The Daddies* (2016) (Figure 11), Macdonald is getting sloshed in *A Country Wife* (2016) (Figure 16), and he’s having a drink in *The Subjugation of Truth* (2016) (Figure 18). The table installation of Chapter IV is spread not only with fine foods but also plenty of champagne and other spirits. Outside on the streets of Charlottetown, the Birthplace narrative, far from refuting Monkman’s interpretation of nation building as a boozy affair, celebrates founding-father drinking and partying as a social component that was necessary for the birth of Canada. On Great George Street, the bronze sculpture of the two founding fathers who just happened to have the same name—the John Hamilton Grays—imagines them having an animated chat as they stand over a brewery and distillery barrel.

The story of the legendary exploits of the founding fathers unfurls and repeats across diverse sources from re-enactments and tours to video and sculpture, and through the interpretive panels that guide visitors through downtown Charlottetown. Wandering the grounds of Confederation Centre, I read on a panel about how what started as a conference to discuss a Maritime union of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was “crashed” by the Canadians (Macdonald, Cartier and six others) who came as observers but pushed forward a plan for a larger union. It is presented as a “courting” and an offer of Canada’s “hand in marriage” over eight days of political talk but also crates of champagne, banquets, dancing, a grand ball, late nights and a boozy luncheon on the Canadians’ grand steamer. A reproduction of a painting on the panel depicts the grand ball at Province House held as a “finale” to the meetings. It suggests that the courting that went on was not only of the political sort. The delegates in their
tailcoats and bow ties dance with women done up in their best gowns, ringlets and ribbons. The scene is reminiscent of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*, with these young women perhaps hoping like the Bennet sisters to meet well-placed marriageable men. If a delegate won the daughter’s heart, he might also have a chance at winning the father’s support in the debates over Confederation. And there is the widower Sir John A. looking very pleased as he dances with one of these young women, his hand around her slender waist.²⁸

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I find the founding fathers again at Confederation Landing along Charlottetown’s waterfront (Figure 43). The site where people now walk along the boardwalks eating lobster rolls and ice cream and watching the cruise ships come in marks the location where the Canadians arrived on September 1, 1864 on the S. S. Victoria. Interpretative panels beneath a gazebo-like structure tell the story of Charlottetown’s early years, of how at the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 the British took control from the French of what was then called Île Saint-Jean and renamed it St. John’s Island. The next year, Charlottetown was made the capital, named after Queen Charlotte, the consort of King George III of England. The panels tell of settlement from England, Ireland and Scotland, with some Empire Loyalists from the U.S., and of the Great Fire of 1866 which destroyed much of the town but led to new construction. It is the Birthplace narrative, however, that receives the most attention with much panel space devoted to founding father bios, the group photograph on the steps of Province House, and illustrated portraits of the five Prince Edward Island delegates. The story of Charlottetown’s role in hosting the Fathers is featured: having thus secured “her fame,” the city “remains the Queen City of Prince Edward Island, basking in the deserved glory as the birthplace of our nation.” If this seems a grandiose claim, it is softened by the amusing story of how Charlottetown was “a somewhat reluctant, yet gracious host.” Charlottetown had no lodging or formal reception for the Canadians arriving on the S. S. Victoria as there was the simultaneous and also rare, and possibly more exciting, event of there being a circus in town. Across from the gazebo, a tall metal sculpture reaches towards the sky, offering yet another commemoration of the Charlottetown Conference. A band of metal around the sculpture presents three views: Province House, Charlottetown’s harbour, and the arrival of the Canadians on their steamer with Prince Edward Island delegate William Henry Pope rowing out to greet them. Each of the scenes is separated by name plaques with reproduced
signatures of the delegates. Further up the sculpture, ceramic artworks celebrate the provinces and territories, topped by a ceramic Canadian flag. The sculpture’s title *Celebration—Then and Now* suggests an event worthy of ongoing observance. That Pope was a welcoming committee of one is further commemorated nearby at Peake’s Wharf with a bronze sculpture of the delegate sitting in his boat, top hat in hand and reaching out with his other hand towards where the Canadians came ashore to build a nation.

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Charlottetown commemorates not only founding fathers but also Anne, the charming heroine from Lucy Maud Montgomery’s *Anne of Green Gables*, with her long red braids and straw hat. A much-loved, wholesome Prince Edward Island icon, Anne is famous around the world. She is all over Charlottetown: Anne dolls, straw hats with braids attached, books of course, and all manner of souvenirs in the tourist shops. There is even The Anne of Green Gables Store, a source of many treasures for Anne fans. Anne’s youthful face smiles warmly at passersby from the large signage attached to Confederation Centre where the theatre has shown the musical adaptation of Montgomery’s novel every season since it opened in 1965. Across the street, at The Guild theatre, one can watch Anne fall in love in *Anne & Gilbert, The Musical*.

I imagine Confederation Players, costumed as Fathers of Confederation, walking by a giant advertisement for *The Daddies* instead of the poster for the Centre’s Anne musical. Actor daddies looking at painted daddies ogling Miss Chief, and all of these daddies looking at Miss Chief’s powerful nakedness. But Miss Chief is tucked away inside the Art Gallery, with her stiletto heels, thigh-high boots and diaphanous breechcloths.

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Figure 44. “Chapter III: Wards of the State/The Indian Problem.” Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman, June 23 to Sept 15, 2018, Confederation Centre Art Gallery, Charlottetown. Author photograph.

Treaty 7 hangs above Chief Poundmaker’s moccasins (Figure 44) with its words reflecting upside down onto the top of the display case. Words that promise. Words that take land. As Miss Chief explains in her memoir pages on the wall, the notion of buying land was foreign to the Chiefs. To the left, Monkman’s Subjugation of Truth depicts Chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear in chains, put on trial and incarcerated by Macdonald’s government. To the right, Miss Chief is in an unhappy marriage to Macdonald in A Country Wife. The moccasins are framed by this history.

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Confederation Centre, Charlottetown, and all of Prince Edward Island are on unceded Mi’kmaw territory, the homelands of the Abegweit and Lennox Island peoples. These Nations signed Peace and Friendship Treaties with the British Crown, treaties that did not mention the surrender of their lands. When I watched the Confederation Players doing one of their re-enactments, they acknowledged at the end of their performance the traditional unceded territory of the Mi’kmaw Nations and encouraged the audience to seek out missing voices; however, Mi’kmaw voices can be hard to find in this place. Inside the replica of Confederation Chamber, amidst the statues of founding fathers, a colourful coat is displayed on a mannequin torso. The label for the display indicates this is a 19th-century style Mi’kmaw coat created to be worn by the Mi’kmaw Chief in the Parks Canada film being screened in the Chamber. It was made by four Mi’kmaw women: Cheryl Simon, Judy Clark, Melissa Peter Paul and Amelia Tuplin. I feel hopeful about the promise of Mi’kmaw perspectives in the film, but as I sit watching “A Building of Destiny,” I discover that the Mi’kmaw Chief only stands there wearing the beautiful coat. He is there to make the point that, as the narrator of the film explains, “There were voices missing at the table.” The film itself does not, however, correct that silencing but instead recreates and reinforces it because the Chief isn’t given any lines to speak in the film.

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At Confederation Landing, dwarfed by the gazebo and the tall sculpture commemorating Confederation, a small display offers a Mi’kmaw perspective (see mid-ground of Figure 43). According to an interpretive panel, it is the “Aboriginal Garden Display.” The garden is described as a Medicine Wheel, and the four quadrants, the four directions, each have their own colour, animal guide, medicine, element, season and life stage. The panel informs visitors that the display was developed with guidance from the Native Council and the Mi’kmaq Confederacy
of Prince Edward Island. The wooden casing of the panel is heavily weathered, but beyond it there is a lovely garden with well-tended flowers and plants representing the colours yellow, red, black and white. A stone bench forms the centrepiece and on it are carved the words, in Mi’kmaw, English and French, *Welcome all my relations, sit here on this chair*. I accept the invitation and take a seat. I am thinking about what it means to be a relation, but my husband is distracting me because he is looking for animal carvings. I don’t understand why until I go back and read the panel again, according to which there should be carvings for each of the quadrants—an eagle, a white buffalo, a whale and a white bear. But there are none.

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Later, I learned from online searching that the Aboriginal Garden was inaugurated on July 25, 2011 as part of Charlottetown’s Cultural Capital of Canada designation (Day, 2011). I could see from an inauguration day photograph that there were indeed supposed to be animal carvings—animal guides for each of the four directions of the Medicine Wheel. Curious about what the City of Charlottetown might be able to tell me about the now-missing carvings, I e-mailed them. The response I received back was that they had “no idea where the carvings went,” and I am left wondering what happened in the garden.

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It reads as a gash, an open wound. The Mountie reds seem absolutely bloody, almost throbbing within the black expanse of Chapter V. It is as though the painting itself is screaming, or is a scream. I lack the words to truly describe its effect on me. Less a space of quiet contemplation, this installation of *The Scream* (2017) draws out the violence of its subject (Figure 45). Maybe it is because the painting is not contained within adjoining walls. Maybe it is because I am seeing the original and not a reproduction this time. Maybe it is because of the addition of a heavy, authoritative frame. Maybe the lighting is different. Or maybe it is just me, feeling raw after witnessing the injustices of another year of settler colonialism.
Outside the gallery, on the streets of Charlottetown and in the nearby replica of Confederation Chamber, the Fathers of Confederation are being celebrated as charismatic men who have a charming penchant for champagne parties and the daring needed to forge a great nation. But this moment of children being torn from their mothers, a moment repeated throughout the history of Canada, is one of their genocidal legacies, and *The Scream* is devastating.

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On January 7, 2019, the RCMP enter Wet’suwet’en territories to enforce a court injunction in a raid against peaceful people, many of them women, who are standing on their unceded land to prevent work on a pipeline project (Coastal Gaslink/TransCanada) that does not have the collective free, prior, and informed consent of the Wet’suwet’en hereditary chiefs. They are standing on land to which they have title as confirmed in 1997 when the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in the Delgamuuk’w court case that the Wet’suwet’en people, as represented by their hereditary leaders, had not given up rights and title to these lands in Northern British Columbia.

I stand in solidarity with them from where I am, in this online space of social media where the world has been watching. In safety. From a distance. I watch as the tension builds with the people preparing and the RCMP amassing. I send my support in “hearts” and “likes” to the people, share their postings, and communicate to government my support for the Wet’suwet’en people. When I watch that horrible moment when the RCMP with their assault rifles and tactical gear force their way through the Gidumt’en Access Point, I feel a surge of fear, a heart-in-the-throat feeling, for the people. They are vulnerable, yet they stand their ground in the face of militarized colonial violence and try to educate the colonizer. 14 arrests. 150 years of being
brutalized and oppressed by Canadian police. Not all settlers support the Wet’suwet’en people, but I feel that I am part of something that is growing in intensity as I read online comments from other settlers who are no longer willing to tolerate colonial structures and violations of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, who are angry and ashamed by Canada’s actions, and who see that protecting Wet’suwet’en homelands is good for all of us.²⁹

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In their article for the Canadian Journal of Sociology, Howe and Monaghan (2018) report on the extent to which Indigenous capacities to capture public support is a major concern for the Canadian government and the RCMP when assessing the risks of Indigenous protests:

Analysts are instructed to rate a higher risk score if the protest deals with issues of “fairness” or “honesty.” The same goes for another criteria on leadership, where analysts are to apply a higher score based on if “the leader is media-savvy, telegenic, sounds/looks good.” Other entries include whether “The group has high public support”, if there are “linkages” with other issues, or if the issue is “very simple to understand”, “effects people personally” or “evokes a strong emotional reaction.” (p. 340)

My commitment is to join more Indigenous resistance networks, to act in ways that support Indigenous struggles for sovereignty and rights, and to make my support visible to government and policing.

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²⁹ A video of the Gidumt’en checkpoint being raided by the RCMP can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NdB6W8YMy6M

As she kneels in her small cell, the inmate holds up an eagle feather towards a square of light, and she holds a braid of sweet grass in her other hand (Figure 46). These signs of Indigenous spirituality perhaps offer the inmate some comfort. Nearby, the display of handcuffs used on Louis Sam and the 19th-century leg irons join with the photographs of Poundmaker and Big Bear to draw out the connections, to trace out a line of incarceration that extends back through 150 years of Canadian Confederation. The inmate stands in for every Indigenous inmate, thus signifying the disproportional representation of Indigenous people in Canadian prisons. At the same time, she is not like every other Indigenous inmate, she is among the most vulnerable, with her mascaraed lashes and modified, fringed prison shirt: female, Two-Spirit, transgender. Her face, like all the mannequins in the exhibition, is Monkman’s.
The title of the installation, *Minimalism*, captures the cruelly minimal amount of space the inmate must live in. It calls to my mind Monkman’s words in the exhibition booklet about how the rise of modernism and the forcing of Indigenous peoples onto reserves was concurrent. A shrinking of space. The three small shelves along the back wall of the cell look like they could be inmate bunks, but they are also iconic minimalist sculptures (in the style of Donald Judd), stacked metal boxes that say nothing beyond their pared-down, fabricated forms. They signify a bare bones reduction in art but also in inmate space and Indigenous land. The exuberant and decorative Rococo, associated with Chapter I and New France, has been left far behind for the economy, geometry and industrial look of minimalist art.

The square of light in the inmate’s cell changes colour. Red. Blue. Purple. Green. The light show reminds me of some of the pieces exploring light, colour and materials on display in *Luminous*, a selection of works from the gallery’s collection in the lower concourse. Electric colours, bulbs, fluorescents, art that plugs in. I feel a pull of attraction to the inmate’s square of light, as though it too is an interesting modernist piece, but then I notice the gallery spotlighting above Monkman’s installation flickering. Sickly and institutional, the lighting malfunction heightens the sense of horror I feel when looking into the minimalist cell.

Outside, I wander through the imposing, massive architecture that surrounds *Shame and Prejudice*. Bronze text on a maroon Historic Sites plaque on the plaza praises the Centre’s architecture: “With its monolithic outward appearance and extensive terracing, the Confederation Centre of the Arts is a notable example of ‘Brutalist’ architecture in Canada.” The hulking presence of the cultural complex exudes power and a desire for order. Although the *brut* of
brutalism refers to the rawness of its materials and not brutality, the word, in this context, suggests to me the brute force that the architecture enacts on the land it sits on, unceded Mi’kmaw land. The hard geometry of the plaza and its buildings are interrupted by gardens and other inviting elements, and a Tsimshian totem pole that peeks out incongruously from its place within a glassed-in garden.\(^3\) Inside, Miss Chief has penetrated this stone fortress, telling her passionate story amidst the linear space of its modernist interior.

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In the painting on the wall, where the inmate in the minimalist cell might see her, Miss Chief poses confidently, having defeated Picasso’s phallic, modernist bull in *Seeing Red* (2014). She is beautiful, confident, strong, and powerful. She brings hope: “I shine brightly for these souls through the darkness, slaying savage masculine force with the dazzling power of my beauty and allure.”

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Words that circumscribe prison life: “count time” “release date,” “work release,” “release plan,” “lock down” . . . I read them from handwritten letters attached to an outside wall of *Minimalism*. They are the words of Lisa Peltier: her “pen-friend letters” mailed from a correctional facility in Minnesota, her place of incarceration. Lisa Peltier, daughter of Leonard Peltier, writes of her hope to be discharged and to finally visit her father Leonard Peltier whom she hasn’t seen for twenty years and who at the time was waiting for a pardon from President Obama. The name is familiar and I look him up later: Leonard Peltier, who was part of the American Indian Movement and is now serving two life sentences. He has always maintained his

\(^3\) The totem pole, *Man and Dogfish* carved by Alfred Joseph, was a gift from First Nations people of BC on the centenary of BC joining Confederation.

Another outside wall of the minimalist cell is decorated with cards and drawings, perhaps by inmates or sent to them by family and friends. The representations on them create a blended spirituality in which Indigenous and Christian symbols (dreamcatcher, crucifix, feathers, rosary, bear’s paw) converge.

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It is like a little chapel, the space behind Monkman’s *Nativity Scene* in which the dilapidated res house shelters the “holy family” into which Miss Chief was born (Figure 47). There, I find the relics and icons that frame the story of Miss Chief’s birth when, as she puts it in her memoir: “The skies opened up and all manner of angels and supernatural beings awaited my arrival.” Menescardi’s painting of *The Holy Family and the Holy Dove*, Monkman’s winged altarpiece *Love Conquers All*, the 19th century journals of Nicolas Point, and *Miss Chief’s Praying Hands* fill the space with Christian iconography. The subversions (the sex toy praying hands, the crucified beaver rosary) seem especially provocative in this place where the grand spires of St. Dunstan’s Basilica Cathedral soar up to the sky above Charlottetown.

Monkman’s “Urban Rez” paintings line the wall facing the res house. With their representations of preyed-upon Indigenous women, they continue the story of the violence that colonization, and the Christianization that came with it, has brought to Indigenous lives.

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Figure 47. Looking down to Chapter VII from the Marlene Creates exhibition. *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience, a Project by Kent Monkman*, June 23 to Sept 15, 2018, Confederation Centre Art Gallery, Charlottetown. Author photograph.

Indigenous and settler perspectives meet up through the views that the first and second floor galleries offer into each other (Figure 47). From Monkman’s exhibition, I catch glimpses to the upper floor galleries that hold Newfoundland-based environmental artist Marlene Creates’ photographic installation and video musings on the land, nature, and place as they intersect with human experience. The memories, stories and connections that she draws out come from the artist herself, her Newfoundland relatives, and Indigenous peoples of Labrador. From the second floor, looking down into *Shame and Prejudice*, I see the reserve house, the minimalist cell, and the urban rez. I see what happens when a people’s connection to land and place, not just a
personal connection but a cultural one, is completely violated. This is what dispossession, displacement and relocation look like.

I find more musings on the land in the lower level of the gallery in a small exhibition titled *Missing the Island*. Amidst its amusing look at how Prince Edward Island gets omitted from maps and graphics, I come across the information that Mi’kmaw people named the Island *Abegweit* which is “loosely translated as ‘cradled on the waves’.” I begin to think of the land I am on as being cradled by the ocean, a far different image of cradling than the one suggested by “the cradle of Confederation.”

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“The land is not an abstract physical location but a *place*, charged with personal significance, shaping the images we have of ourselves” (Marlene Creates, text panel from *Places, Paths, and Pauses* at Confederation Centre Art Gallery).

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If I have a place, I suppose Templeton is it, although I have not thought about it much. Templeton, Quebec. It is where I grew up, in my maternal grandparents’ home, but I was always dreaming of an escape to city life. As part of our Maritime travels, my husband and I visited the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 in Halifax. Watching the staff busily helping visitors locate family immigration records and do genealogical research, I realized I had no idea where to begin. Later, I went digging online with a couple of names that my cousin retrieved for me from family cemetery headstones in Templeton. From within a mess of misspelled names and

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*Abegweit* is a European pronunciation. The Mi’kmaw term is *Epekwitk*. There are other translations of the term, with “cradled on the waves” being a popular one.
incorrect ages in old census records, I believe I have traced, on my grandfather’s side, a great-great-grandfather who was born in the United States and resided in Templeton as early as 1842. That he married a woman born in Lower Canada causes my imagination to stretch my great-great-great grandmother’s lineage back to New France, to the young women, the Filles du Roi, who were sent to the colony by King Louis XIV as brides for settler men. I’ve begun to think about how this family from Templeton, my family, are part of the story that Miss Chief and Monkman tell. Located in the Ottawa Valley, on the Quebec side, the village of Templeton was created at the turn of the 19th century and in the 1970s it became part of the city of Gatineau. It sits on unceded Algonquin Anishinaabe territory.

Thinking about whose traditional land one is on is not really something that settler families think about much, at least not until recently. The only person in my family to talk in any detail about Indigenous people was my English-Irish grandmother. Her family was in Templeton for some time too, but I have yet to apply my amateur genealogical skills to tracing how far back. My grandmother didn’t talk about the Algonquin people whose land we were on. She told me stories when I was little, to try to get me to fall asleep, and among her bible stories, fairy tales and nursery rhymes, were her “Indian stories” which she made up and elaborated upon through multiple tellings over the years. She even wrote one down. There is the white homesteading mother who recklessly loses track of her blue-eyed, golden-curled baby girl while berry picking, the “Indian” woman who rescues the baby from a wolf and takes the baby home and loves her as though she is her own, and the aging Chief who longs to climb to the top of a nearby mountain but fears it is too late because he has devoted his life to caring for his people. Revisiting the story, I see how my grandmother revealed herself, through all these characters, putting herself into this story full of wishes and desires, joys and sadness, and the fleeting nature of our lives.
It’s an odd thing, a white woman revealing what may have been her own hopes and regrets in this way, but my grandmother had the deepest respect for Indigenous people. During her time living in depression-era northern Ontario, it was “the Indians,” she told me, who helped her keep her family fed through their sharing of game and fish. I had trouble imagining what these “Indians” alive at the same time as my grandmother were like. The images I called up were inspired by the characters in her stories and these seemed to be romantic, noble, long-ago people. I didn’t have very many other images available to me, other than from the Western films that she and I watched whenever we could, and those “Indians” didn’t seem like the ones she was talking about. Then, I got older and just stopped thinking about Indigenous people for the most part for many years.

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“How did the colonizer learn to be a colonizer? Why is there such a reluctance to give up the role?”

My PhD committee member Dr. Lorna Williams, who is member of the Lil’wat First Nation, posed these questions to me, after she read my dissertation and then again during my oral defense. They are questions that I have stumbled through, slowly uncovering my own ignorance. Prompted by her encouragement to pull back the layers, I am beginning to understand that she wants me to think beyond our roles as colonizer and colonized here on these lands, to understand that we settlers knew colonization before we got here. She is asking me to learn about my own people, history and heritage, to develop self knowledge, and to find that which the education system and museums, which should be places of knowledge, have failed to teach me. I have much learning to do.

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It is not the most authoritative of sources, the family genealogy that I have for my maternal grandmother’s Way ancestors. But I return to it with new eyes, looking for how we learned to be colonizers, over there, in Europe.

The story begins with the Way family being part of the Anglo-Saxon tribes in Britain who settled and spread and forced others out. Then, “the notable English family Way” survived the upheavals and oppressions of the Norman Conquest and the perils of the Middle Ages, but the struggles for supremacy among religious sects, parliament and king during the 16th and 17th centuries led to banishments without compensation to Ireland or the colonies. In Ireland, “land was confiscated from the Catholic Irish and distributed to the newcomers.” The Way family made the decision, which would not have taken lightly, to make the dangerous ocean crossing to where “the New World beckoned as a place to start a new life” and “where the native people were a mystery, where the environment was unknown, and where the land was untamed.”

It is a story of experience forged in conflict, of vying for privilege, property and place, of being dispossessed, dislocated and disempowered, and of dispossessing, dislocating and disempowering. It is the story not only of the Ways, but the Murphys, Osbornes, Lanthiers, and Johnsons, and all of the English, Irish, Scottish and French lineages that brought me here. It is a way of being in the world and of relating to others that we settlers brought with us to Indigenous lands.

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Images of Monkman’s paintings from *The Rendezvous Series*, works filled with brilliant light and riotous colour, flashed across the large screen on which they were being projected. This was a few months before my trip to Charlottetown, and I was attending Monkman’s keynote for
the Moving Trans History Forward Conference at the University of Victoria. In the paintings, Indigenous and non-Indigenous people meet up and interact freely and exuberantly within vibrant green landscapes teeming with flowers. Gender and sexual identities are ambiguous within bacchanal-like scenes of revelry. The paintings represent, Monkman told us, the freedom of interaction that existed beyond the frontier prior to settlement, beyond the restrictions of European conventions. The work captures spring-time gatherings in the Rockies where there would be trading, partying, gambling, horse racing, wrestling, intermingling and sexual activities. The paintings seem to point not only to some golden past but also to the possibilities of a decolonized future.

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In the outdoor amphitheatre, a young Mohawk woman from the Confederation Centre Young Company gets her turn to talk about the sort of world she wants to see. She speaks of decolonization, of complete independence and sovereignty for Indigenous peoples.

Inside the Art Gallery, Miss Chief offers hope: “The others cannot see our magic, they try to tell us it is not there, but they do not understand the power of Miss Chief and they sorely underestimate the resilience of our people.”

32 A video of Monkman’s keynote “Trans as the New Frontier” at the University of Victoria on March 24, 2018 can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gqPelM1osHk
For images of Monkman’s The Rendezvous series see http://www.petersprojects.com/kent-monkman-the-rendezvous/
CHAPTER 6: UNSETTLING EXHIBITION PEDAGOGIES—IMPLIEDATIONS AND POSSIBILITIES

This research project asked: How does Kent Monkman’s exhibition *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience* work pedagogically to contribute to my own unsettling? My sub-questions were: (1) In what ways have I experienced an unsettling by engaging with Monkman’s exhibition? and (2) What are the implications of this type of exhibition for conceptualizing the education needed for transforming Indigenous-settler relations and for informing public pedagogy and adult education theory, practice and research within and beyond museums? I visited and studied the exhibition at two venues through 2017-2018: the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta and the Confederation Centre Art Gallery in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. My study brought together exhibition analysis and autoethnography to inquire into the exhibition’s critical public pedagogies through the lens of my own unsettling. My interest is in the possibilities of exhibitions such as Monkman’s for fostering the unsettling needed for non-Indigenous Canadians such as myself to transform ourselves and our relationships in ways that are necessary for supporting Indigenous sovereignty. Within this work of unsettling, I understand gender and sexual justice as intrinsic to the project of decolonization.

I begin this concluding chapter by offering some thoughts on the important role autoethnography has played in this study and in my unsettling. Then, I discuss my unsettling experiences within and in relation to Monkman’s exhibition, and I consider implications for settler education, public pedagogy and adult education.
The Pedagogic Force of Autoethnography

When I began this inquiry, I did not fully appreciate the extent to which I would be working with not one but two pedagogic forces: the exhibition and autoethnography. The unsettling pedagogies of Monkman’s exhibition have worked on me in tandem, in inseparable and intricate ways, with the pedagogic force of my own storying and restorying in relation to the exhibition. The pedagogic forces of both the exhibition and of engaging with it autoethnographically intersected to provide opportunities for deep and transformative unsettling learning experiences. As Kawalilak and Groen’s (2016) and Taber’s (2018) autoethnographic accounts of their pedagogical experiences in museums support, at such intersections, between the pedagogic force of our museological experiences and the connections that we make to our own stories and histories, and to those of family and of society, there are potentials for deep critical and embodied learning.

My storying brought me to new understandings of Miss Chief’s storied life and the storied lives of her family and her community in ways that help me trouble my storied life as a settler Canadian and the dominant settler-colonial narratives within which we live in this place now called Canada. I experienced powerfully unsettling moments both within the exhibition and later when reflecting on and writing about my experiences, and these connected and accumulated. I time-travelled with Miss Chief as colonial past and colonial present bled into each other, fell in and out of my own story, and experienced a tumult of emotions. I wanted to know more about my own family and how we came to be on these lands. Memories surfaced, sometimes uncomfortable ones in which I saw myself acting as a colonizer. Awareness of my own embeddedness within heteronormative society emerged as I experienced embarrassment around sexual content in the exhibition and realized that I was failing to get some of the campy
humour. I came to understand both colonization and Indigenous resilience in ways I had not before, and to understand where I am in this story and how I might envision where I want and need to be.

As a process for moving our gaze between the inward and the outward, between the self and the cultural, autoethnography is full of possibilities for fostering the uncertainty, vulnerability, relationality, and discomfort for the kind of storying we settlers need to “turn the mirror back upon ourselves” (Regan, 2010, p. 11). As I turn the mirror back upon myself, I see that I will always be a settler. It is part of my identity and history on these lands, but I can work at not being a colonizer, at changing the relationship. Even as I work to unsettle myself, the self that I am unsettling is always changing, and the self that I am storying and restorying is being unwritten and rewritten. Of course, on its own, autoethnography is not enough to unsettle. Within my experience, much also depended on the exhibition inviting the kind of storying needed for unsettling.

The pedagogic force of Monkman’s exhibition and of my own storying and restorying in relation to it intersected in ways that led to an unsettling not only my understanding of myself and of settler society, but also of the very tools I was using to analyze the exhibition. The exhibition’s unsettling pedagogies, combined with autoethnography’s deeply self-reflexive and even vulnerable approach, led me into ways of thinking, knowing and learning that I have not engaged with enough. I had constructed my three-lens framework for exhibition analysis (narrative, representational and relational/embodied) as a way to be inclusive of cognitive and non-cognitive pedagogical dimensions that I consider of value for inquiring into Monkman’s exhibition, without prioritizing one over the other. I struggled, however, with a tendency to want to keep these lenses separate and compartmentalized as analytical and organizational tools. As I
wrote in my account of my experiences at the Glenbow, a moment of serious self doubt occurred as I sat in front of Monkman’s painting *The Scream*. An epiphany and a key catalyst for transformation emerged as I connected what I perceived as Macdonald’s cold colonial gaze to my own gaze as a settler researcher. Yet, even as I felt it failing me, I tried to hold onto the notion of keeping my analytical lenses separate at later stages in my project. Finally, this became clearly untenable in practice and instead I have opted for a holistic approach. As I discuss in the next section, the exhibition’s capacity to profoundly disrupt the Euro-Western epistemological space of the museum with more holistic, relational, storied approaches has significant implications for understanding the pedagogies needed for unsettling the settler within.

**Unsettling Exhibition Pedagogies: Heads, Hearts, Bodies and Spirits**

I have used the perspective of my own unsettling to examine how a museum exhibition might pedagogically contribute to what Regan (2010) in the title of her book calls “unsettling the settler within.” In doing so, I have positioned myself as a storied self in interaction with a storied cultural text, as a settler ally engaging with an exhibition rooted in an Indigenous perspective. I approached *Shame and Prejudice* as an opportunity to work on my own unsettling and examine my own responsibility in colonization. The exhibition helped me to understand at a deep level how the present-day inequities Indigenous people experience are the outcomes of what we settlers collectively have done and to understand the dynamic nature of Indigenous resilience. It filled me with a desire, energy and will to join in the struggle for Indigenous sovereignty. And, it created an epistemological shifting for me, working on my head, heart, body and spirit in ways that were deeply unsettling.

Through this learning, I have come to a stronger understanding of my settler privilege and complicity in colonialism, to better understand my role as a guest and an ally on these lands.
and, most importantly, to make a commitment to act in ways that support Indigenous struggles for a better future. I am doubtful that intellectualizing the truth about colonization will be enough to change us settlers and our relationships. We need learning opportunities, like my engagement with Monkman’s exhibition has been for me, to engage us not only intellectually but also in ways that move us to desire and act for change. Action is key within all critical, transformative learning. Without individual and collective action to change the relationship between settlers and Indigenous peoples the discourse of unsettling is stripped of its power, reduced to the hugs and apologies reconciliation discourse that leads to business as usual in this country. I look to unsettling as internalized, manifested and lived as the desire and will for change, and as action for change. This is where my unsettling has led me, though not by any measure without difficulties nor as a completed state of being because unsettling can only ever be a process. I have not become unsettled. That would suggest that I am done, complete, and am now in a finished state. I am unsettling. I will always be unsettling as part of a critical, self-reflexive journey in which I have much to learn and much work to do. Moreover, I suspect that my “colonizer who lurks within” (Regan, 2010, p. 11) will not just easily disappear but instead will struggle to somehow survive the transformations provoked by my new learning. As I noted in Chapter 1, drawing on Barker’s (2009) critical examination of settler colonialism, we settlers live within a colonial system of controls (policing, myth making, and economic) that work to secure the hegemony of colonialism, and our compliance and participation in ongoing colonization. My desire, will and actions aimed at allyship are filled with contradictions; they are caught up in the tensions that arise from supporting Indigenous struggles while at the same time being rewarded for being a settler within the colonial system. I join Indigenous resistance networks, pledge support, communicate to government my support for Indigenous struggles and protests, but at the
end of the day I continue to live on these lands within a place of privilege that has as its source the oppression of Indigenous peoples.

But I also have much hope for change as I learn how to be and act differently in the world. I can act and have acted differently in relation to who and what I support and what I am willing to speak out against and speak up for in the struggle for decolonization and Indigenous sovereignty. I can also make a difference in my work as an educator as I learn how to push beyond the constraints of an online teaching situation in which it is my job to usher adult learners into the discourses of the Euro-Western academy as they learn academic and information literacy skills. My goals are to engage students in critically questioning Eurocentrism, developing an understanding of the value and importance of Indigenous knowledge systems and ways of knowing, and accessing Indigenous scholarship, Indigenous media, truth telling about colonization, and anti-colonial perspectives. My unsettling as ally, learner and educator will be lifelong, something that does not begin or end with an exhibition.

I believe my experiences in relation to Monkman’s exhibition highlight the unsettling pedagogical potentials of exhibitions such as Shame and Prejudice, but I do not make claims about how the exhibition will work on other visitors. This is an important area for further study which would require an extensive analysis of audience response considering a range of variables. All visitors bring along their own positionality, politics, prior knowledge, education, motivations and commitments to a museum visit, and they will engage with and respond to an exhibition in many different ways. The museum literature is inconclusive as to how fixed or flexible visitors’ previous narratives are when challenged by conflicting narratives (Hohenstein & Moussouri, 2018). Smith (2016) found that destabilizations of “sense of self, family, and/or nation” (p. 118) among visitors depended not only on the museum providing opportunities for such experiences
but also on what visitors brought with them to the exhibition, including their willingness to be destabilized. An unsettling exhibition creates a range of opportunities within which visitors might orient themselves. An exhibition that tells an alternative story about the past, present and future could at least create an awareness in some visitors that there is more than one story and that there are different ways of telling it. Some visitors may be stirred to critically question received histories. Some may experience the exhibition on deeper levels by accepting discomfort and turning the mirror back upon themselves in ways that foster awareness of collective settler responsibility for colonialism and promote commitment for change. Inquiring into the critical public pedagogical possibilities of an exhibition for unsettling requires a consideration of diverse processes and mechanisms.

*Shame and Prejudice* presents a rich site for such an inquiry. Monkman’s exhibition intentionally overthrows settler museological codes and conventions, works discursively to foreground Indigenous resilience within structures of ongoing colonialism, and disrupts and subverts oppressive gendered and racialized regimes of representation. As the exhibition’s commissioner, Barbara Fischer observes, *Shame and Prejudice* challenges and subverts the very space it occupies, a “European colonial form and an agent of colonial powers, the museum itself” thus “modelling a new museum, one that unsettles the artifice of Confederation . . . a museum of history without the capital H” (Art Museum at the University of Toronto, 2017b, 8:35). In *Shame and Prejudice*, history is told from the point of view of the colonized not the colonizer, the shared history of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are put into relation, Euro-Western linear tellings are eschewed in favour of expressing the circular continuities of settler colonialism and Indigenous resilience, and foundational myths and Canadian icons get trampled upon by a time-travelling, gender-bending trickster in stiletto heels. In this counter-narrative to the
dominant nation-building story, Monkman puts his history paintings, themselves complex sources of narrative, into dialogue with art and artefacts (objects that also tell stories) sourced from museum collections. Spanning multiple rooms, the exhibition begins at a time when Indigenous peoples were equal partners in the fur trade and then moves through 150 dark years of Canadian Confederation. It is a story of colonization, “Indian” policy that turned Indigenous people into wards of the state, deliberate starvation, forcible transfer of children, incarceration, impoverishment, sickness, cruel urban spaces, and missing and murdered women, but it is also a story of Indigenous resilience, hope, healing, decolonized sexuality, resistance and the power of Miss Chief’s love for her people.

The exhibition puts forward and invites robust understandings of how race, gender and sexuality are inseparably intertwined within colonization and resilience. Monkman parodies and subverts Euro-western representational, aesthetic and visual practices and museum display technologies as he exposes to full view, ridicules, and overturns what often goes unseen in museums: structures of patriarchy, heteropatriarchy, heteropaternalism, racism and colonialism. Through Miss Chief’s interventions in history, and through her very being and body, plural sexualities and gender fluidity are made visible; more than that, they are celebrated. The paternalistic Fathers/Daddies are ridiculed and dominated by Miss Chief who, as an embodiment of decolonized sexuality, exposes their hypocrisies and weaknesses. Monkman exposes the cruel legacies of the heteropatriarchal European mindset that went to work, through the channels of both state and church, colonizing gender and sexuality along with lands, lives and spirits. Against an official narrative of nation building that is all about fathers, the elite white men who “founded” a country, Monkman features Indigenous women and the female spirit, creating a place in Canadian art history for those who have been most targeted by colonial violence:
mothers and their stolen children, missing and murdered women and girls, and Two-Spirited and Indigenous LGBTQ+ people.

*Shame and Prejudice* encourages critical questioning and critical reflection through provocative pairings, defamiliarizations, and subversions of representational practices. A rifle, which in a traditional history museum display might be presented as a neutral tool for hunting bison, through a provocative combination of images, objects and written texts, has the possibility to provoke a critical reading of the rifle as a dark colonial tool that played a part in deliberate starvation of Indigenous peoples. Yet, the exhibition does not only invite critical readings and intellectual engagement, an unsettling of minds. It also invites an unsettling of hearts. What I experienced is an exhibition that has at its core a holism that brings together head, heart, body and spirit connected by the thread of its powerful storytelling. This reflects what Regan (2010), understanding the value of Indigenous pedagogies and the crucial need to overcome settler denial, articulates as “the kind of experiential learning that engages our whole being—our heads, our hearts, our spirits” (p. 237). It reflects what Indigenous scholars and educators have been telling us about the importance of acknowledging the interconnectedness of dimensions of knowing (e.g., Blackstock, 2007; Chartrand, 2012; Williams, 2018; Wilson, 2003).

Using Cree methodologies and concepts, Métis scholar June Scudeler (2016) offers an inquiry into how Monkman, as an urban Two-Spirit, gay, queer artist, uses “Cree ways of knowing to create new traditions” (p. 7). She contends that Monkman, although working with Western art forms, does so from Cree perspectives. One of these is miyo-wîcêhtowin which is “the principle of getting along well with others, good relations, expanding the circle” (p. 117). Miyo-wîcêhtowin can involve sharing stories: Monkman brings people into the circle where he has “decolonising lessons to share” (p. 119). Through this lens, I understand *Shame and*
Prejudice as creating such a circle into which we are all invited but are expected to be good guests and learn. When asked during an interview about how audiences should prepare themselves for his exhibition, Monkman replied: “For Canadians, I would say come with an open mind and an open heart and be willing to see a different version of the story of Canada” (as cited in Hughes, 2017, para. 12). These words recall for me another exhibition I experienced and wrote about, at the Museum of Vancouver, in which the Musqueam curators invited visitors to enter “with an open mind and an open heart” (as cited in Johnson, 2016b, p. 185). I am reminded of how the Musqueam invitation suggested to me an opportunity not only for cognitive learning, but also for coming to know in ways that I have not explored enough, ways of knowing that are all at once cognitive, emotional, relational, spiritual and embodied. In that research, I felt that I was struggling with the limitations of my chosen method of critical discourse analysis and its prioritization of the cognitive domain.

Exhibitions, as I illustrate in this study and scholarship on museums and adult learning discussed in Chapter 2 contends, can foster critical, transformative, unsettling learning when they engage us in ways that are not only cognitive and rational but also emotional, embodied, relational and spiritual, and as they transport us from our everyday lives into other spaces and times and put us into unexpected relations with others. The provocations they produce and the responses they evoke emerge not just from what they show but how they show it. Monkman’s exhibition is a site of what education scholar Roger Simon (2011) calls “difficult knowledge” as it addresses the painful history and ongoing violence of colonization and in a way that is highly disruptive of settler expectations and interpretations. Simon (2011) states that “the experience of difficulty resides in the problematic poietic relation between the affects provoked by engaging the sensory and discursively constituted mise-en-scène of an exhibition and the articulated sense
possible within one’s experience of this exhibit” (p. 433). He identifies a “dialectical coupling of affect and thought” (p. 447) as key to the possibilities of such exhibitions to move visitors beyond acknowledging the suffering of others as past harms and into engaging with this suffering in the present and wanting to effect change. The affective framing in which Monkman delivers his truth telling about colonialism forms a dialectic of affect and thought, and created for me an engagement with not only the past but also the present and future. There is an important aesthetic dimension that includes but also goes far beyond what art can accomplish representationally. Monkman’s aesthetics can work to seduce visitors into difficult landscapes and vistas which at first glance seem to convey the Euro-Western experience of the sublime, but upon closer inspection offer what can be a startling decolonizing provocation. But more than this, *Shame and Prejudice* offers an affective framing that engages the power of art and curation to move people. As Monkman explained in an interview with *Alternatives Journal*:

> I think a lot about how to message people who have no idea about Indigenous histories or experiences. . . . Great art moves people at different levels. You can have emotional experiences and intellectual experiences. I really strive to layer my work to reach people on the emotional level or to maybe guide them towards some new understandings about Indigenous histories. (as cited in Ruby & Gerber, 2018, p. 24)

My experience of the throbbing reds and severe blacks of *The Scream*, the facial expressions, the figures’ gestures, the ominous light—was not only a visual but also an embodied experience. When we enter an artwork’s space, we encounter presence, scale, materiality, physicality, and a range of aesthetic and pedagogical dimensions that depend on the nature of the piece and its staging. At the Glenbow, I felt the black-painted walls closing in on me in a way that created a very painful experience but at the same time made it impossible to look away, made it
impossible to reject the invitation to witness. At Confederation Centre Art Gallery, I perceived the painting spanning the museum wall like a wound conveying to me an image of genocide for which there are no words. Within these experiences, visceral understandings entered my body permanently as I recoiled but could not turn away from the horror of what colonization looks like, of what the foundations that support my settler privilege look like. The role of empathy needs considering. The capacity to identify with those whose experiences differ from one’s own and imagine oneself in their position is a slippery thing. Empathy plays an important role in visitor affective engagement as it is triggered by art, objects, exhibition design, or interactions, but it can devolve into pity, voyeurism, or even be deliberately suppressed by the visitor (Smith, 2016). Moreover, as Regan (2010) contends, empathy can take on colonial forms of spectatorship, caring from a safe distance, passivity and/or a focus on solving “the Indian problem.” Relationality can be key to overcoming such responses.

*Shame and Prejudice* creates a relational space in which there are important possibilities to move settlers beyond the experience of a history of “us” and a history of “them” and instead towards a relationality that enables the experience of a shared history of colonialism. Never have I understood better our shared histories on these lands, that colonialism is not something that “happened to” Indigenous peoples, but instead something systemic and structural that we settler Canadians have built and continue to maintain. Moreover, I found myself in a place of beautiful upheaval in which anything could be possible, in which the future was open, and in which we do not need to continue this oppressive relationship. Miss Chief’s time travel abilities collapse linear time, her hybridity breaks down racial, gender and sexual binaries, and her trickster character intervenes subversively in history—thus throwing into disarray Eurocentric binaries and boundaries that constrain how we understand ourselves, how we are in the world, and how we
relate to one another. Miss Chief subverts dominant understandings of gender and sexuality but also history as she creates possibilities for uncertainty, discomfort and pleasure. She is what Scudeler (2016) calls an “embodiment of new historicities” (p. 111) in which Indigenous artists are correcting how history has been told by retelling it in ways that overcome the silences and historical amnesia of official versions of the past. Miss Chief and Monkman’s re-storying of Canada dispenses with the purely rational as they create a world filtered through passion and spirit where beavers pray, bears roam city streets, and a glamorous Two-Spirit person interrupts the daddies at the confederation table. Miss Chief’s unique voice brings history alive and connects past, present and future. Her memoirs are presented as didactics, but she is not didactic as she passionately shares her first-hand account, her witnessing of a dark history. Her passionate memoir and her presence open to visitors, without directly or explicitly telling visitors how to think or be, the possibility of thinking or being otherwise.

Métis artist, curator and scholar Suzanne Morrissette (2017) considers Shame and Prejudice an example “of how contemporary Indigenous artists are creating critical space for audiences to challenge normative conceptions of history and their investments within it” and “to engage with difficult knowledge related to racialized perceptions of Indigenous people” (pp. 99-100). She points out that “simply by their presence, viewers are situated as participants in negotiations” (p. 69). This suggests a dynamic engagement in which visitors might be fully implicated in the storying and restorying of Canada. Monkman’s exhibition thus creates the conditions in which one’s settler self might be, to use the words of Ellsworth (2005), in “the immanent relation that is change itself” (p. 34). Ellsworth uses the concept of “transitional space” which, drawing on the work of British child psychologist D. W. Winnicott, she describes as “a time and space of play, creativity, and cultural production . . . a place of learning about
what already is and what cannot be changed in a way that teaches about what *can* be changed” (p. 60). In this transitional space:

> We are traversing the boundaries between self and other and reconfiguring those boundaries and the meanings we give them. We are entertaining strangeness and playing in difference. We are crossing that important internal boundary that is the line between the person we have been but no longer are and the person we will become. (p. 62)

This idea of traversing self/other boundaries, and even our own internal boundary as we enter a place of becoming, can create a profoundly unsettling space.

I think especially of my experience of Poundmaker’s moccasins in Monkman’s exhibition, of the moment when I stood in front of them for the first time at the Glenbow, feeling their presence, their aura, and just beginning to learn the story of this man. Not only my mind but also my heart and spirit opened to the place of those moccasins and their owner in the story of Canada and in connection to their meanings to Indigenous people and communities today. At the same time, I was intensely aware of my outsider position, of my inability to grasp the emotions and meanings the moccasins might stir for someone who is Indigenous. I surrendered to this not knowing, to what will always be unknowable to me. Yet, Poundmaker became present to me, a true peacemaker and perhaps someone who still points to an open future in which it is possible to reimagine our relations with one another. The experience stayed with me as I reflected and wrote and came to wonder if we settlers might also be able to embrace Poundmaker not only as a hero but as a brother.

As I seek to understand the relationality that *Shame and Prejudice* pulled me into, I connect this to expanding the circle, the Cree value of miyo-wicēhtowin (good relations) that Scudeler (2016) identifies in Monkman’s art practice. While I believe Ellsworth’s (2005)
“entertaining strangeness and playing in difference” (p. 62) has a role in unsettling, and was part of my museological experiences, I fear that poststructural ambiguity risks leading nowhere unless there is a commitment to naming to some extent what social justice looks like. Donald’s (2012) ethical relationality which has the specific decolonizing purpose of transforming the colonial relationship is especially promising for understanding the unsettling that is needed. As I discussed in Chapter 2, Donald seeks to counter the “colonial frontier logics” that “serve to naturalize assumed divides” between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (p. 92). To transform this relationship, Donald contends that we need an “ecological imagination” which he characterizes as “a transactional form of imagination that asks us to see ourselves implicated in the lives of others not normally considered relatives” (p. 93). Ethical relationality involves the “ethical imperative to acknowledge and honour the significance of the relationships we have with others, how our histories and experiences position us in relation to each other, and how our futures as people in the world are tied together” (p. 104). Drawing on Cree scholar Willie Ermine’s concept of “ethical space,” Donald argues that we need spaces of entanglement and possibility for Indigenous-settler engagement. We also need, and here Donald draws on Roger Simon’s “transactional sphere of public memory,” possibilities for memory to become 

*transactional*, enacting a claim on us, providing accounts of the past that may wound or haunt—that may interrupt one’s self-sufficiency by claiming attentiveness to an otherness that cannot be reduced to a version of our own stories. . . . On such terms a transactive memory has the potential to expand that ensemble of people who count for us, who we encounter, not merely as strangers (perhaps deserving pity and compassion, but in the end having little or nothing to do with us), but as ‘teachers,’ people who in telling their stories change our own. (Simon as cited in Donald, p. 106)
Such a formulation of public memory involves not only dealing with a difficult history but moving forward within a relationship that is transformative, that changes the story. Through *Shame and Prejudice*, Monkman and Miss Chief are indeed teachers who in telling their stories might change our own.

Through engaging with Indigenous epistemologies, I have come to understand that much of the holism of *Shame and Prejudice*’s pedagogies arises through the exhibition’s storytelling. Stories shape our understandings of the world, other people and ourselves. As Thomas King (2003), who is of Cherokee descent, reminds us: "The truth about stories is that that’s all we are” (p. 2). Yunkaporta (2009), an Indigenous scholar from Australia, writes that “story takes you up, then down, leaving you in a place that is higher than before. It runs through everything in land, body, mind and spirit, tying together the shape of learning for all peoples” (p. 1). Indigenous epistemologies and pedagogies have stories and storytelling at their core—what Archibald (2008) calls “storywork” with its holistic power “to educate the heart, mind, body, and spirit” (p. xi). Increasingly, non-Indigenous scholars are recognizing the importance of narrative in adult learning. As Clark and Rossiter (2008), writing from a Euro-Western perspective, observe:

Stories are powerful precisely because they engage learners at a deeply human level.

Stories draw us into an experience at more than a cognitive level; they engage our spirit, our imagination, our heart, and this engagement is complex and holistic. (p. 65)

Clark and Rossiter explain adult learning as a narrative process in which we give coherence to our experiences through storying, learn holistically through stories, and begin to recognize our own positioning within cultural narratives. Within this process, narrative is a site for identity construction, and transformative learning can be understood in terms of restorying: “when a story of the self no longer coheres, no longer helps us make sense of our experience, then we must
change it” (p. 62). Narrative is emerging as an area of interest for adult education scholars who study museums, especially in relation to museum sites and exhibitions as multidimensional, narrative pedagogical spaces for knowing and unknowing, and storying and restorying, of self and relations with others (e.g., Kawalilak & Groen, 2016; Merriweather, Coffey, & Fitchett, 2016; Taber, 2018). Merriweather, Coffey, and Fitchett (2016), examining counter-narrative around racism within the narratological space of the museum, consider possibilities for “unknowing of self” and a restorying that leads “to a deeper sense of knowing self and others” (p. 151). They explain how narratology brings together text, story and narration:

the narratology of the museum consists of its text (exhibits), constructed story, and the narrating voice that is always positioned. Similarly, an individual’s narratology includes his or her discursive self, story and positioned voice resulting in a personalized reading of the museum’s story that is informed by the narration of the museum’s story. (p. 143)

Kawalilak and Groen (2016) note that “we instinctively enter museum spaces and the story being offered seeking some sort of connection” (p. 164). In museums, we find storied spaces and the stories exhibitions tell; we enter as storied selves, and we story to make meaning in response to our museological experiences, with possibilities for restorying ourselves.

Monkman mobilizes settler storytelling forms such as the novel, the book, and the memoir, with its power to draw readers closely into the writer’s experiences, as truth telling devices to expose the dark colonial story of Canada. Miss Chief blends the personal and historical within her idiosyncratic, first-hand retelling of the story of Canada, exposing her vulnerabilities, revealing her concerns, hopes and dreams, and taking her audience across the past, present and future of Indigenous-settler relations. She deals not in the abstract and the remote, the usual stuff of history, but rather the profoundly human. Her story comes passionately
and vividly to life through her memoir excerpts and through Monkman’s art and curation within the relational and experiential space of the exhibition. Chartrand (2012), writing from an Anishinaabe perspective, observes that “Indigenous storytelling creates a context or a window into the life-ways and life-experiences of particular peoples. It builds on lived experience and allows the teller and listener to draw meaning from the story through one’s critically reflective centre” (p. 144).

The trickster plays an important role in Indigenous stories by engaging criticality. Monkman’s storytelling features the trickster, which he describes as “the creator who also bungles everything, who looks at the world as something beautiful but also flawed” (Enright, 2017, p. 28). In the exhibition booklet for Shame and Prejudice, he notes that Miss Chief “embodies the flawed and playful trickster spirit, teasing out the truths behind false histories and cruel experiences” (2017, p. 4). Trickster, Archibald (2008) explains, often gets into trouble through ignoring cultural rules or giving in to negative human characteristics. Trickster learns lessons the hard way, and sometimes does not learn, but Trickster can do good things and is “sometimes a powerful spiritual being and given much respect” (p. 5). She writes that “Trickster is a transformer figure, one whose transformations often use humour, satire, self-mocking, and absurdity to carry good lessons” (p. 5). The humour in Shame and Prejudice is delivered especially through Miss Chief, a shape-shifting, supernatural trickster who gets into trouble but also brings many good lessons. Trickster is a key pedagogical tool in Indigenous storytelling. As a trickster that shows up in different times and in different forms, Miss Chief carries the pedagogical potential to disrupt the story of Canada in ways that cause us to stop and question our assumptions around history, identity and all manner of Eurocentric binaries. She has the capacity to turn settler certainties into uncertainties, to unground our understandings, as she
romps through history creating upheaval, and causing us to look and look again, think and rethink.

Humour in Indigenous pedagogies and storytelling is both entertaining and performs deeper functions, as Iseke & Brennus (2011) observe from their research collaboration with Elders: “Humor sustains reflection and allows us to be frank about our own shortcomings” (p. 258). Robins (2013) observes how humour within artists’ interventions in museums may be “used to de-familiarise the familiar, de-mythologise the exotic and invert ‘common sense’” often with the intention “to change the balance of power” (p. 11). Robins points to parody as a pedagogic force that “adapts existing forms in order to subjugate or subvert and unsettle their implied meaning by rendering them nonsensical” (p. 14) with potentials to bring visitors’ attention to museum practices and interpretations and encourage visitors to critically question their own assumptions and the museum’s authority. Irony creates negations, destabilizations, contraries and contradictions in ways that help visitors question hegemonic narratives and even themselves. Within these arts-based pedagogic practices, humour and laughter can teach us by delighting us, bringing us into solidarity, allowing us to face difficult truths, and making us uneasy so that we realize our “own power may be about to be challenged” (Clover, 2015, p. 312).

Humour plays a subversive role in Monkman’s exhibition, in the form of camp, irony and parody, but at the same time these carefully inserted moments of humour can help ease the difficulty of dealing with dark subjects. As Monkman explains, “at a certain point, you need to give the audience a break” (as cited in Whyte, 2017, para. 14). Narrative is a complex cognitive and affective site for museum learning, especially difficult narratives that conflict with visitors’ worldviews and preferred tellings, suggest multiple interpretations and open-endedness, explore
past wrongs committed by visitors’ ancestors, and stir feelings of guilt and/or shame (Hohenstein & Moussouri, 2018). Visitors to Shame and Prejudice are presented with a different story of Canada with which, if they attend to the story, they must somehow contend, within which they must somehow locate themselves and others. Some visitors may retreat into the comfort of received narratives, some may feel so guilty that they shut down, some may even get angry, but humour can play an important pedagogical role in averting those responses. As I noted at the beginning of this dissertation, it was a moment of absolute hilarity, when I first spotted The Daddies on social media, that pulled me into this research in the first place, that brought me into relation with the exhibition in a way that created feelings of both discomfort and delight. Visiting Shame and Prejudice, I moved between crushingly dark moments of stolen children and absurdly light interludes when Miss Chief dominates the daddies, with my own responses reflected back to me as I entered giggle-filled spaces and spaces where there were only hushed tones or silence. The pedagogic possibilities of humour suggest a particularly rich site for understanding how cognitive and non-cognitive dimensions of teaching and learning converge. Humour makes cognitive demands but also triggers emotional and sensory engagement. It takes us into the unknown, puts us in relation, and our response is bodily, expressed through vocalizations, gestures and movements. Pedagogically, the humour, affective framing, relational space, and seductive aesthetics of Monkman’s exhibition work together in ways that have potential to avert settlers feeling so much guilt that they shut down within an exhibition that so frankly exposes colonialism and its legacies.

My unsettling learning experiences in and through Monkman’s exhibition were all at once cognitive, narrative, relational, embodied, aesthetic, emotional and spiritual. I now understand that what had entered my research plan was a Euro-Western predilection for keeping
head and heart apart, an epistemological tradition that creates artificial divisions between cognitive and non-cognitive knowledge domains. My three-lens framework for exhibition analysis sought to engage with multiple ways of knowing, yet initially held them separate and in tension, separating out rational and relational “strands” of public pedagogy when what is needed for an inquiry into unsettling and decolonizing pedagogies is holism. My museological experiences, storying and restorying in relation to them, and engagement with Indigenous scholarship became part of a recursive, meaning-making process as I struggled to overcome my own Eurocentric blind spots and the epistemological limits in the Euro-Western education literature. That learning could involve the spirit was especially difficult for me. When reading about Indigenous pedagogies the word spirit was something my eyes liked to jump over. To understand the exhibition’s effect on me, I needed to revisit the literature, to return to Chartrand’s (2012) explanation of the spirit to non-Indigenous educators as “the wind and the light that we each carry within us” (p. 156) and as involving our intention, attention and inner compass. My museological experiences combined with Chartrand’s words to form a deeper understanding of how the exhibition was engaging my spirit in ways that connected to my desire and commitment to act for change, my sense of purpose, and my capacity to envision a different future in a way that accepts the uncertainties that come with profound social and political transformation. Portuguese sociology and legal scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2018) uses the concept of corazonar (corazon is heart), which is from Indigenous peoples in the Andean region of Latin America, to propose “the warming up of reason”—arguments and theories are essential to struggles against oppression but “they have to be warmed up in the fire of emotions and affects, a fire that turns reasons to act into imperatives to act” (p. 98). The spiritual dimension here can be understood as “a non-Western-centric form of insurgent energy against
oppression and unjust suffering” (p. 100). Santos points out that corazonar “means to experience the misfortune or unjust suffering of others as one’s own and to be willing to join in the struggle against it, even to the point of running risks” (p. 100). It is not enough to intellectualize the settler problem—we need pedagogies that unsettle in ways that help warm up reason.

Monkman and his alter ego Miss Chief create a decolonizing, truth telling space within the colonial institution of the museum. Such an exhibition not only invites critical questioning of colonialist, patriarchal, heteronormative and cisnormative narratives but also operates as a site of experiential learning that can challenge and profoundly disrupt the Euro-Western epistemological and public pedagogical space of the museum with more holistic, relational, storied approaches. As I demonstrated through my autoethnographic engagement with Shame and Prejudice, the exhibition’s unsettling pedagogies suggest important possibilities for unsettling settler certainties, identities, histories, and relationships—and also settler epistemologies and pedagogies. This involves unlearning the Eurocentric binary that creates separation, most often hierarchical separation, between reason and the emotions, the intellect and the senses. Researching critical public pedagogies requires that we problematize the tools and lenses we bring with us, often Eurocentric devices that may enact the very oppressions we seek to expose and counter. Moreover, engaging with Indigenous and unsettling epistemologies, especially within sites of experiential learning such as exhibitions, can provide the substance and drive needed to rethink pedagogy especially in relation to the value of holism, story and the many ways of knowing that extend capacities for caring for one another and our world. As Gitxsan scholar Cindy Blackstock (2007) points out, we need “to view epistemological differences as a chance to enlighten our individual and collective cultural ways of knowing” (p. 77).
When museums, seeking to reconcile, decolonize and be more self-reflexive, invite interventions by Indigenous artists and curators they create openings for Indigenous counter-narratives, self-representation and resistance. Museological interventions such as Monkman’s provide settler audiences with crucial opportunities to engage with counter-narrative and alternative ways of telling stories. Such interventions have potential to foster pedagogical spaces in which our settler certainties about identity and history are thrown into turmoil. For me, this made possible a radical reimagining of my future self and relationships. However, within the power dynamic of the settler museum, Indigenous intervention is authorized and legitimated by the museum and, far too often, only a temporary disruption to the dominant narratives, epistemologies and pedagogies that permeate these highly problematic colonial institutions.

Future research and practice must consider how Indigenous, decolonizing and unsettling pedagogies might more pervasively and permanently enter the very fabric of the museological experience. For example, the Glenbow Museum opened in February 2019 Monkman’s mixed media installation The Rise and Fall of Civilization (2015). A diorama featuring Miss Chief, a buffalo jump, and references to Picasso’s bull, the installation is on permanent display offering possibilities for visitors to engage with some of Monkman’s decolonizing messaging that had before entered the Glenbow only fleetingly through temporary exhibitions. Moreover, visitor experiences are not confined to within the walls of an exhibition but are instead deeply contextual and intertextual. Although Shame and Prejudice’s content and arrangement were not dramatically different at the two locations I visited, as my account captures, context added much. In Calgary, I was especially aware of the tensions in a museum that puts on display a celebration

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33 For a description of The Rise and Fall of Civilization see the Glenbow website, https://www.glenbow.org/exhibitions/kent-monkman-the-rise-and-fall-of-civilization/
of the settler development of Alberta while at the same time providing space for dynamic, vibrant Indigenous perspectives and voices. In Charlottetown, I experienced the deep contradictions between Monkman’s counter-narrative and a city caught up in a Birthplace narrative that is intrinsic to its tourism. At both locations, I encountered tensions as Miss Chief’s story bumped up against those surrounding texts that emphasized a Eurocentric lens and triumphalist narrative, but sometimes her story was complemented when Indigenous perspectives and decolonizing messaging were featured. These conflicts and complements heightened my sense of the decolonizing provocation posed by Monkman’s exhibition, and prompted critical questioning, reimagining, and deeper understandings around colonialism and my own settler complicity. Settler museums are full of competing (and sometimes complementary) discourses that these institutions need to be more self-reflexive about, and find ways to critically tease out and encourage visitors to question, interpret, respond to and rethink.

I began this research from a position of ignorance, needing my Indigenous classmate at the University of Victoria to inform my understanding of museums as sites of public pedagogy that have serious implications for Indigenous-settler relations. I have sought my own unsettling through this study, but this is an ongoing journey of both learning and unlearning. Many Indigenous artists, storytellers, curators, educators, scholars and activists have taken up the unfair burden of educating the settler. Kent Monkman is part of this pedagogical movement. What I experienced within and through *Shame and Prejudice* was a prompting of critical questioning and reimagining of the dominant Canadian national narrative, the transcendent and transformative power of art to move people, and a holistic, relational educative space that invited storying. I hope that my study will encourage non-Indigenous adult education and public pedagogy practitioners and scholars to engage with unsettling pedagogies within and beyond
museums as we “turn the mirror back upon ourselves” and work at fixing “the settler problem” (Regan, 2010, p. 11). We have much to learn from such pedagogies, and this could include interrogating, unsettling, reorienting and reimagining our educational discourses, theories, methodologies and practices, even those we characterize as critical and transformative. Much of *Shame and Prejudice*’s pedagogic force lies in its truth-telling content but also in *how* it teaches. If we are to change our ways of thinking and being in relation to Indigenous peoples, we need pedagogies that disarm and move us by engaging us not only intellectually but also in relational, embodied, aesthetic, and affective ways of knowing. *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience* leaves me with a sense of hope that if we settler Canadians open our hearts and minds to Miss Chief, and keep her and her story in our hearts and minds, we will be much better able to work at solving the settler problem.
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