

SOCIAL CHANGE AND WOODLANDS INDIAN ART:

THE SANDY LAKE SCHOOL

by

Alice Carol Pearce

B.A., University of Toronto, 1967

B.A., University of Winnipeg, 1978

ACCEPTED  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DATE

1 Jun 83

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

History in Art

We accept this thesis as conforming  
to the required standard

Dr. Charles Wicke

Dr. Judith Patt

Dr. N. Ross Crumrine



ALICE CAROL PEARCE, 1983

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

April 1983

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced  
in whole or in part, by mimeograph or other means  
without the permission of the author.

Supervisor: Professor Charles Wicke

#### ABSTRACT

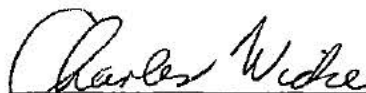
"Arts of acculturation" is a term often used in reference to those arts produced by minority, indigenous peoples for sale to dominant, majority, often white populations. Several anthropologists and art historians have examined the attitudes of such artists to their work, and the unique problems produced by dual aesthetic systems and viewer prejudice regarding media, themes, and the nature of the creators. This study presents a summary of academic concerns and considerations in this field.

A literature search provides a general acculturation history of the Cree-Ojibwa of northwestern Ontario, where the contemporary Woodlands Indian art movement emerged in the early 1960's under the leadership of Norval Morrisseau, and where several artists and schools are now located. Concentration on religion, mythology, and visual traditions reveals the role played directly and indirectly by these factors in the new art.

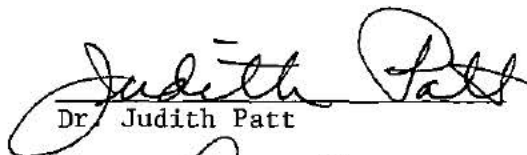
A large and prominent Woodlands art school emerged on the Sandy Lake Reserve, due largely to the success and leadership of artist Carl Ray. This study examines social and art history in this community to provide a rationale for the development of the art phenomenon. As a result of fieldwork among the Sandy Lake artists in June 1981, a synchronic picture develops of a contemporary, native art-producing

community; methods, skill acquisition, marketing approaches, producer attitudes, local and extralocal stimuli and influences, and the styles and trends observed in the portfolios of several native artists of varying success and experience.

The conclusion reached is that several socio-historical factors combined to produce idiosyncratic acculturation in Sandy Lake. The resultant environment was fertile ground for the growth of a communal apprenticeship system of art learning and teaching. The local talent of Carl Ray and the historic accident that placed Norval Morrisseau in Sandy Lake at a strategic time were major stimuli to the contemporary art movement.



Dr. Charles Wicke



Dr. Judith Patt



Dr. N. Ross Crumrine

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page.....	i
Abstract.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Plates.....	v
Acknowledgement.....	viii
I. Introduction.....	1
Notes.....	4
II. Acculturation and Art.....	5
Notes.....	11
III. Canadian Western Woodland Indians.....	13
a) Ethnology and acculturation.....	13
Notes.....	22
b) Religion, mythology and visual traditions.....	26
Summary.....	52
Notes.....	55
IV. Sandy Lake.....	60
a) General Community Background.....	60
Notes.....	73
b) The Artists of Sandy Lake.....	76
Notes.....	92
V. Observations.....	93
Plates.....	96
Literature Cited.....	155

Vita

Partial Copyright License

## LIST OF PLATES

Map: modified from Dunning, Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa, p. 6.

Plates 2-9: from Dewdney and Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes,

2a,b,c,d.....pp. 71, 28, 86, 28  
 3a,b.....pp. 51, 123  
 4a,b,c,d.....pp. 118, 32, 32, 31  
 5a,b.....pp. 64, 61  
 6a,b.....pp. 47, 119  
 7a,b,c.....pp. 77, 21, 107  
 8a,b,c.....pp. 113, 21, 59  
 9a,b,c.....pp. 84, 99, 82

Plates 10-14: from Dewdney, The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway,

10a,b,c.....pp. 50, 50, 49  
 11a,b.....pp. 75, 78  
 12a,b.....pp. 90, 89  
 13a,b.....pp. 108, 108  
 14a,b.....pp. 111, 137

Plates 15-16: from Hoffman's The Midéwiwin or "Grand Medicine Society", plates IX, X.

Plates 17-23: from Ted. J. Brassler, Bo'Jou, Neejee, Profiles of Canadian Art,

17.....pp. 53, 97  
 18.....p. 96  
 19.....p. 110  
 20.....pp. 52, 93  
 21.....p. 106  
 22.....pp. 59, 98  
 23.....p. 164

Plate 24: from Olive Patricia Dickason, Indian Arts in Canada, p. 37.

Plates 25-26: from Authentic Indian Designs, ed. Maria Naylor, pp. 50, 49.

Plates 27a, 27b, and 28a: from Brassler, Bo'Jou Neejee,

27a.....p. 105

27b.....p. 104

28a.....p. 132

Plate 28b: from Dewdney, Sacred Scrolls, p. 121.

NOTE: Unless otherwise stated, the following plates are of works in private collections with photographs provided by owners, dealers, or this author.

Plates 32-34: from Ray and Stevens, Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree,

32a,b,c,d,e.....pp. 61, 78, 99, 19, 95

33a,b,c,d,e,f....pp. 98, 109, 35, 114, 131, 122

34a,b,c,d,e.....pp. 123, 21, 85, 105, 12

Plate 35a: from Nancy Lou Patterson, "Shaking tents and medicine snakes: traditional elements in contemporary Woodland Indian art", Armagazine (Summer/Été 1976), p. 55.

Plate 37a: from Bernard Ginadar, Contemporary Native Art of Canada -- The Woodland Indians, p. 29.

Plate 37c and 40a: from Contemporary Native Art of Canada -- Silk Screens From the Triple K Co-operative, Red Lake, Ontario, p. 3 and back cover.

Plates 45a, 45d: from Wah-Sa Gallery exhibition invitations.

Plate 45e: Indian Art '81, Woodland Indian Cultural Education Centre (Brantford), publication, p. 39.

Plate 46a: from Cinadar, Contemporary Native Art of Canada, p. 15.

Plate 49a: from Wah-Sa Gallery exhibition invitations.

Photo credits to Ernest Bies: Plates 37b, 38a  
Plates 39a-39f  
Plates 40b, 40c, 40d  
Plates 41a-41d  
Plates 42a, 42b, 46b  
Plates 47a-47f  
Plates 48a-48d  
Plates 55a-55c

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of my committee members, Dr. Judith Patt and Dr. N. Ross Crumrine, and of graduate advisor Dr. John Osborne. Special appreciation is directed to my chairman, Dr. Charles Wicke, for his help and encouragement.

For entrée to their community, I thank the Chief and Council of Sandy Lake and acknowledge the important contributions of Chris Brotherstone, artist Morley Kakepetum, and Jonas Fiddler.

Vital to this project was the co-operation of Helen Ray and artists Robert Kakegamic, Lloyd Kakepetum, Eddie Kakepetum, Roger Kakepetum, Raymond Kakepetum, Peter Kakegamic, Wally Kakepetum, Dennis Kakegamic, and Saul Mamakeesick.

Former Sandy Lake teachers Mike and Sarah McCabe provided valuable information about reserve life and the artists. Ernest Bies and several other private collectors and dealers allowed me access to their files and photographs of art work. Roger Simpson provided technical support in photography and was helpful in many other ways. I am also grateful to Dr. Jack Steinbring and Marilyn and Lloyd MacLean.

Finally, I must acknowledge the major contribution of Sam Haladay who made this project both possible and necessary.

## I. Introduction:

Canadian Woodlands Indian painting, also known as the contemporary Algonkian School or the Cree/Ojibwa/Odawa Legend-painting/X-ray School, began in the early 1960's with the sudden rise to southern<sup>1</sup> social acclaim of Norval Morrisseau, an Ojibwa from Beardmore on Lake Nipigon.<sup>2</sup> Morrisseau was discovered<sup>3</sup> near his northwestern Ontario home in the summer of 1962 by Toronto gallery-owner Jack Pollock who was anxious to meet this "famous Indian artist". Morrisseau's teenage painting efforts in the early 1950's had met with such extreme disapproval among his people that he abandoned his art. His subsequent bad fortune and ill health<sup>4</sup> must have seemed to many just retribution for tampering with the sacred heritage of the Ojibwa. Morrisseau had a powerful name -- Copper Thunderbird -- and the images he was creating may have been perceived as a form of conjuring.<sup>5</sup> In 1959 a vision inspired Norval to ignore or defy his people. He painted on hide, birchbark, and brown wrapping paper and sold his work to northern whites for alcohol or small sums. Pollock was offered twenty paintings for five dollars but foresaw a greater future for Morrisseau. In September of 1962 the first exhibition of forty-two pieces sold out in twenty-four hours for \$4,600. Morrisseau became the instant delight of Toronto art circles.

Around 1960 when Morrisseau was beginning his art career in earnest, similar events were occurring in the life of another young

Indian on the isolated and very poor reserve of Sandy Lake. A teenage Carl Ray,<sup>6</sup> a decade younger than Morrisseau,<sup>7</sup> had begun to depict the legends told to him by his mother and to sell the paintings to local whites. His greatest concern was to raise money to help support his mother and sisters. Later the concern was to be for his own wife and children. Carl Ray, too, had strong spiritual connections as the grandson of one of the most powerful shamans in the area. In fear of the sorcery directed against him, Carl stopped painting, left the community to work in the mines,<sup>8</sup> and eventually ended up in the same tuberculosis sanitorium in Fort William that had treated Morrisseau a few years earlier. Ray was accorded a hero's welcome on his return to Sandy Lake, partly for having survived and partly because Morrisseau had been to the community and his considerable artistic success had somehow diminished the taboo against painting.

Carl Ray went on to become one of the finest artists of the Woodland School. Sandy Lake artists that followed him in large and growing numbers came to occupy prominent positions in the field of contemporary native arts. Both in his life and in his untimely death, in 1978, Ray was a catalyst to this development.

This work addresses some of the major concerns in the study of acculturative arts. It examines ethnology and the general nature of acculturation in the regions where the contemporary Woodlands School developed. The study focuses on Sandy Lake to provide a rationale for the role and importance of artists in and from this community in the growth of the movement. A survey of work by several young artists

of varying talent and experience may indicate future directions in Sandy Lake Woodlands painting. Fieldwork done in June 1981 in the community provides insight into the artists' attitudes to the work itself as well as the context of learning, production and marketing. I hope that the information presented here will be a useful addition to the complex study of the arts of acculturating native peoples.

## NOTES: Introduction

1. The term "south" refers to white city populations and their institutions, in this case Toronto art circles.
2. See map, plate 1 for location.
3. Details of Morrisseau's "discovery" and biographical information are taken largely from Lister Sinclair and Jack Pollock, Morrisseau, (Agincourt 1979).
4. Morrisseau will only call these years "bad". He went to the tuberculosis sanitorium in Fort William when he was twenty-six according to Selwyn Dewdney, "Norval Morrisseau", Canadian Art (January/February 1963), 36.
5. Ibid.
6. Carl's last name is actually spelled Rae. I have no information on the time or reason for the change. Some of the biographical information presented here comes from Carl Ray and James Stevens, Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree, (Toronto 1971), xi-xii.
7. Carl Ray was born in 1943; Norval Morrisseau, in 1932.
8. Probably in Red Lake where many Sandy Lake men went to work.

## II. Acculturation and Art

The term "acculturation", found as early as 1880, has had broad usage and implications.<sup>1</sup> In 1935, an admittedly imprecise definition was put forth by the Subcommittee on Acculturation (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits), appointed by the Social Science Research Council.

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.<sup>2</sup>

Generalizations on acculturation among North American native peoples are difficult, given the seemingly infinite combinations and permutations that arise. Hundreds of distinct native groups show varied traditions and the dominant whites also present highly diverse characteristics. Acculturative contacts fall within an extreme range of long and short historical time. Considerations and uneven priorities of geographical area, religion, politics, resources and economics, as well as the vagaries of human character and specific personalities have irregularly influenced the nature and extent of contact. Further, the quality and quantity of data available to these studies are most inconsistent.

Such is the context of the arts of acculturation which, additionally, have their own unique problems. Graburn addresses viewer prejudices.

We have seen how some people felt 'turned off' or 'kind of gypped' when they found that certain objects were made to be sold. There is massive evidence that the aesthetic judgements were made in terms of the expectations the audience had about the kind of people the creators were and the lifestyle being communicated. Prejudgements were also made on the basis of the kinds of material used . . . and even the fact that the pieces were on display and not being used by strange people in far off lands.<sup>3</sup>

Brody describes extremes of white viewer interpretations.

One group sees modern Indian painting as an integrated and essentially aboriginal form of expression, the other as nothing more than a commercial art form produced by Indians for Whites, a sort of Indian version of the negro minstrel show, played by Uncle Tomahawks.<sup>4</sup>

Brody suggests that we must ascertain the degree of novelty and aboriginal elements in both pictorial form and content as well as function. A second level of questions arises from this investigation.

If there are novel factors, can they be isolated and their sources determined? If postcontact social conditions have affected the art, can they be isolated and their effects enumerated? Is it possible that the forms are aboriginal but the functions modern? Can the reverse have happened, with novel forms being applied to ancient functions?<sup>5</sup>

Linton cautions that "no society, as long as it exists as a distinct entity, will take over even the purely objective aspects of an alien culture 'in toto'",<sup>6</sup> suggesting that arts of acculturation must be a new combination of native and foreign elements.

Indian artists themselves have shown concern over preconceived ideas of the buying public and "a tendency to restrict the Indian artistic expression to the traditional art forms which undermine the credibility of Indian art as contemporary art and reinforce the stigma of Indian art as curios or as an ethnographic extension of cultural heritage."<sup>7</sup> Despite the Canadian landscape tradition evident in the scenes by Allan Sapp, the meandering abstractions of Alex Janvier's work, and the international flavour in style and often theme of art by Daphne Odjig,<sup>8</sup> the native artists feel restrained by the labels "Indian Art" and "Indian Artists".<sup>9</sup>

Silver addresses another consideration in the study of acculturative arts, that of the artists' own attitudes to their works.

Perhaps indigenous appreciation of emerging art forms rests on two factors: (a) the strength and significance of preexisting traditions: and (b) where these are strong, the degree of indigenously perceived 'fit' between the new and the traditional arts.<sup>10</sup>

Linton believes that indigenous perceptions are guided by the prestige of innovators within the group and attitudes toward the donor group.<sup>11</sup> Graburn notes that carving among the Eskimos was "not prestigious" in the 1950's and largely an income alternative to poor hunting conditions. However, it gained prestige in the 1960's when carving sales became a lucrative source of guns, snowmobiles and other goods.<sup>12</sup> Both Graburn<sup>13</sup> and Fry<sup>14</sup> refer to the contradictory information regarding Eskimo attitudes to their art work.

Certainly the distinction between primitive art and the arts of acculturation is now generally accepted, with the study of the latter best structured on Graburn's categorization of "functional fine arts, commercial fine arts, souvenir arts, and assimilated fine arts."<sup>15</sup>

Graburn also refers to these arts as "Fourth World Arts".

The Fourth World is the collective name for all aboriginal or native peoples whose lands fall within the national boundaries and technobureaucratic administrations of the countries of the First, Second, and Third Worlds. As such, they are peoples without countries of their own, peoples who are usually in

the minority and without the power to direct the course of their collective lives.

Not only are they no longer isolated or autonomous peoples as they perhaps once were, but their arts are rarely produced for their own consumption or according to their own unmodified tastes. In many ways these peoples have become dependent part-societies whose very thought and culture reflect the differences from, and accommodation to, the realities of the majority peoples surrounding them. Thus the study of the arts of the Fourth World is different from the study of 'primitive' art, characteristic of most earlier anthropological writings, for it must take into account more than one symbolic and aesthetic system, and the fact that the arts may be produced by one group for consumption by another. The study of Fourth World arts is, par excellence, the study of changing arts -- of emerging ethnicities, modifying identities, and commercial and colonial stimuli and repressive actions.<sup>16</sup>

Graburn considers the study of these arts "one of the most neglected fields within the disciplines of anthropology and art history."<sup>17</sup> Such arts have long been considered impure and unfit for serious study.

While research efforts in the field of contemporary West Coast and Inuit Art have recently been forthcoming, little has been done to analyze or record the Woodlands Art movement. The Sinclair/Pollock Morrisseau<sup>18</sup> tome provides a valuable catalogue, but promotes the concept of individual genius to the general exclusion of acculturative explanation and is essentially collector-oriented. Token inclusions in many Canadian Art surveys seem based on little else than a literature of idealized, sales-oriented magazine articles and exhibition catalogues

which neglect fundamental aspects of the arts of acculturation.

Hughes' modest but informative Jackson Beardsley - Life and Art<sup>19</sup> is a notable exception.

## NOTES: Acculturation and Art

1. Ralph Linton acknowledges M.J. Herskovits' study of the history and use of the term "acculturation", in Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, 1940, 463.
2. Ibid., 463-464.
3. Nelson H.H. Graburn, "I like things to look more different than that stuff did: an experiment in cross-cultural art appreciation", Art and Society (London 1978), 68.
4. J.J. Brody, Indian Painters and White Patrons (Albuquerque 1971), xv.
5. Ibid.
6. Linton, Acculturation in Seven, 487.
7. Dave General, "Indian artists or artists who are Indian", Native Perspective 3 (1978), 32-33.
8. Herbert T. Schwartz, "Daphne Odjig", Arts West 2 (1977), 12-15.
9. General, Native Perspective, 32-33.
10. Harry R. Silver, "Ethnoart", Annual Review of Anthropology 8 (1979), 302-303.
11. Linton, Acculturation in Seven, 484.
12. Graburn, "Eskimo Art: The Eastern Canadian Arctic", Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World (Berkeley 1976), 41.
13. Ibid., "Preface and Acknowledgements", xiii.
14. Jacqueline Delange Fry, "Contemporary arts in non-western societies", Arts Canada (1971/1972), 465.
15. Graburn, "Art and acculturative processes", International Social Science Journal XXI (1969), 465.

16. Graburn, "Introduction", Cultural Expressions, 1-2.
17. Ibid., 2.
18. Sinclair and Pollock, Morrisseau.
19. Kenneth James Hughes, "Jackson Beardsy -- Life and Art", Canadian Dimension Magazine special issue, 1979.

### III. Canadian Western Woodlands Indians

#### a) Ethnology and acculturation

This study deals generally with the inhabitants of the Laurentian Uplands of northwestern Ontario,<sup>1</sup> an area roughly consistent with Ojibwa regional boundaries according to Rogers,<sup>2</sup> Dunning,<sup>3</sup> and Bishop.<sup>4</sup> Earlier tribal distribution patterns as posited by Jenness<sup>5</sup> for 1525, and by Bishop and Smith for c.1620<sup>6</sup> show considerable variation with the above. The controversy surrounding the ethnic designations in this area is considerable for both pre-contact and post-contact periods; the Cree-Ojibwa questions and confusion persist even today.<sup>7</sup> Rogers' workable if simplistic designation "Cree-Ojibwa" may have considerable validity given the lack of definite boundaries, grading of cultural patterns and minute linguistic differentiation apparent in the area.<sup>8</sup> The insignificance of Cree and Ojibwa cultural differences is also stated by Wright.

The Cree and Ojibwa are closely related, and indeed, it would almost certainly be an anthropologically frustrating task to attempt to differentiate a southern Cree from an adjacent northern Ojibwa. The terms "Cree" and "Ojibwa" are, in many respects, more imposed conveniences than ethnic realities.<sup>9</sup>

Indeed, many problems pervade almost any study of the people of this area, much of it "terra incognita" according to Rogers,<sup>10</sup>

with a late and low level of acculturation described by Hallowell.<sup>11</sup> Kroeber terms the Ojibwa the "least-known" surviving North American group.<sup>12</sup>

Information presented here with regard to ethnology and acculturation is taken mainly from anthropological studies by Bishop who addresses the nature of the fur trade among the Northern Ojibwa,<sup>13</sup> by Hallowell in the Berens River area,<sup>14</sup> by Landes in the Rainy River region,<sup>15</sup> by Dunning in Pekangekum,<sup>16</sup> and by Rogers whose work with the Round Lake Ojibwa may be considered broadly valid for nearby Sandy Lake.<sup>17</sup> Particular attention will be paid to those aspects of culture, environment and subsistence modes which may directly or indirectly influence visual arts both past and present.

Two major acculturative forces have altered the lifestyle of the Canadian Cree-Ojibwa, the second partially resulting from the first. The two are the fur trade, which first began its influence on the Cree-Ojibwa about 1610,<sup>18</sup> and the government ordering of society since about 1890<sup>19</sup> and particularly since World War II.<sup>20</sup> A third factor, missionary activity and related white religious institutions will also be considered, largely in section III b.

At the time of the earliest fur trade intrusions into north-western Ontario, the Ojibwa were generally localized in the areas to the north and south of the western Great Lakes. Those who remained there initially retained relatively more complex social traits and communal activities of subsistence.<sup>21</sup> The American designation of

these people is Chippewa, a variant of the term Ojibwa. Combined with the general westward pressure, the fur trade drew many of the Ojibwa north and west into the areas previously occupied by the Swampy Cree<sup>22</sup> and the Assiniboine.<sup>23</sup> Early French traders had called the Ojibwa "Saulteurs" or "Saulteaux" and this latter term, sometimes expressed "Soto" has wide use even today, particularly in the Lake Winnipeg region.

The fur trade was the first vehicle of Euro-Canadian/Indian acculturation. The subsistence economy was modified as furs, fish and game became items of trade for European goods, resulting in a symbiotic relationship that provided the foundations for the unilateral dependency of the future.

Acquisition of firearms profoundly influenced the extent and efficiency of big game hunting. Feeding a relatively large native population and provisioning the white traders had devastating results and by the early 1800's the area was over-hunted and over-trapped. Beaver, a major dietary resource as well as a fur trade commodity, grew scarce. Caribou became rare and moose were totally exterminated in the area, removing two important food and clothing sources. Males lost pride as they were forced into "women's work" snaring hare and fishing. Difficulties in subsistence were further complicated in 1821 by the coalition of the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, which seriously altered the trading position of the Indians, accustomed to buyer competition between the two. Large hunting groups and the communal nature of Ojibwa society crumbled as individualism in both

culture and property became a necessary survival adaptation.<sup>24</sup> These developments have certainly been important factors in the evolution of the atomistic profile noted by early observers and discussed later in this work.

A second major acculturative force, the various aspects of government ordering of Cree-Ojibwa society, is presented as a general overview. In the late 1800's and early 1900's, the Canadian government signed treaties with these Indian groups and granted reserves. To facilitate government bureaucracy, band councils were elected, providing a new and somewhat superficial administrative structure. More varied European goods became available and with the return of moose and greater numbers of caribou, the quality of life improved.<sup>25</sup> The fur trade remained the focal economy. These remote areas saw little further development until the 1940's.

Post World War II stabilization of northern Cree-Ojibwa populations in villages resulted gradually and irregularly from numerous government programs as well as private developments. Medical and school services were provided. Unearned income sources became available in the form of old age and disability pensions, family allowance and treaty payments, and welfare assistance. Mining and a growing northern tourist industry produced wage labour opportunities and increased Indian/white contact. Road building and air communications grew considerably as did the entire northern service industry.<sup>26</sup> Free issue of building supplies for construction of village homes further induced change in settlement patterns.<sup>27</sup> Increasing numbers took up

village residence in family units of diminishing size. In Pekangikum in 1954-55, Dunning found commensal units averaging 8.2 persons,<sup>28</sup> but in the Weagamow Lake studies of 1958-59 Rogers reported a nuclear situation with a mode of 5 individuals, few dependents, and a tendency of marrying couples to build immediately.<sup>29</sup> As the fur trade had dispersed the Ojibwa, so the white agencies drew them together again but not before the passing of years of atomistic existence required by the region's ecology and economy.

Spring camps with their tents or conical lodges,<sup>30</sup> fish racks and hide frames became fewer and fewer. Some families retained winter camps, now composed of cabins like, but on an even smaller scale than the village dwellings. Hunting groups rapidly disappeared with a consequent increased tendency to stay in the village year round.<sup>31</sup> The people have become largely dependent on store-bought southern foodstuffs and clothing and less on the moose, beaver, hare and gamebirds of the land, although fish of many varieties are still a major dietary resource.<sup>32</sup> While the great wilderness of coniferous trees, flattish low land, muskeg and uncountable lakes<sup>33</sup> sees much less of the Cree-Ojibwa hunter-gatherer today, it still largely isolates him from southern whites.

Formerly, what little leadership existed among the Cree-Ojibwa was vested in the hunting group leader due to his successful communication with natural forces or in the spiritual leader, or shaman, largely on the basis of fear or a wary respect. Often the leader had both sets of credentials. The position was generally earned with

extent of authority directly relative to the success of power. Lack of success brought on a hasty retirement and an over-zealous shaman could have his magic turned against him. He could also be defeated by a superior rival shaman. His influence was largely indirect and manipulative. Shamans generally held the most wealth and a greater propensity to polygamy.<sup>34</sup> Christianity has greatly reduced the incidence and importance of shamans and medical services have taken over much of their former sphere of operation although perhaps to a lesser degree than white authorities believe. The elected chief of recent times still operates in a mainly advisory capacity, but lacks the power of his predecessors. Rogers describes chiefs who knew when to mind their own business and others who were told in no uncertain terms to do so.<sup>35</sup>

Dunning sums up authority changes and acculturation in general.

The change in authority goes further than the office of chief. It reflects a general decline in the authority of the leader of a co-residential group. All the recent technological and economic changes -- greater equipment and improved trapping and hunting methods, increased income irrespective of individual effort, vastly improved modern medical methods resulting in a reduced death rate and increased speed and certainty of convalescence, and the overwhelming superiority of technological goods and services available -- all have served to undercut the systems of belief and authority. The basis of authority in earlier times was primarily the uncertainty and fear of the uncontrollable areas of life --

the supply of game and fur-bearing animals, illness and death. It seems reasonable to say that the decline in authority has been in direct proportion to the measure of increase in the control and regularity of that part of life over which there had been only magical control.

In addition many aspects of life are controlled by external persons . . . All this outside influence is exerting an increasing effect on the total economic and political foundations of society while at the same time seriously challenging the basic magico-religious sanctions of authority and leadership.<sup>36</sup>

The "atomistic" nature of Cree-Ojibwa personality has been the topic of considerable anthropological debate. Mead termed the Chippewa "grossly individualistic"<sup>37</sup> and Hallowell considered their lack of settled villages, judicial procedures or any institutionalized development consistent with atomistic organization, a profile which "seems generic for the Algonkian peoples of the Eastern Woodlands of the earliest contact period".<sup>38</sup> Landes described the Ojibwa at the Manitou Reserve on the Rainy River.

All accounts of old Ojibwa life are shadowed by fear of starvation, and each man hunts for himself, alone on his trails, the hunters scattering as widely as possible in order to make the most of the thin supply of game. The household of wife and children who depend on the man's hunting lives in complete isolation during the winter season and households come together in village life only during certain summer months. Then three to fifteen families live for a time in close

proximity, but there is no village organization. It is a time of games and ceremonies, but each family lives to itself alone . . .

On his isolated estate, the husband hunts as if he were alone in the world . . . Each hunter is absolutely self-dependent, never giving thought to aiding or competing with the hunters of other households . . . Every man owns privately the hunting grounds where he alone may hunt and trap . . . The absoluteness of individual ownership excludes even the closest relatives . . . It is never said that a man gives game to his wife for her use in making food and clothing for the family; but they phrase it that a man gives game to his wife and therefore the game belongs to her to do with as she pleases . . . The wife now employs "her" property in the manufacturing of food and clothing . . . and distributes it as she pleases . . . Powers like hide curing and evil formulas like love medicine are secured by purchase . . . Ojibwa life may be thought of as resting on three orders of hostility . . . toward those of alien speech . . . between different local groups of Ojibwa . . . and by any household towards another.<sup>39</sup>

Although Landes, like most observers, saw the very early life of Ojibwa children as one of affectionate and even indulgent treatment by parents, she describes the gradual deprivation in food and fondness as cultural preparation for the atomistic existence of adulthood.<sup>40</sup>

Seventeenth century accounts described cooperative, communal characteristics among the Ojibwa<sup>41</sup> and many believe the atomistic profile to be a product of the fur trade and the European introduction of the concept of avarice. Hickerson summarizes several twentieth century writers who have created a picture of the Ojibwa as "obscene,

deceitful, hypocritical, vain, hostile, servile, piteous, untruthful, cold, selfish and unimaginative",<sup>42</sup> a portrait which the Soviet scholar Averkieva denounces as "quite clearly the fabrications of ethnologists who are racists".<sup>43</sup> Hickerson concludes that "The atomistic profile, if it exists at all, relates to modern reservation . . . Northern Algonkians . . . but not to forerunners",<sup>44</sup> and he notes that a major value of these people has always been the sharing ethic.<sup>45</sup>

One fact appears to hold true in all examinations of the Cree-Ojibwa, and that is the primacy of the family as the seat of authority and social organization. Culture transmission and the apprenticeship in life skills has rested largely in the hands of the parents until the recent institution of the school system which may account in some way for the gradual breakdown of parental authority and the increase in emphasis of peer values observed by Dunning.<sup>46</sup>

## NOTES: Canadian Woodlands Indians

## a) Ethnology and acculturation

1. Laurentian uplands of Ontario is delineated from the Hudson Bay lowlands and further indicated as north of the CNR Railway by Edward S. Rogers in "Natural environment -- social organization -- witchcraft: Cree versus Ojibwa -- a test case", Bulletin, National Museum of Canada No. 230 (1969), 28.
2. Rogers' Cree and Ojibwa distribution is consistent with the above geographical assignation, Ibid., 25.
3. Dunning's northern Ojibwa boundaries may be seen on the map (plate 1) which is a modified version from R.W. Dunning, Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa (Toronto 1959), 6.
4. Charles A. Bishop, The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade (1974), 2.
5. Diamond Jenness, Indians of Canada (1932), 266.
6. Charles A. Bishop and M. Estelle Smith, "Early historic populations in northwestern Ontario: archaeological and ethnohistorical interpretations", American Antiquity 40:1 (1975), 55.
7. James V. Wright addresses the difficulties with ethnic designations in the study of early pottery sherds and other archeological components of a number of early historic sites in "A regional examination of Ojibwa culture history", Anthropologica 7 (1965), 189-227.  
Several examples regarding the composition of Sandy Lake will be addressed in III a. In a personal correspondence, Jack Steinbring states that when he met the artist Jackson Beardy of Island Lake in 1967, he was Cree, two years later Ojibwa, two years later Cree again and now Saulteaux. This may simply be a byproduct of gallery publicity efforts.
8. Rogers, "Changing settlement patterns of the Cree-Ojibwa of northern Ontario", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 19 (1963), 64-66.
9. Bishop and Smith quote James V. Wright, 1968 in "Early historic", 55.

10. Edward S. Rogers, The Round Lake Ojibwa (Toronto 1962), 3.
11. A. Irving Hallowell describes late and low levels of acculturation among the Northern Ojibwa (pp. 112-115), two levels of acculturation in the Berens River "lakeside" and "inland" groups with the lower level apparent in the latter (pp. 333-334), and indicates an even lower level in the inaccessible regions such as Deer Lake and Sandy Lake (p. 334) in Culture and Experience, 1955.
12. Bishop notes Kroeber in The Northern Ojibwa, vii.
13. Bishop's studies of the Northern Algonkians have involved both field work and archival research. He has specialized in the nature and effects of the fur trade as well as population movements.
14. Hallowell has written extensively on the Ojibwa. Those works used here are based mainly on work done in the Berens River area in 1930-40. The region is indicated on the map, plate 1.
15. Much of Landes' work is based on field experiences in 1932, 1933 and 1935 in northern Minnesota and in western Ontario in the Rainy River region and particularly Emo, Ontario which is indicated on the map, plate 1.
16. Dunning's Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa was largely the result of 1954-55 fieldwork with the Pekangekum Band indicated on the map, plate 1.
17. Rogers' Round Lake Ojibwa, indicated on the map, plate 1, is a major source inasmuch as Rogers has stated in "Changing settlement patterns", p. 64-65, that such information is broadly valid for a number of nearby communities including Sandy Lake.
18. Bishop, The Northern Ojibwa, 8.
19. Ibid., 13.
20. Ibid., 14.
21. More complex social traits such as totems (which the Cree lacked) diminished towards the north due to the changes in population density. More sedentary and communal activities such as group fishing, maple-sap gathering and wild rice harvesting fade with the ecological transition. The development

of the atomistic profile in the southern region is probably due to early and high levels of acculturation and the proximity of whites.

22. The distinction should be made between the Swampy Cree or Muskegon of this region and the coastal Cree of Hudson and James Bay areas as well as those whose westward move resulted in a "plains" adaption. Numbers of Swampy Cree did remain and do remain in groups together or apart with the Ojibwa.
23. The Assiniboine largely moved west to a plains adaption.
24. Bishop, The Northern Ojibwa, 10-13.
25. Ibid., 14. Bishop does not explain why the moose and caribou numbers increased. Native conservation efforts and/or increased food imports may be factors or perhaps it was the result of natural cyclical changes in the environment.
26. Ibid., 14-15. Rogers and Dunning also deal with this topic.
27. Dunning, Social and Economic Change, 164.
28. Ibid., 64.
29. Rogers, Round Lake Ojibwa, B-65.
30. The domed, bark-covered lodges favoured by the southern Ojibwa were used in the north but the use of the conical wigwam with bark or skin covering was more widespread, due to Cree influence and ecological reasons. Torvald Faegre, Tents, Architecture of the Nomad (1979), 138-144.
31. Rogers, Round Lake Ojibwa, B-74.
32. Ibid., Section A and C.
33. Ibid., Section A.
34. A. Irving Hallowell, "The incidence, character, and decline of polygyny among the Lake Winnipeg Cree and Saulteaux", American Anthropologist 40 (1938), 252. Polygamy in varying degrees appears to have been a social fact in the larger area of concern. Wealth and prestige were influential in its extent. Also, families often hesitated to deny a daughter to a powerful shaman who wanted her.
35. Rogers, Round Lake Ojibwa, B90-92.

36. Dunning, Social and Economic Change, 185.
37. Harold Hickerson quotes Mead's 1937 conclusion in Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples in "Some implications of the particularity, or 'atomism', of Northern Algonkians", Current Anthropology 8:4 (1967), 313.
38. Ibid., 313-314.
39. Ruth Landes, "The Ojibwa of Canada", Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples (1937), 87, 88, 90, 91, 99, 102.
40. Ibid., 116-124.
41. Hickerson, "Some implications", 320.
42. Ibid., 321.
43. Ibid., 321.
44. Ibid., 314.
45. Sharing was often coerced by fear of reprisal witchcraft and not necessarily the result of friendship or good nature.
46. Dunning, Social and Economic, 100.

b) Religion, mythology and visual traditions

A fundamental aspect of Woodlands Indian religion is animism -- the belief that all objects and creatures possess both corporeal and spirit characteristics with the latter capable of good or evil acts and interventions. Humans in addition had a ghost which was a force greatly to be feared and avoided.<sup>1</sup> The natural elements were also accorded considerable spiritual attributes. Certain of the spirit creatures came to symbolize qualities such as leadership, defence, sustenance, learning and medicine and these groups became the basis of totemic orders among the Ojibwa.<sup>2</sup> The Cree lacked totems and totemism diminished towards the north with its sparser population densities.<sup>3</sup> Hallowell describes the invisible "bosses" of the various groups of species or types as well as "the most important independent entity of the entire cosmic scheme, totally divorced from any phenomenal manifestation . . . K'tci mani tu . . . Lord of the Universe".<sup>4</sup> The nature and actions of spiritual beings as well as their interaction with mankind were recorded in the oral traditions of the people in the form of myth or legend. An offering of tobacco was the usual preliminary to any contact with the spirit world. Much animistic belief had a firm if obscured basis in observable natural phenomena<sup>5</sup> and its strength was the result of the total dependence of the Cree-Ojibwa on the natural world for survival. The importance of animism has likely diminished in the face of acculturative forces which have modified both sustenance and, to some

degree, environment.

The vision quest involved institutionalized dreaming in the puberty fast for boys and occasionally girls. Isolation and deprivation were used to promote spirit contact by which the candidate would obtain through dream or vision a protector or guardian. The youth was never to identify his protector nor to describe any details of his dream on penalty of the loss of this valued assistant. For this reason, specific data on the subject have rarely been forthcoming<sup>6</sup> and the vision quest has essentially disappeared in modern times. The spirit/animal guardian is distinct from the totem.

The "shaking tent" ceremony has survived to recent times and is well-documented by outside observers.<sup>7</sup> A shaman/conjurer would enter a sturdy wigwam specially-built for the ceremony to act as medium between the assembly and the spirit world. Questions would be asked and answered regarding lost articles or people or events in some other place and various spirits and spirit "bosses" would sing and converse with the audience in numerous vocal styles. Throughout the ceremony -- often for several hours -- the controllers of the winds would shake the tent violently, a phenomenon difficult to explain, given the great strength of the thick support poles driven deep into the ground. Firm belief in the conjuring tent seems to have been maintained in spite of the pressures of Christianity,<sup>8</sup> although the ceremony certainly occurs less frequently now.

Other shamanic duties were the provision of medicines and potions, curing ceremonies, divination and witchcraft. Rogers notes

that Cree religious rituals were largely related to the food-quest while the Ojibwa had a greater, almost extreme preoccupation with the witchcraft of interpersonal relationships.<sup>9</sup>

Ceremonies were associated with the rites of passage such as birth, puberty, and death although not to any degree on the occasion of marriage. Artifacts related to the Grand Medicine Society or Midéwiwin are most important to this study as apparently they have been a major source or resource for contemporary Woodlands art.

Hoffman's late nineteenth century documentation of the Midéwiwin in Minnesota<sup>10</sup> remains a valuable source of details of the four ascending degrees of power, colour and arrangement of symbolic facial painting, the nature of the Midé lodge, and various paraphernalia used in the ceremony including the sacred scrolls which served to explain and choreograph the elaborate rite. The earlier belief in the pre-contact origin of the Midéwiwin has been challenged by Keesing who sees it as a "nativistic cult arising as a response to European encroachment"<sup>11</sup> and by Hickerson who views it as "a reflex of the development of tribal solidarity".<sup>12</sup> Dewdney states that it is a fallacy that the cult existed prehistorically<sup>13</sup> although most believe that it probably developed from pre-contact curative societies. Hickerson dates its inception at approximately the turn of the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

Although the Midéwiwin is essentially a secret society, its practice is well documented among the Chippewa and probably followed Ojibwa migrations to some degree into the Northern Ojibwa areas.

Dewdney notes major Midé centres at Emo, Berens River and Gull Bay on Lake Nipigon,<sup>15</sup> but none further north. Hallowell states that

Berens River . . . not only represents the farthest point north on Lake Winnipeg at which the Midéwiwin was held, but it also marks the northern boundary of the ceremony to the east of the lake for at least three hundred miles. It was never given at Poplar River, at Island Lake, Deer Lake or Sandy Lake, according to unanimous testimony of my informants.<sup>16</sup>

Hallowell believes that the last leader of the Midéwiwin in this area died in 1932.<sup>17</sup> However, Roufs cautions against "etic" absolutes in describing the disappearance of secret or closed societies. He points out that observable behaviours are often not observable even to other members of the same culture and that this most frequently occurs in the area of religion. He presents a classic illustration in which, after a year of fieldwork with the people of a Northern Minnesota Ojibwa community where the Midéwiwin had purportedly disappeared several years before, he unexpectedly found himself allowed to observe the rite. Afterwards, he was cautioned against any discussion of it, even with others who had been in attendance. Some time later, the very headman of this ceremony denied to two Ojibwa students that he practiced the Midéwiwin and stated that it had not been practiced for decades, showing as evidence a rundown lodge that had served for that last distant occurrence.<sup>18</sup>

Although the Cree technically lacked the Midéwiwin, where it has been reported among them Hallowell believes "it is most likely a late acquisition, presumably from some Ojibwa group".<sup>19</sup>

Christian missionary activity among the Northern Cree and Ojibwa began relatively late, near the close of the nineteenth century for most of the nearly inaccessible inland areas such as Sandy Lake and Round Lake. Inasmuch as conversion efforts often involved the giving of very useful gifts, the native enthusiasm documented by missionaries may well not have been a true reflection of Indian zeal for the new faith, nor can those who documented it be considered totally objective observers.

The nature and extent of native Christianity are difficult to ascertain. Rogers describes the situation at Round Lake in the late 1950's.

All have religious affiliations . . . due to the fact that the Round Lake Ojibwa must of necessity declare for one church or the other. It does not mean that they are equally committed to Christianity. Only a limited number can be considered deeply concerned with church or doctrines . . . It must be stressed that their understanding and beliefs are in terms of their own cultural background . . . Although only a limited number of Round Lake Ojibwa can be considered even nominally Christian, the majority regularly attend church services. This results from the fact that church services are practically the only form of social recreation available . . . Finally, it is for certain individuals a source of religious inspiration and "power" which operates in conjunction with their own

beliefs . . . While openly accepting Christianity and declaring themselves in favour of it, the Round Lake Ojibwa have in reality an exceedingly limited understanding of what it means. Christian doctrines and philosophies have only in part been understood and accepted, and then in terms of the old belief system. Christian rituals, on the other hand, have been accepted readily, replacing the native ones . . . Informants are far from clear as to what it means to be a Christian. No consistent or wide ranging set of beliefs has yet been developed and accepted by the community as a whole. Individuals tend to repeat with little understanding what missionaries have been telling them.<sup>20</sup>

This adaption rather than adoption of Christianity by the Cree-Ojibwa is further exemplified by the considerable success of native lay preachers in many communities, particularly during the earlier period of Christianity in the villages. Steinbring describes a Métis who served the Little Black River Band for fifty-five years, combining native and Christian ideas. He "is reported to have observed the Windigo, a cannibalistic monster of the other world . . . He used and administered Native medicinal preparations, and was faultless in his use of the Native language".<sup>21</sup> Steinbring further describes the decline in the appeal of the traditional Church with the advent of "totally Christian" clergy and the rise in importance of Alcoholics Anonymous. He credits Alcoholics Anonymous' success to its participatory story-telling -- an important traditional skill; the aspect of confessional -- an integral part of many conjuring ceremonies of the past; its use as a vehicle to rationalize negative behaviour; its

male-dominated and male-oriented nature which is most consistent with the native culture. Further, Alcoholics Anonymous is a decentralized and localized organization which, with meagre anonymity, has become a source of pride and even competition between various bands.<sup>22</sup> The considerable success of Evangelical organizations in many of the communities is likewise due to characteristics more consistent with traditional ways.

Christianity seems to have altered native "morality" very little, except perhaps in the elimination of polygyny although the system of government payments may have been as important a force. Illegitimate births still occur frequently and are generally accepted. Despite verbal protestations, sexual freedom is considerable. Abortion methods are known and used, perhaps even more among those supposedly influenced by Christian ethics than among others less affected by Christianity.

While acculturation has brought many changes, most observers agree with Rogers that "Religion has been perhaps least affected except from a superficial point of view."<sup>24</sup>

Myths and legends form a major part of the oral tradition of the Cree and Ojibwa as for all North American native peoples. The oral aspect precludes definition and hampers efforts to measure acculturative impact, although one cannot examine these stories without often sensing the influence of Christian doctrine.

Two important factors have impeded divulgence of the myths and legends by native people -- the belief that they were a private and sacred heritage and the fear that the folklore might be in conflict with the new Christian religion. In some instances, linguistic problems made direct translation difficult and often the cultural inhibitions of early recorders, particularly missionaries, resulted in the omission of sordid and sexual elements<sup>25</sup> which had no such moral overtones among the Indians.<sup>26</sup> Recent, more colourful publications<sup>27</sup> may reflect a greater accuracy or at least a more realistic flavour. Today only a small, rapidly-diminishing number of elders have the requisite knowledge and talent and the time is gone when many of the Cree and Ojibwa people could provide hour after hour of eloquence and entertainment.

Many versions of the tales exist and variations within a community can be greater than between distant points. Thus the brief description presented here must necessarily be composite and exclusive.<sup>28</sup>

The mythology of the northern Cree-Ojibwa contains a number of universal themes, many pan-Indian characteristics, and regional and local peculiarities. Kitche Manitou's creation of the world

according to a vision is presented by Basil Johnston in terms remarkably similar to those of the Book of Genesis and other creation accounts. The basis of animistic belief and the concept of the vision quest are apparent as is the significance of the number four.

Out of nothing he made rock, water, fire, and wind. Into each one he breathed the breath of life. On each he bestowed with his breath a different essence and nature. Each substance had its own power which became its soul-spirit.

From these four substances Kitche Manitou created the physical world of sun, stars, moon, and earth.

To the sun Kitche Manitou gave the powers of light and heat. To the earth he gave growth and healing; to waters purity and renewal; to the wind music and the breath of life itself.

On earth Kitche Manitou formed mountains, valleys, plains, islands, lakes, bays, and rivers. Everything was in its place; everything was beautiful.

Then Kitche Manitou made the plant beings. These were four kinds: flowers, grasses, trees, and vegetables. To each he gave a spirit of life, growth, healing, and beauty. Each he placed where it would be the most beneficial, and lend to earth the greatest beauty and harmony and order.

After plants, Kitche Manitou created animal beings conferring on each special powers and natures. There were two-leggeds, four-leggeds, wingeds, and swimmers.

Last of all he made man. Though the last in order of creation, least in the order of independence, and weakest in bodily powers, man had the greatest gift --- the power to dream.

Kitche Manitou then made The Great Laws of Nature for the well-being and harmony of all things and all creatures. The Great Laws governed the place and movement of sun, moon, earth, and stars; governed the powers of wind, water, fire, and rock; governed the rhythm and continuity of life, birth, growth, and decay. All things lived and worked by these laws.

Kitche Manitou had brought into existence his vision.<sup>29</sup>

Long after creation the rains came and the earth was engulfed by a great flood which destroyed all but the sea creatures. For many generations the world was nothing but water. Then the sky-woman spirit was sent a consort to relieve her loneliness. Eventually the sky-woman conceived and the father left. Two children -- one pure spirit and one pure physical being -- were born but were of such different natures that they fought and destroyed each other. Again the sky-woman was sent a spirit companion and again he left after she had conceived. Twins -- a boy and a girl -- were born, alike in soul-spirit and possessing meaning only together. They were to produce the people -- the Anishnabeg.

To assist the sky-spirit and her babes, the turtle rose to the water surface to provide an island. One by one the sea animals dove to the depths for soil but only the lowly muskrat was successful. The turtle came to represent communication between beings and was also the patron of medicine. All the animals helped the sky-spirit with the children, entertaining them and bringing food. The dog had nothing to give except love and thus became the companion of man.

However the children failed to prosper and finally the bear gave his flesh that they might survive. Thereafter the bear was given special reverence and honoured in the ceremonies. Bear cults are one of the oldest and most significant elements of all Arctic and sub-Arctic religion.

The sky-spirit, known as Nokomis or Omamama,<sup>30</sup> returned to the heavens. She is honoured as the first mother, the creator of the people, and is symbolic of the primacy of women. She is remembered when the moon is in the sky. The prime source of all is symbolized by the sun. The father of the twins and grandfather of the people was neither honoured nor remembered. In his anger he would terrorize the Anishnabeg in the form of thunder and had to be propitiated with gifts of tobacco. Although not as close as grandmothers, grandfathers were to be remembered and honoured and given a share in the guidance of the young.

Legends about thunderbirds abound depicting the most powerful spirits on earth, often throwing their bolts of lightning to split the trees looking for the blood of the Indians. Only the giant crayfish is immune to the power due to its hard shell and hence is a powerful protector. Thunderbird nests of boulders are found in a few locations in the Cree-Ojibwa territories and may be part of the vision quest.<sup>31</sup>

Eventually the people were threatened by a plague which was about to destroy them. Kitche Manitou sent an emissary, Nanabush, to teach the Anishnabeg about medicine. Nanabush or Nanabozho is known in

the north as Weesakayjac or Whiskeyjack and is one of the most popular figures in legend and the founder of the Midēwiwin. Nanabush/Weesakayjac was born of a human mother and fathered by a spirit, the West. He represents duality: good and evil, hero and trickster, strength and weakness, spirit and human. Among the southern Ojibwa Nanabush operates in an almost Christlike and positive manner but among the northern Cree-Ojibwa the trickster character is more prevalent. Weesakayjac can be helpful but is more frequently mischievous, amoral and "the sex maniac of the north".<sup>32</sup>

The Windigo, a cannibalistic monster, also figures prominently in legend, particularly in the north. This creature haunts the hunter in hard times and his cry can be heard during the long, harsh winter nights. He is the manifestation of starvation. A person can turn into a Windigo and for the safety of the group, an individual who appears to be doing so is burned or otherwise destroyed, often at his or her own request.

Another popular legend concerns Paakuk the Flying Skeleton, a Tithonus-like creature doomed to eternal flight through the skies for coveting his brother's woman and killing the brother with bad medicine. Dewdney believes the Windigo is a very old legendary figure reflecting an ancient terror but feels that Paakuk may be a more recent result of acculturation and represent the diseases of advancing Europeans.<sup>33</sup>

Numerous tales concern the mighty Ja-Ka-Baysh, a demigod who undertook all challenges, however dangerous. One of his ventures

involves being swallowed by a giant fish. A similar experience also happened to Weesakayjac.

The Maymaygwaysiwuk were tiny spirits of considerable importance to the Ojibwa. They lived in the rocks near the water and tobacco offerings have long been left in these locations for them. Some believe the rock paintings to be illustrations of these lost souls.

A major spirit of great power was the Misshipeshu or horned water lynx. Its existence and negative force is not surprising among a people who regularly confront the perils of water travel. This legendary creature figures in the Weesakayjac stories and is found in both rock art and contemporary paintings by Norval Morrisseau.

A corpus of tales generally explains the derivation of the appearance and character of many animals and plants; why the moose's skin is loose; why the loon has a flat back; the origin of the red willows; the origin of the wavey goose; why the roses have thorns; why the rabbit has long ears and a split nose; why the porcupine has quills and doesn't speak to the other animals; how the sapsucker got its colours. In many of these stories Nanabush or Weesakayjac plays the role of intermediary between the animals and the gods. The stories are not only meant to entertain and enlighten, but to teach the lessons of human behaviour. The popular Boy and the Moon legend not only explains the markings on the surface of the moon but cautions against disobedience.

Virtually all beings and phenomena have a place in the oral tradition of the Cree-Ojibwa and coupled with animistic belief hold

a significance beyond the merely corporeal or natural.

Ojibwa and Cree visual traditions encompass a broad area from which several relevant aspects have been selected. Rock painting, birch-bark scrolls, various handicrafts and birchbark-biting and bark patterns are examined. A reference to child art is made. Three dimensional forms such as effigy figures, pipestone carving, religious stick decoration, and petroforms as well as ceremonial body painting, achievement-related feather-colouring and several other types of adornment will not be discussed.

Selwyn Dewdney has recorded one hundred and sixty-six rock art sites in northwestern Ontario and adjacent Minnesota<sup>34</sup> yet this research is still in its infancy. The origin and purpose of the rock paintings remains essentially a mystery. About half the images are unidentified abstract objects and the other half are about equally divided into five groups: man-made objects, hands, other human subject matter, mythological creatures, and animals, birds, etc.<sup>35</sup> Regional variations to these overall proportions show for the more northwesterly areas a decrease in abstractions to about a third and an increase in naturalism, thunderbirds and snakes.<sup>36</sup> Some of the markings probably served as trail signals or were totem names or symbols indicating who was in that place. Most are believed to have religious significance as part of the vision quest or some shamanic procedure. To support his concept of shaman-artist, Dewdney uses an illustrated reference by Henry Schoolcraft in 1853 which states that a shaman and practitioner of the Midéwiwin named Myeengun painted several of the

Agawa figures, including the Misshipeshu of plate 9c.<sup>37</sup>

Paintings generally appear to have been done from a canoe onto vertical shoreline rock surfaces. Hands or simple brushes made from twigs were probably used in paint application. Some rock paintings are done in outline or linear style while others consist of flat areas of paint. The colour is usually red<sup>38</sup> and made from mineral base pigments of remarkable durability.<sup>39</sup> Many legends mention wunnimin or onaman, the special red sand from which sacred paint was made. Dating of rock painting presents numerous problems. Most probably were painted prehistorically with some done as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. The tribal designation of the artists is also unclear although Lipsett's comparative studies with the forms of Ojibwa bark scrolls indicate that "these rock paintings are of generalized Ojibwa inspiration".<sup>40</sup>

Little apparent compositional organization appears within groups of rock paintings, perhaps resulting from the nature of the dream experience and perhaps due to the reuse of sites by different individuals or groups at different times. The lack of stylistic development suggests that the emphasis was on content rather than form. The paintings would have been intended for spiritual rather than for human viewing.

Plates 2-9<sup>41</sup> provide examples of rock art found in the larger area of Dewdney-Kidd studies. Plate 2 shows animal forms, the theme of much contemporary native painting. Hands are evident in both groups of plate 3, but play no significant role in modern works.

The dots in the upper section of 3b may signify power and are found in some contemporary painting. Plate 4c contains a rather elaborate version of the canoe which is found in numerous rock art sites and may be a migration reference. Similar canoes appear in current work. Figures in the lower portion of plate 4b and to the right side of plate 4d may illustrate the shaman in the shaking tent, a very popular theme among early contemporary artists. The plant form in plate 4b is the only example of such a free-standing element that Dewdney has encountered. Scenery is uncommon in contemporary works. The heartline is seen in the plate 4d tent-figure as well as in the lower figure of plate 4a. The heart is also evident in plate 5b. This element is a major component of the X-ray style. The figure in plate 5a may be a shaman or Midé priest holding a sacred otterskin medicine bag. Lines radiating from the head indicate an elaborate headdress, tousled hair or possibly power lines. The use of power lines is widespread among artists of the Woodlands School. Plate 6a contains a horned figure perhaps performing some rite beside a structure similar to those painted by Morrisseau. The figure in plate 6b is engaged in holding up another figure -- a father with son or perhaps a Windigo with victim. The Windigo is a popular modern theme. Plate 7 illustrates further horned figures with 7a dubbed by Dewdney the "Nipigon River Maymaygwayshi". The figure to the far left of 7c has the hourglass figure with hands in surrender position common in many shield paintings. While horned figures do not play a major role in contemporary painting, the thunderbird figure is a favourite of Morrisseau and other modern

painters. Important religious significance (as discussed in the section on mythology) may account for the frequency of the thunderbird in rock painting, a few examples of which are found in plate 8. Another of Morrisseau's favourite themes, the Misshipeshu, is also common in rock art. Three versions may be seen in plate 9. The water serpent, exemplified in the lower section of plate 9c, is also a common image in ancient and modern works. Many of the rock art themes and forms may have been transferred to the more systematized and institutionalized art of the Midewiwin.

The pictography found on Ojibwa birchbark scrolls is also little understood. Most scrolls served as mnemonic charts of a secretive society or as personal and private prescriptions for medical or sorcerous purposes. They often included irrelevant characters to prevent comprehension by the uninitiated or unintended viewer.<sup>42</sup>

Scrolls varied in length according to complexity with some reaching up to nine feet long formed by the stitching together of several pieces of bark. The stitching was generally done by women and in some cases was highly decorative. The outer or paper side of the bark was generally used, except for the Lake Winnipeg region where the reverse of the process was greatly preferred. A stylus of wood, bone, or steel was used to incise lines into the paper side and produce grooves on the cambium side. The lines appear more like scratches when the paper side is used while engraving on the cambium side produces a deeper, soft-edged impression. Lines were given greater visibility by doubling them and cross-hatching the spaces in

between. Often entire figures were hatched or cross-hatched. Lines were occasionally emphasized by the rubbing on of red paint, but Dewdney believes the carelessness of this application to be indicative more of the effort to symbolize sacredness than to enhance the engraving. Scrolls were copied and recopied as the need arose and modifications could take place during this procedure. In some cases, patterns cut from wornout scrolls were used. Straight edges were often employed to produce the straight lines and more recent curved lines were sometimes executed with the use of coin or can templates.<sup>44</sup>

Dewdney categorizes the scrolls into six groups;

1. Origin scrolls symbolizing the origin traditions of the Midéwiwin (examples plate 10)
2. Migration charts summarizing and charting the later accumulations of origin lore (examples plate 11)
3. Master scrolls and ritual charts for instruction in the lore and rites preparatory to initiation (examples plate 12)
4. Ghost Lodge and Sky Degree scrolls for instruction in specialized Midé rites (examples plates 13 and 14)
5. Deviant scrolls suspected, as unorthodox Midé scrolls, of being used for destructive sorcery (example plate 14b)
6. Enigmatic scrolls reflecting the results of Midé diffusion and decline<sup>45</sup>

In approaching the birchbark pictography from a purely visual point of view, it is evident that this art form involved institutionalized order and a high level of complexity in contrast to rock painting. Duplication existed as a means of preserving the record in a perishable medium but this procedure often involved the slight modifications visible in a comparison of plates 10a and 10b. The wide variety evident in examination of many scrolls of similar structure and function may indicate the development of the rite both in time and space as well as the previously-mentioned false symbol safeguards. Composition must be seen as sequential and functional as opposed to aesthetic. As with rock painting the emphasis was on content rather than form.

Many of the themes previously mentioned as common to both rock painting and contemporary Woodlands painting are found in the birchbark illustrations -- thunderbirds, water serpents, the Misshipeshu, shamans or priests with medicine bags, horned figures, bears, birds, and other natural or spirit creatures. Some may have had totemic significance but others probably symbolize the aid or evil described in the mythology. Plate 14a is considered a bad medicine chart due to the negation suggested by the superimposition of a north-south Midé lodge form and the inner arrangement of high-powered destructive spirits ready to snatch the souls of those entering between the positive bear and bison figures.<sup>46</sup> The dominant frog reference as well as the bear tracks through only the first two lodges in plate 14b are strong indicators of evil intent<sup>47</sup> and suggest that the roots of image-fear

among the Ojibwa were not without basis. The mnemonic song charts of plates 15 and 16 could serve as a veritable catalogue of Woodlands art themes and conventions: power lines radiating from bodies and flowing from the earth and sky; communication lines and sensory indicators from mouths, eyes and ears; heartlines and sacred dots; sacred animal/spirit beings.

Any specific examination of Ojibwa or Cree handicrafts must necessarily be defined in time and space due to the myriad changes in styles, media, and functions caused not only by white contact but by the complex interaction of various native groups produced both historically and prehistorically by migration and active trade. This versatility itself may be significant to the comprehension of contemporary painting.

At various times and to varying degrees quillwork, moose-tufting, beadwork, embroidery, weaving, and painting have been utilized in the adornment of clothing and other objects in a range from purely utilitarian to highly significant in religious or spiritual terms. Quillwork died out in the mid 1800's,<sup>48</sup> supplanted by an increased use of trade beads, ribbon and yarn. Change in ground for designs was altered by the gradual conversion to European cloth instead of skins for clothing and paraphernalia. The popularity of black velveteen produced changes in value and hue of media and colours were modified in the transition from the wide range of native dyes to the manufactured colours of imported trade goods. Colour preferences may have been retained. Lyford notes

The colours secured by the Ojibwa from their native dyes and chosen in the beads and ribbons for their weaving, embroidery, and ribbon work were based on the intermediate hues in many shades. They did not make use of the primary colours as did the Sioux and the other plains Indians. The hues found in the Ojibwa craft work include red, yellow, green, and blue. Bright red was not used by the old craft workers. Red when used was of a very dark or very light shade. Red violet was popular. Blue violet was also much used. Browns and tans were often combined with lemon yellow and gold. Brown and a light rose were another popular combination. A deep yellow orange was combined with a light yellow orange. Bright orange colour was not used by the Ojibwa.

Three shades of the same hue are often found on one piece of bead work. Three shades of green and three shades of blue were much used. As many as twenty-five different colours or shades are to be found harmoniously combined on one piece of bead embroidery.<sup>49</sup>

Lyford further notes that "black was little used in craft work until black velveteen began to be used as a background" and draws attention to "the early use of black buckskin by the central Algonkian and the frequent occurrence of black beads, broadcloth, and velvet in the later craft work of the Ojibwa".<sup>50</sup>

Brasser uses a group of intriguing artifacts (exemplified in plates 17, 18 and 19)<sup>51</sup> to postulate the existence of "a cultural institution of which there is hardly a clue in the early reports".<sup>52</sup>

A distinct type of black or dark-brown nearly square skin pouch is present in several old collections; about forty of them have been traced so far. These pouches were decorated with quillworked figures of Thunderbirds, Horned Underwater Panthers, or Underwater Snakes. They were made and used primarily by the Ottawa and Mississauga, but the Eastern Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Menomini, Miami and Eastern Sioux were also part of this complex. The pouches appear to have been particularly popular during the second half of the eighteenth century. The religious symbolism of their decoration, the surprisingly large number that survived, and their origin in a group of neighbouring tribes strongly suggest that they played a role in a ritual complex shared by these tribes. Apparently the pouches were used as the distinctive paraphernalia of the individual followers of this ritual or religious organization. Their decoration with figures of either Sky beings or Underwater spirits suggests that the members of this organization were divided into two groups in ritual opposition to each other . . .

. . . it would appear that a cult, probably called the Black Dance, emerged in the region of the eastern Great Lakes about the middle of the eighteenth century. The mythologic belief and shamanistic practices incorporated in this cult were very similar to those of the Midaywiwin, a religious society that emerged among the Wisconsin Ojibwa at about the same time or slightly later. Whereas the latter spread among several tribes and is well known because of its survival to the present, the Black Dance Society had a rather short life, and is hardly mentioned in the early records.<sup>53</sup>

What we do not know about native religion and associated artifacts -- in time or in space -- becomes especially significant when we attempt to ascribe or deny traditional elements to contemporary forms.

Animal and spirit images were not confined to objects of high religious significance but occurred in many utilitarian artifacts such as the cradleboard strap of plate 10 with its thunderbird (with lifeline) motif and numerous kinds of woven storage bags, bark containers, adornment items, and accessories.

Much early bead and quill work consisted largely (plate 10) or entirely (plates 21 and 22) of geometric designs popular among the early Ojibwa and Cree. Dewdney believes such designs were probably abstracted from originally meaningful forms.<sup>54</sup> The very popular curvilinear style was adopted from the Red River Métis among whom it developed in the early 1800's.<sup>55</sup> The curvilinear style existed both in combination with the older geometric style (plate 23) and on its own (plate 24). Designs of bilateral symmetry arranged asymmetrically were a predominant characteristic of the art styles of the northern people (note strap plate 23).<sup>56</sup>

Lyford notes the gradual decline of handicrafts with the increased use of the whiteman's clothing and utensils. The removal of the daughter from the home to the school setting for long periods of time also disrupted the transmission of handicraft skills. Items produced for sale diminished in quality due to the poor financial return for the effort expended in good pieces and the tourist demand

for cheap work. In many areas only a few, usually older, women still practice the old techniques and even fewer are able to "carry the design in their minds".<sup>57</sup>

Birchbark-biting and additionally, after the arrival of scissors, bark-cutting are forms of Ojibwa and Cree art. Many such works served as patterns for beadwork or embroidery and the folding of the bark to create the designs may account for the extensive bilateral symmetry mentioned above. Indian women purportedly could envision the design as they did the biting or cutting. The best patterns were saved for ongoing use and were a source of pride to the creator/owner. Plate 25 shows several examples of pieces probably intended as patterns. Some pieces, perhaps those of plate 26 were, according to Densmore,

. . .made only for pleasure -- they were art-objects in our use of the term. The designs ranged from simple patterns like teepees and stars to an Indian sitting on the ground and smoking a long pipe, or a likeness of the thunderbird. The fancy was free in cutting these pictures. The women also cut conventional flowers and leaves, often changing the curves to straight lines. Such patterns are interpretations of natural forms and may be regarded as art.<sup>58</sup>

Plates 27a, 27b and 28a are examples of common types of birchbark-bitings and may have been used for patterns or pleasure or both. Plate 28b is of a less common type and its spiritual

significance and the nature and intent of the artist are open to speculation.

Two relatively recent anecdotes regarding child art may cast light on native attitudes to art in the area of this study just prior to the development of contemporary painting. In the mid-1950's Dunning urged several Pekangekum youngsters to draw pictures of the Windigo. Several drawings done by eleven and twelve-year-old boys were similar to drawings that might have been done by southern white children to portray a monster or bogymen, but the boys usually destroyed the pictures immediately after completion. Dunning states that no older person would draw or discuss the spirit.<sup>59</sup> Dewdney records a similar experiment done at Deer Lake in 1959 with seventeen children aged six to fifteen. In this instance Dewdney notes

The great majority, when asked to draw a moose, a fish, a bird, and a man, produced what any other Canadian schoolchild might have drawn. But four of the older children drew female figures as hour-glass forms with appended head and limbs; and three of the four drew the arms in the surrender position.<sup>60</sup>

An inference may be drawn from these two incidents that there was not an absolute taboo against image-making, but rather a concern with the power certain images might have, particularly in the hands of a stranger. Questions are raised regarding the age and perhaps sex of artists with regard to the ability to transmit power through visual

means. Perhaps the greatest perplexity concerns the production, and by the adolescents alone, of figures so similar in style to those of the long-lost rock painting and the birchbark scrolls of the Midé.

## Summary

It would be a relatively simple task to compare many of the characteristics of traditional Cree-Ojibwa visual forms and mythology with contemporary painting styles and themes. However, the historical evidence on material culture indicates strongly against widespread continuities in the visual arts. The idea of the contemporary painter as shaman-artist as expressed by Hughes<sup>61</sup> is not without merit, but it fails to explain the plethoric growth of Woodlands painting. Any serious study of this phenomenon must necessarily address the issues raised in Chapter II on acculturation and art.

Can the effect of creator-consumerism (of white promoters and buyers) on the themes, colours, materials and artist's image ever be accurately measured? While the theory of aboriginal expression cannot be proven, neither can it be entirely disproven. Is it possible to assess the novel or the aboriginal elements with any degree of surety and what is the status of revitalization or reculturation of forms? Pollock and other marketers stress Morrisseau's shamanic status, spiritual inspiration and his knowledge of rock painting and Midé scrolls, although Pollock does admit to having "discovered only much later that Morrisseau's version of the mythological world of the Ojibway was mostly personal".<sup>62</sup> Dewdney met Morrisseau in the summer of 1960 and notes Norval's access to, and interest in, the extensive library of Joseph Weinstein, amateur artist, primitive art collector, and doctor at the mine where Morrisseau worked. Dewdney notes that

West Coast Indian art and Navajo art had a "strong impact" on Morrisseau and adds that some of Morrisseau's early work was based largely on Dewdney's own rock art records, "especially the Agawa rendering of that sinister spirit of troubled waters, the Great Lynx, Mishipizhiw".<sup>63</sup> Dewdney feels, however, that Morrisseau's paintings "owed nothing to any other art form. This was an artist who relied solely on his inner vision."<sup>64</sup>

Polemic exists not only with regard to sources, but to motivation for native art production. Morrisseau expressed his ambitions to Dewdney two years before Pollock and the meteoric rise to fame.

My idea is, why I draw them -- see, there's lots of stories that are told in Ojibway. But that wasn't enough for me. I wanted to draw them -- that's from my own self -- what they would look like. And I never knowed anybody who would be interested. And I thought if they could be some place for a hundred -- two hundred -- years -- not for myself, for my people. Even if I don't get no money I would be glad to paint them just for people to see.<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps not even the artist himself can know if this impulse is as valid today.

Before any sweeping generalities can be made with regard to contemporary Woodlands painting, many artists must be carefully examined, both individually and in their respective groupings. To this end, the study presented here deals with several artists at

various stages of development in the relatively closed community of Sandy Lake. The approach will largely involve historical and cultural examination of this environment for a rationale for the inception and growth of contemporary painting.

## NOTES: b) Religion, mythology and visual traditions

1. A. Irving Hallowell, "Some empirical aspects of Northern Saulteaux religion", American Anthropologist 36 (1934), 391-392.
2. Basil Johnston, Ojibwa Heritage (Toronto 1976), 59-60.
3. Dunning states that "so little contact is had with strangers that Landes' concept of totem as a link throughout Ojibwa-speaking groups is not relevant for these northern isolated societies", Social and Economic, 83.
4. Hallowell, "Some empirical", 391.
5. Ibid., 394.  
Hallowell explains why thunder and lightning are the manifestations of the hawklike pinesi.
6. Ibid., 398.
7. A.K. Black gives a first-hand account of the ceremony in "Shaking the wigwam", The Beaver (December 1934), 13-14. Hallowell claims to have witnessed a number of such exhibitions in "Some empirical", 401. There are many such accounts.
8. Hallowell, "Some empirical", 403.
9. Rogers, "Natural environment", esp. 35.
10. W.J. Hoffman, "The Midéwiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa", Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (1885-86), 145-300.
11. Harold Hickerson cites Felix M. Keesing (The Menomini Indians of Wisconsin, 1939, pp. 44 ff.) in "Notes on the post-contact origin of the Midéwiwin", Ethnohistory 9 no. 4 (1963), 405.
12. Ibid.
13. Selwyn Dewdney, The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway (Toronto 1975), 167.
14. Hickerson, "Notes on", 418.

15. Selwyn Dewdney, The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway (Toronto 1975), 166.
16. A. Irving Hallowell, "The passing of the Midéwiwin in the Lake Winnipeg region", American Anthropologist 38 (1936), 49. A ceremony with some similarity to the Midéwiwin occurred at Sandy Lake according to Rogers and will be described in IV a.
17. Ibid., 45.
18. Tim Roufs, "Myth in method: More on Ojibwa Culture", Current Anthropology 15:3 (1974), 307-308.
19. Hallowell, "The Passing", 33.
20. Rogers, Round Lake Ojibwa, D36-39.
21. Jack Steinbring, Acculturation Phenomena Among the Lake Winnipeg Ojibwa of Canada, A paper presented at the 38th International Congress of Americanists, Stuttgart, Germany. (Winnipeg 1968), 8. (See map, plate 1 for location of Little Black River Band).
22. Ibid., 8-13.
23. Rogers, Round Lake Ojibwa, B44-45.
24. Ibid., E2.
25. Exclusion of such elements is acknowledged by Charles Clay, Swampy Cree Legends (Toronto 1938), xi.
26. Carl Ray and James Stevens, Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree (Toronto 1971), 11.
27. Legends of My People, the Great Ojibway by Norval Morrisseau and Selwyn Dewdney and Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree by Ray and Stevens both contain more explicit details. However, in the introduction to the quite lascivious Tales from the Smokehouse, Herbert T. Schwartz admits that he was unable to include the most erotic passages in their original form.
28. Major sources for legends and mythology are Swampy Cree Legends by Clay; Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree by Ray and Stevens; Legends of My People, the Great Ojibway by Morrisseau and Dewdney; Ojibwa Heritage by Basil Johnston.

29. Basil Johnston, Ojibwa Heritage (Toronto 1976), 12-13. Much of the subsequent account of Ojibwa mythology also comes from Johnston, esp. p. 13.
30. Omamama, the earth mother of the Crees, is of particular significance at Sandy Lake.
31. Selwyn Dewdney, "Ecological notes on the Ojibway Shaman-art", Arts Canada, August 1970, 22.
32. Ray and Stevens, Sacred Legends, 11.
33. Editor Selwyn Dewdney's foreword; Morrissette and Dewdney, Legends of My People, ix.
34. Most rock art information and much of the opinion expressed is taken from this publication, second edition. Number of sites found in preface to the second edition, Selwyn Dewdney and Kenneth Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes (Toronto 1967), ix.
35. Ibid., 18.
36. Ibid., 22.
37. Selwyn Dewdney, "Ecological notes on the Ojibway Shaman-artist", Arts Canada August 1970, 22.
38. In some cases the red has changed chemically to a yellowish colour. White, possibly made from guano is occasionally used as is black. Dewdney and Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings, 169.
39. Probable chemical analysis is discussed Ibid., 169. Efforts by Dewdney to reproduce the quality and colour proved unsuccessful Ibid., 21.
40. Brenda McGee Lipsett, "A comparative study to determine the origin of some Canadian Shield rock paintings", Ten Thousand Years: Archeology in Manitoba, 1970, editor W.M. Hlady (Altona, Manitoba), 189.
41. These plates are taken from Dewdney and Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings and the quality of the reproduction generally reflects the present state and values of the paintings as copied by Dewdney. Specific information on these and other illustrations may be found in Notes on the Plates.

42. Selwyn Dewdney, Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway (Toronto 1975), 18.
43. Ibid., 19.
44. Ibid., 13-17.
45. Ibid., 21-22.
46. Ibid., 109-111.
47. Ibid.
48. Ted Brassler, "Bo'jou, Neejee", Profiles of Canadian Art (Ottawa 1976), 47.
49. Carrie Lyford, Ojibwa Crafts (Chippewa), (1943), 151.
50. Ibid.
51. Although the examples shown were found among Algonkians (especially Ottawa or Odawa) east of the area of study, Brassler states that this "institution" also existed among the Ojibwa and some southern groups.
52. Brassler, "Bo'jou, Neejee", 27.
53. Ibid., 27-28.
54. Dewdney, "Ecological notes", 22.
55. Brassler, "Bo'jou, Neejee", 48.
56. Ibid., 31.
57. Lyford, Ojibwa Crafts, 154-155.
58. Frances Densmore, "The Native Art of the Chippewa", American Anthropologist (N.S., 43, 1944), 679-680.
59. Dunning, Social and Economic, 82.
60. Dewdney and Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings, 59.
61. Hughes, Jackson Beardy, 41.
62. Sinclair and Pollock, The Art of Norval Morriseau, 21.

63. Dewdney, "Norval Morriseau", Canadian Art (January/February 1963), 35.
64. Ibid.
65. Morriseau and Dewdney, Legends of My People, xi.

#### IV. Sandy Lake

##### a) General Community Background

The community of Sandy Lake in Northwestern Ontario lies just north of the fifty-third parallel about forty-five miles from the Manitoba border.<sup>1</sup> The people form part of the Deer Lake Band of Reserve Number 88 which includes the two settlements of Sandy Lake and Deer Lake to the southwest. The long, ochre-coloured lake gets its appearance from an emulsion of sand in the water, explained by legend in the story of Paakuk, the flying skeleton.<sup>2</sup> The lake is dotted with islands and is unique in the area for its stock of goldeyes. Unlike the more barren Deer Lake terrain, Sandy Lake is heavily forested with jack pine, poplar, balsam and birch and has some soil suitable for gardening.

The Little Crane and Red Sucker bands roamed the area since at least 1800. The Little Cranes settled at Sandy Lake around the first decade of the twentieth century and the Red Sucker group took up permanent residence there in 1928, led from Deer Lake by their powerful "old chief" Robert Fiddler.<sup>3</sup> An early account mentions a third clan, the Pelicans.<sup>4</sup>

The people are linguistically Algonkian and James Stevens describes the language spoken at Sandy Lake as "a unique mixture of Cree and Saulteaux".<sup>5</sup> Although Stevens states that "the people refer to themselves solely as Cree,"<sup>6</sup> it would appear that the community is largely Saulteaux.<sup>7</sup>

A Hudson's Bay Company document reports a post named Sandy Lake five days southwest of Island Lake as early as 1819, but closed in 1823.<sup>8</sup> Regular trading out of Island Lake with the Sandy Lakers is reported by Reverend F.G. Stevens in the late 1890's.<sup>9</sup> Sandy Lake outpost was opened in 1903 and closed in 1909.<sup>10</sup> Sandy Lake was never a major trading post and appears to have existed on the fringes of the fur trade.

Although such information need not be construed as typical, Reverend Stevens' account of his dealings with the man in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company post which served Sandy Lake in the late 1890's provides some insight into Sandy Lake fur-trading history. Robert Whiteway, "a very bad man, Cree-Saulteaux-Scotch mixed breed, a veritable incarnation of Satan" practiced blatant deceit in his efforts to obstruct Stevens' meeting with the people of Sandy Lake. When, in 1899, after two years' effort, Stevens did finally achieve the first missionary contact with the group, Whiteway threatened to kill not only Stevens, but others who had assisted him. Stevens' report of widespread starvation and utter poverty in the region provoked an agreement between Indian Affairs and the Hudson's Bay Company to provide food for the destitute. The orders were totally ignored by Whiteway in his efforts to preserve the gross trading imbalance with the people of the Sandy Lake area.<sup>11</sup>

Reverend Stevens vividly describes the difficulties encountered in travel to and from Sandy Lake -- few local food resources, rough terrain, and long portages. By both Indian and white standards Sandy

Lake was, and long remained, one of the poorest, most remote, and almost inaccessible communities in the north.

Treaty was made with Sandy Lake in 1910 as part of the last group of Indians to be covered by government authority. Since that time Sandy Lake, the largest native community of this northern region, has gradually seen an increase in social service benefits and bureaucracy. However, direct white contact has been minimal. The band has repeatedly resisted efforts to extend the road from Red Lake in hope of preserving the relative isolation of the community. Further, Sandy Lake has long been regarded with fear and suspicion and often avoided by its neighbours because of the nature of its spirituality.

Another explanation for late and low-level acculturation in Sandy Lake concerns the nature and impact of local leadership. As previously described, traditional Cree-Ojibwa leadership was vested in the heads of co-residential groups based on hunting ability and the fear and respect for shamanic power. The position was not inherited. The subsequent superimposition of an electoral system for the selection of chief provided greater vulnerability to external influence and Bishop notes

By the late nineteenth century, it would seem that each trading post band had a chief who was elected by popular vote probably as a result of the trader's influence, but not necessarily so.<sup>12</sup>

Group fragmentation or atomization provoked by the fur trade as well as the erosion of the spiritual aspect of the chief's role by white religious and medical institutions usually caused a further weakening of native leadership and hastened the decline of traditional ways.

This is not the pattern that emerged at Sandy Lake, although the reasons may be found beyond the simply economic or geographic considerations mentioned above -- perhaps in the nature of the individuals concerned.

The Sandy Lakers whom Reverend Stevens met around the turn of the century apparently still acted in large groups. While winter contacts were with smaller groups consistent with the seasonal dispersal, the summer group of 1901 numbered about two hundred.<sup>13</sup> In 1897, near Oxford House, Stevens had encountered three Sandy Lake natives who had been baptised by a missionary at Island Lake. They stated that on returning home, they "could not stand against the old people" and did not want to hear the Gospel "unless all, old and young, men and women, hear it with us".<sup>14</sup> Stevens conducted mass conversions, baptisms, and marriages among the Little Cranes of that large summer group but the Suckers opted out of the process by secluding their women and children nearby.<sup>15</sup>

Stevens had earlier reported widespread starvation -- over twenty Sandy Lakers starved to death in the winter of 1899-1900<sup>16</sup> -- and he had noted the insane looks of mothers desperately nursing as many as three or four youngsters because there was nothing to eat.

Some indication of the power and the role of chief is evident in the events of 1907 in Sandy Lake. Sucker chief Jack (Jake or Jacob) Fiddler and his brother were arrested for the murder of eight people, mostly mothers. The Windigo spirit was no simple myth but a stark reality in Sandy Lake. The chief's brother subsequently died in Stony Mountain prison where he was sentenced for life. The chief purportedly hanged himself during the trial at Norway House although Sandy Lakers today firmly believe that their leader was murdered.

Jack Fiddler was succeeded as chief in 1907 by his son Robert and the electoral system shortly imposed on the Deer Lake Band by treaty long remained little more than a technicality. Robert Fiddler was chief until his death in 1940. This was the man who led the Red Suckers to Sandy Lake village in 1928, with attendant miracles, and who persisted in official authority due to his immense personal prestige and spiritual power.

On the death of Robert Fiddler in 1940, his son Tom was elected chief. Tom Fiddler, too, was a man of tremendous personal and spiritual strength. His reputation spread well beyond Sandy Lake. Dunning reports that, in the 1950's, youngsters from several communities attending boarding school discussed their various shamans and all agreed "that the chief from Sandy Lake Band was the most powerful magician in the area".<sup>18</sup> In 1967 Tom Fiddler declined to run again in the face of modernist pressures and the "hereditary chiefs" of Sandy Lake were no more, although the name Fiddler has been well-represented among the Kakegamics and Kakepetums that have held the position since.

Gene Ritchie Monahan was in Sandy Lake in 1968 and describes the new wave.

Old Tom Fiddler was chief of the Sandy Lake Band for twenty-eight years before he decided not to run for office this spring. His bearing and dealings demanded respect from all who came in contact with him. The stories about him are almost legendary. However, his ways are the old ways, and the young braves began to get impatient. With the election of his nephew, Stanley Fiddler, as chief, the young "J.C.s" moved in as council members and a new era of action has started. The new chief is trying to pull his band together by urging them to move in closer to the schools so they won't be spread out, and by trying to promote common goals for them to work toward. We heard the sound of hammers and saws the month we were there as they were building new homes near the new public school. He wants a new Council Hall built by the people to house the Council Chamber, and offices for the Band Clerk, Indian Affairs agent, Newspaper, Recreation Director, and Council members. He also wants to add a Library to the Council Hall so his people may read and learn . . . ways and means are being studied and tried for self-help. Seven of the men had banded together to get an abandoned saw mill in operation and they were sawing and planing lumber before we left. A bakery is contemplated and the baker is already baking and selling twelve loaves of bread a day. Fibre glass is being considered for making many of the things they need. Perhaps by next summer many of these things will be underway. 19

The rapid turnover of chiefs since Tom Fiddler is indicative of the divisions and partisan sentiments that have long existed in Sandy Lake.<sup>20</sup> While the unifying effect of the strong, longterm leadership of the past has doubtless diminished and the recent leaders lack the high degree of spirituality and prestige of their great predecessors, the power of the office of chief in Sandy Lake is still considerable. Approval or permission of the chief and council is required for virtually every major activity (and many minor ones) in Sandy Lake.<sup>21</sup> Chief and Council are involved in school curriculum changes and even decide the number of home visits a teacher must make. If an individual requires serious medical treatment but fears to go to the white hospital, the chief may order him to do so and compliance is a general result. In their dealings with outsiders, a number of chiefs have spoken only through interpreters, maintaining the native tongue as the language of such talks even when English is understood. The arrival of television in 1977 presented a new vehicle for the chief's authority, with the threat to pull the plug on the receiver a powerful motivator for the behaviour requested.<sup>22</sup>

The exact nature of religion in Sandy Lake is no easier to define than that for the larger area of northwestern Ontario. Many references can be found which suggest that the level and persistence of certain rites and practices were enough to both frighten and impress neighbouring groups. As just mentioned; Sandy Lake leaders well into the modern period were held in awe for their remarkable spiritual

attributes.

Although Hallowell notes that the Midéwiwin was never held at Sandy Lake, Rogers mentions a very similar ceremony called Manito'ki'wak which he observed in part at Sandy Lake in 1958.<sup>23</sup> One report describes the drum used in the ceremony as similar to the style of drum used in the Midéwiwin but another describes a drum type associated with other ceremonies: Rogers states that the Manito'ki'wak may not be a northern version of the Midéwiwin due to the drum confusion and because the ceremony was said to be held for the purpose of harming not curing. Certainly Rogers' informants at Weagamow Lake expressed considerable fear of the Sandy Lake practice. From the scant information available, Rogers suggests that the ceremony entered Sandy Lake from the Lake Winnipeg area around 1920 to 1930.<sup>24</sup> Hallowell describes the Lake Winnipeg region as a major Midé centre up to the 1930's and Dewdney addresses a number of late variations on the Midéwiwin including some which may have dealt in black magic or sorcery. Perhaps more significant is the fact that the late date proposed by Rogers shows that the Sandy Lake community was open to such new practices well into the Christian period.

The history of Christianity in Sandy Lake presents an unusual variation on the separation of Church and state. Adam Fiddler, son of Jack Fiddler and brother of Robert, had become a Christian at Island Lake before his encounters with Reverend Stevens in the early 1900's. After the murders of 1906, the Sandy Lakers all decided to become Christian, but efforts to get even an annual visit by an ordained

minister from Berens River or Norway House were unsuccessful.<sup>25</sup> Adam agreed to minister to the people of Sandy Lake and proceeded to do so in both unofficial and, later, official capacity. Adam spoke no English but could read the Cree version of the Bible. He represented the Methodist or United Church in Sandy Lake from 1906 until 1952, largely without southern assistance. As were his close kin, the chiefs of Sandy Lake, Adam Fiddler was held in very high respect, yet one can only speculate on his particular version of Christianity.

A Roman Catholic missionary came to Sandy Lake in 1937 and a Roman Catholic Church was built in 1940. In 1955, a white United Church minister belatedly replaced Adam Fiddler. Six different religious groups are now active in Sandy Lake: United Church, Roman Catholic, Mennonite, Seventh Day Adventist, Pentecostal, and Evangelist/Full Gospel. With the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, all have native clergy. The one white clergyman, Father Dumont, has been in Sandy Lake for fifteen years and his services are conducted largely in the native language.

The Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree by Ray and Stevens illustrates the rich mythological tradition of Sandy Lake. Not merely the legacy of a long-lost past, the tales have retained a considerable veracity into the present era in the community, as shown by the following anecdotes of the mid 1970's.<sup>26</sup>

A young Sandy Lake man, apparently bested in an alcohol-fueled encounter, was found lying in the swamp with his face badly

cut up. His explanation, that he had been attacked by a large "cat-rabbit", resulted in a massive search by several young residents who set off explosives in the area. Only when the remains of such a creature were found were the townspeople at ease. On another occasion, the joking comments of a pilot, who maintained that he had seen a Sasquatch approaching Sandy Lake, provoked many residents into setting out food for the monster.

Both incidents drew widespread interest and comment. Mike and Sarah McCabe, teachers in Sandy Lake from 1975 to 1980, noted the strong place of such superstitions in the daily lives not only of the older people but of the youngsters as well. The McCabes also noted the sharp reduction in the incidence of these phenomena after the arrival of television service in Sandy Lake in 1977. The heroes and anti-heroes of the networks replaced those of the traditional tales almost overnight. The series "Dallas" became so important in Sandy Lake that no event was ever planned for the Friday night time of that program. My own arrival in Sandy Lake in 1981 was met with a huge crowd of townspeople who had turned out, not to meet me, but to witness the unloading of the hardware for a twenty-four hour television receiver. It seems likely that the tales of Sandy Lake, kept alive until recent times, will be lost to the next generation.

If a relationship between contemporary arts and traditional arts is ever established, Sandy Lake is not without resources for the latter.

Although Midé scrolls have not been found around Sandy Lake, the existence of the Manito'ki'wak and the connection with Berens River suggests that Sandy Lakers may have possessed knowledge of the scrolls in the past, if not the scrolls themselves.

Rock art is more evident in the area. The most northerly rock painting reported in Ontario by Dewdney is the Cochrane River site, a few miles north of Deer Lake. The site has almost a full range of dating clues, including overpainting and a wide range of pigment intensities and hues.<sup>27</sup> It is at this site that the winged figure of plate 8c is found, a figure referred to by Dewdney as the "Eagle man"<sup>28</sup> which may represent a transformation. The rich Bloodvein site, some eighty miles northwest of Red Lake, might be considered as in the general area formerly travelled by the ancestors of the Sandy Lakers. The Bloodvein site provided for Dewdney "one of those rare experiences that are the supreme reward of pictograph-hunting"<sup>29</sup> for it included the "shaman" of plate 5a and the bison of plate 5b with its visible heart and delicate, oval, Lascaux-like hooves. There are rock paintings around Sandy Lake itself,<sup>30</sup> which were dismissed by the young artists I questioned as "just directions put there by people a long time ago".

Perhaps of greater significance to the production of contemporary art in Sandy Lake is the persistence of high quality handicrafts. In

1968 Monahan observed the "good workmanship" and "nice sense of design and colour" found in leather and bead work; "They show a marked talent for decorating their craft work with designs to fit the shape of the space to be filled. This ability showed up in the children's work without our having talked about it."<sup>31</sup> Although Hallowell found in 1946 that cradleboards were no longer used by the highly-acculturated Lac du Flambeau Ojibwa<sup>32</sup> of Wisconsin, the production and use of the cradleboard or tikanogan is a matter of great pride in Sandy Lake, and a new one is made for each baby. When Sarah McCabe went to Sioux Lookout to give birth to her son, she took with her a tikanogan elaborately crafted by seven or eight families. It is made of beaded velvet on the outside and has several embroidered linen inner blankets. The designs are of delicate curvilinear birds and flowers. Five other Sandy Lake mothers-to-be were in Sioux Lookout hospital at the same time and all had cradleboards.

Monahan's "art exposure" project in Sandy Lake in 1968 revealed not only a natural ability of the children to deal with composition in their pictures, but considerable enthusiasm on the part of both young and old for the portraits and other works created by the visiting artists. At this time Carl Ray had his first experience painting on canvas and with acrylic paint. He also expressed an interest in using charcoal for his drawings.<sup>33</sup>

In many ways Sandy Lake is like other northern reserves with its rapidly increasing population, almost total reliance on welfare and imported supplies, and the pervasive encroachment of white culture. Somehow, however, it has managed to retain some of the best traditional characteristics and avoid some of the worst aspects of Indian/white acculturation. It would be highly speculative to suggest that the old, communal Ojibwa lifestyle has been directly retained from precontact times. Rather, the development of Sandy Lake might more readily be explained as idiosyncratic.

Sandy Lake is a dry reserve, a regulation rather strictly enforced among both Indians and whites. On occasion, alcohol is sneaked in and an incident occurs which requires action on the part of the native RCMP constables, but there is essentially no crime in the community. For native Sandy Lakers the reserve is a good place to stay or to return, not a place from which to escape. Although the people are slow to accept strangers, whites who have managed to survive the initial culture shock speak fondly of the place and respectfully and even affectionately of many of its citizens.

## NOTES: Sandy Lake

## a.) General community background

1. See map, plate 1.
2. Herbert T. Schwartz, Windigo and Other Tales of the Ojibways (Toronto 1969), 20-24. In this version, the covetous Indian shrinks his brother into a small piece of limestone and throws him into Sandy Lake, where he dissolves giving the lake its odd colour.
3. Ray and Stevens, Sacred Legends, 1.
4. Reverend F.G. Stevens, "Sandy Lake -- 1897 -- Rev. F.G. Stevens", Toronto Native Times Vol. II no. 3 (April 1980), 4. This is one of a series of articles taken from the actual journal of Rev. Stevens.
5. Ray and Stevens, Sacred Legends, 1.
6. Ibid.
7. In Sacred Legends, page 1, Stevens refers to the people in Sandy Lake as "Anishinabek" which is one variation of the Ojibwa term for "The People". Cranes, Suckers, and Pelicans are Ojibwa clan names. In The Northern Ojibwa, note 23, page 105, Bishop adds to the confusion by stating that the Cranes of Round Lake derived the name from a band leader of the 1790's and may not be Ojibwa but actually Algonquins.  
Morley Kakapetum states that he is a member of the "Sucker Tribe, Soto Nation". Robert Kakegamic, cousin of Carl Ray, is referred to in Wah-Sa Gallery literature as "an Ojibwa (Swampy Cree)". Lloyd Kakapetum, nephew of Carl Ray, is called "Cree".  
A white informant at Sandy Lake reported the the community was 95% Saulteaux and the balance Ojibwa. A Hudson's Bay Company Library community file sheet, dated 1967, contains the information that the community is 87% Ojibway.
8. Sandy Lake Community file sheet dated 1967, Hudson's Bay Company Library, Winnipeg.
9. Aside from the information about Robert Whiteway, Rev. Stevens mentions that "Jimmie Kirkness, a Hudson's Bay servant, made several trips out to Sandy Lake each winter and that the Indians

came in to meet him and to trade with him,"  
Toronto Native Times, II, 3, 4.

10. Sandy Lake Community file sheet.
11. Stevens, Toronto Native Times, II, 6, 10.  
 Nearby Pikangikum signed treaty in 1876, Bishop,  
The Northern Ojibwa, 101.
12. Bishop, The Northern Ojibwa, 99.
13. Stevens, Toronto Native Times, II, 5, 12.
14. Ibid., II, 3, 8.
15. Ibid., II, 5, 10.
16. Ibid., II, 5, 8.
17. Ibid., II, 6, 10.
18. Dunning, Social and Economic, 181.
19. Gene Ritchie Monahan, An Experiment in Art Exposure Among  
 the Indians of the Isolated Communities of Northwestern  
 Ontario at Sandy Lake Reserve, June 15 -- July 15, 1968.  
 Report for the Department of Education of Ontario, 7-8.  
 Other sources suggest that Tom Fiddler actually retired in 1965.
20. Old group loyalties, religious division particularly between  
 Roman Catholic and United Church, and neighbourhood rivalries  
 are part of the social makeup of Sandy Lake. In addition  
 there is division between traditionalists and modernists.
21. My admission to Sandy Lake had to be secured through the  
 Chief and Council and my intentions had to be made known.
22. This was actually carried out in 1978 by Chief Jacob Fiddler  
 in order to assure that the entire community turned out for the  
 funeral of Carl Ray. This is some indication of the official  
 respect held for Carl in the community.
23. The Manito'ki'wak at Sandy Lake is described by Rogers,  
The Round Lake Ojibwa, D11-D13.
24. Ibid., D12.
25. Stevens, Toronto Native Times, II, 6, 10.

26. These anecdotes were related to me by Mike and Sarah McCabe as were the comments on the effects of television on the people of Sandy Lake.
27. Dewdney and Kidd, Indian Rock Paintings, 59.
28. Ibid., 60.
29. Ibid., 59.
30. I do not think that these paintings have yet been recorded and I did not get the opportunity to see them for myself.
31. Monahan, An Experiment, 14.
32. Hallowell, Culture and Experience, 342.
33. Monahan, An Experiment, 15.

b) The Artists of Sandy Lake

Rather than to provide comprehensive biographies of the artists or to include an extensive catalogue of their works, my intention here is to present information about historical events and social circumstances which may explain in part the development of a Sandy Lake school of art. I will offer examples of paintings by several artists and examine their attitudes to their work and to art production and marketing in general.

By all accounts, Carl Ray (1943-1978) was the first artist in Sandy Lake. One youngster of Carl's talent and enthusiasm might understandably be present in a population the size of Sandy Lake's. Carl was a boy who loved to draw and paint and encouraged his school friends to do the same. But the images of Carl's work were quite different from those of the southern, white youngster. Carl was inspired by tales told to him by his mother, the daughter of the revered old chief Robert Fiddler and sister to the other great shaman-chief Tom Fiddler -- tales of Windigo, Paukak, Ja-Ka-Baysh, Weesakayjac, and the spirit and animal creatures of the woods, the waters, and the skies. Carl's work drew the attention of whites working in Sandy Lake and he sold his first painting to a nurse for five dollars. Carl was the only male in the household. When Carl was nine, his father died. Three older sisters and an older brother succumbed to tuberculosis. The chance to financially assist his mother and three remaining sisters was difficult to resist despite the fear

and suspicion of some people in the village that Carl's spiritual images could be dangerous. Certainly Carl feared that witchcraft was being used against him and throughout his life had doubts as to the rightness of his artistic efforts. It is difficult to know if these concerns in fact caused him to quit, or whether the more lucrative work in the mines was simply a better choice.

Perhaps the most significant event in Sandy Lake art history and in the career of Carl Ray was sheer historical accident. Several years earlier, c.1958, a Sandy Lake girl named Harriet Kakegamic had married a man named Norval Morrisseau and the couple had lived largely in the Beardmore area. In 1966, about the time that Carl returned from his absence in the mines and the tuberculosis sanitorium, the Morrisseau family took up residence in Sandy Lake.

It is difficult to assess the kind of relationship that developed between the two artists, but in 1967 both the well-known Morrisseau and the virtually unknown Ray held commissions for the Indian pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal. The controversial exhibit thrust both Canadian native art and native artists into the limelight. Further, it is rumoured that a large part of Morrisseau's work there was in fact executed by Ray as Norval was frequently indisposed.

These circumstances may have given birth to Carl's own unique eclecticism of western and X-ray styles, although a comprehensive study of Ray's earliest works would be necessary to this thesis. Certainly much of Ray's early work was in an essentially western tradition, a

style to which he frequently reverted. Hughes presents one view.

When before he was murdered Carl Ray produced "art" for money in times of dire need, with quite cynical and deliberate honesty he broke with his authentic style and created three-dimensional, quasi-naturalistic kitsch, commonly of the moose or deer ankle-deep-in-water variety designed for the tourist trade. He knew exactly what he was doing and such works do not stand in gaudy accusation of him for prostituting his art or exploiting his culture. Rather these works utterly condemn the debased tastes of the white audience at which he directs these works, as well as the society which created such tastes and which condemns artists of his calibre to waste time painting trash of this kind in order to eat.<sup>1</sup>

I can agree with Hughes' discussion of economic motivation which was certainly of major significance to Carl Ray according to his wife Helen and many who knew him. However, the stylistic polarities described by Hughes may be too extreme. Certainly Carl Ray produced kitsch, much of which surfaced after his death at inflated prices. Plate 29a might be considered of that type. There exists, however, a broad range of quasi-naturalistic works which reflect to varying degrees Carl's control of his medium, technical dexterity, and native spirituality and sense of narrative. Whether plates 29b and 29c are kitsch must surely be a matter of opinion. Plates 29d and 29e are in a naturalistic style but reflect the native sense of spirituality and the narrative themes of the "boy and the moon"

and "Paukak the flying skeleton". Similarly, plates 30a through 30d are more than mere forest creatures. Plates 32a, 31b, and 31c show legendary themes and the influence of the X-ray style. This eclecticism is even more apparent in plates 31d and 31e. The works are all from the period of the early 1970's. At the same time Carl had totally developed the X-ray style as seen in plates 32 through 34, all taken from the 1971 publication he co-authored with James Stevens, Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree. As the buying public came to appreciate and demand the X-ray style, Carl's efforts were increasingly directed to such works as those seen in plates 35 through 36. Carl's human, animal, and spirit beings never lost their vigour and the works all retain the sense of legend or narrative.<sup>2</sup> Bernard Cinader has perhaps quite rightly called Ray "the most accomplished of Ontario's native graphic artists".<sup>3</sup>

Although Carl occasionally got drunk and declared himself to be "Jesus Christ", he was essentially a quiet, shy man. In the late 1960's and early 1970's Carl taught art in a number of northern communities. These lessons were more in the form of demonstrations as Carl would paint but would not talk about the work. Some say that Helen, whom he married in 1967, was the driving force in his career. Carl lived in Sandy Lake all his life, leaving only to buy supplies and sell his art. Unlike a number of artists, he eschewed the white world and stayed among his people. Although many of the thousands of dollars Carl might earn on a trip to Winnipeg or some other centre would be dissipated among friends before he returned, he was generous

with community members, perhaps to a fault. Not only did Carl share the proceeds of his work, but he shared his talents. Many of the young Sandy Lake artists to be discussed below got their inspiration and learned their craft by observing Carl at work. There are no garrets in Sandy Lake and an artist simply sets up in a corner of a room in the tiny house that is typical in Sandy Lake. There he works among the day to day goings on of the household, in full view of relatives and visitors. While most of the artists of Sandy Lake claim to be self-taught, the process of osmosis cannot be overlooked.

Carl Ray died September 23, 1978, brutally beaten to death by a cousin, Eli Beardy, at a Sioux Lookout hotel room drinking party, an event Sandy Lakers consider a "terrible accident". Prices for Carl Ray's work immediately escalated and several of the young men who had learned at Carl's elbow took up art in order to capitalize on their association with him. In death as in life, Carl Ray showed the way to Sandy Lake painters.

In the late 1960's, brothers Josh (born 1953) and Goyce (born 1948) Kakegamic began to paint, lead by the success of Carl Ray and their brother-in-law Norval Morrisseau. Although Morrisseau was in Sandy Lake for only a short time, 1966 to 1969, his presence was certainly significant, and the early works of both Josh and Goyce reflect his stylistic influence. Unlike Ray and Morrisseau, Josh and Goyce were highly educated by reserve standards -- Josh attended residential school in the-Niagara-region-and-Goyce-studied-at

Federation College in Thunder Bay and the University of Western Ontario in London, subsequently working as a high school councillor in Sioux Lookout and then for the provincial government in the Departments of Economic Development and Culture and Recreation. In 1973, with the spirit of self-determination previously observed in Sandy Lake and with concern for Indian control within the art field, Josh, Goyce, and a third brother Henry set up the Triple I Cooperative in Red Lake.

In moving to Red Lake for this enterprise, the Kakegamics were not totally abandoning Sandy Lake. Red Lake is situated at the northern end of the highway to the southern markets and as the nearest white community has long been the place where Sandy Lakers "went to town". About eighty percent of the population of 6,000 is white and the remaining native portion is made up in large part of former Sandy Lake residents who came to the community to work in the mines and have settled more or less permanently.

Morrisseau served as an adviser to the Triple K Cooperative and has had several print series produced by the Kakegamics. A few artists from nearby communities such as Pikangikum and Round Lake have also used the printmaking service. The production part of the business closed down in 1978 but retail sales continue.

Josh's early work stylistically owed much to the influence of Morrisseau<sup>5</sup> as can be seen in plate 37a, a writhing serpent with shaking tent produced in 1973. The loon of plate 37b, done in 1974, has less of the electric, spiritual quality and the tighter composition

that was to be found in later works. "Loon's Flight" of plate 37c, done in 1976, shows a departure in style to some degree although the power lines and moons would remain part of Josh's trademark. Plate 38a is one of a few pieces which represent the three brothers of Triple K with symbolic interaction of Josh's mind with the hands of his brothers. However the subject matter of most of Josh's work is the depiction of the old ways as seen in plates 38b and 38c and the spirit creatures of plate 39. All these works are from 1980 and show the diminished spirituality and cooler closed forms of Josh's current style. The paired pieces of plate 39 illustrate three composition types repeated in numerous recent works.

Goyce Kakegamic's early work also shows the influence of Morrisseau in some of the forms, but there is additionally a cool, almost decorative quality similar to that found in the work of Jackson Beardy, an Island Lake artist who achieved considerable fame and exposure in the early 1970's and who is still one of the major artists of the Woodlands school. Plates 40a and 40b of works done by Goyce in 1977 are examples of this style. However the 1978 works illustrated in plates 40c, 40d and 41a through 41d show a considerable departure to a flowing, curvilinear style. This style is maintained in plates 42a and 42b, works done in 1979 and 1980 respectively. Goyce's works generally depict the old ways and animal and spirit creatures.

Morley Kakepetum (born 1936) became an artist by accident. In 1964 he suffered a serious leg injury and was laid up for over a year. Carl Ray visited Morley in the hospital, bringing paints and paper and instructions on becoming an artist. Ray later took Morley around to various dealers and collectors to assist him with the sale of his paintings. The early influence of Ray has remained very apparent in Morley's work. Although Morley occasionally does quasi-naturalistic works such as that seen in plate 43a, his style more often reflects the same strong motion and emotion found in Ray's work. Morley's animal figures have a definite spiritual quality as seen in plates 43b, 43c, and 43d. Often he depicts magico-religious events of the traditional ways as in plates 44a, and 44b. Like Morrisseau, Morley sometimes creates erotic images as in plate 44c. Plates 44d and 44e show that Morley is able to make concessions to the current market demand for decorative bird images but the figures never quite lose their vigour. His portfolio has considerable variety. All pieces shown here were done in 1981.

Morley Kakepetum experienced the vision quest and follows many of the traditional ways. He is reserved and reluctant to leave the community. Morley sells mainly to private individuals or groups or through Native Friendship Centres. There have been a few exhibitions of his work but Morley is somewhat suspicious of the gallery system. While something of a loner in Sandy Lake, nevertheless, Morley was the person who brought all the young artists around to see me at the nursing station where I stayed.

Robert Kakegamic (born 1944) began painting in the early 1970's. His first works were of the moose-ankle-deep-in-water variety but he later adopted the X-ray style. His subject matter is generally animals and particularly birds. They have a benign rather than spiritual quality -- plate 45c is entitled "Tranquility Disturbed" yet there is no real sense of agitation. In 1979 Robert produced a very successful print series of owls -- plate 45a, a painting of that year is indicative of the style. Plates 45b, 45c, 45d and 45e were all produced in 1981 and show various approaches to the bird motif. The influence of Robert's work on several of the young Sandy Lake painters will become evident.

The art of Robert Kakegamic reflects the nature of the man. Robert is a quiet, unassuming, abstaining family man, responsible community member, and a lay minister in the Gospel Church. He shares his resources in constructive ways and takes a keen interest in helping and encouraging the young artists, taking them to the dealers and buyers as Carl Ray did before him. He expresses deep concern about quality and quantity control in art production.

Johnson Meekis (born 1954) began painting in 1970. His early subjects were animals, birds, and reptiles such as the beaver of plate 46a, done in 1975. The style, composition, and use of solid colour areas is very similar to an earlier work by Jackson Beardy but with a touch of the intensity of Ray's creatures. Plate 46b shows a very different style developed by Meekis in 1980, and the strong use

of line. The works of plate 47, also from 1980, are further examples of Johnson's personal approach to the old ways and the hooded figures that are prominent among his subjects. The figures of plate 48 are additional 1980 expressions of the multicolour lineal technique that is Johnson Meekis' trademark.

Johnson Meekis left Sandy Lake to study education at Lakehead University but later returned to teach English and history in the reserve school. He continues to paint and his influence can be detected in the work of some of the young artists.

Lloyd Kakepetum (born 1958) is the nephew of Carl Ray. Lloyd often observed his uncle at work and began to paint in 1974. He made art a serious pursuit only after the death of Ray in 1978 but has achieved considerable success and recognition in the short period since. Plate 49a of a 1979 work shows the strong influence of Carl Ray both in form and spiritual quality. In two works of 1980 -- plates 49b and 49c -- the Ray form and theme are still evident but the figures are somewhat more static and less emotional than similar works by Ray. The paintings shown in plate 50 and 51 are all dated 1981 and were included in one portfolio ready for sale. Plates 50a and 50b are standard Ray forms while the owl of plate 50c shows the influence of Robert Kakegamic. The animals of plate 50d are similar to Ray's work but the feather has been added. Lloyd explains the feather as "the power", perhaps a reference to the old Ojibwa custom of painting feathers with achievement indicators. The birds of

plates 50f through 50h show many influences -- Ray, Robert Kakegamic, Beardy, Wescoupe, and Chee Chee. The compositional pairs illustrated in plate 51 show a kind of formula approach that Lloyd has used in many works.

In 1980, Lloyd and cousins Eddie and Roger Kakepetum moved to Toronto to produce and market their work. After several months they returned home to Sandy Lake. Helen Ray says that people from Sandy Lake "always want to come back".

Eddie Kakepetum (born 1954) also began painting after the death of Carl Ray and has very quickly developed his own distinctive version of the curvilinear bird motif. The owls of plate 52a show the influence of Robert Kakegamic as do the birds of the other illustrations. However in these latter works, there are elements which suggest the work of Wescoupe, Beardy, and Chee Chee. All pieces are from 1981.

Roger Kakepetum (born 1957), Eddie's brother, likewise began painting seriously in 1979. Plates 53a and 53b show works produced in 1980 in a style much like that of Johnson Meekis. The paintings of plates 53c and 53d were done in 1981 and show a sharp change to the X-ray approach and the fuller figure. Roger states that he is not a legend painter, and that his themes relate to his own experiences with the creatures of the forest. He did not see the Sasquatch of plate 53c but drew the image from "what it might have been like". The image

of plate 53d bears a strong resemblance to Ray's work -- see plate 36c. Roger says that it does not represent a shaman with spirit helpers, but himself with the animals. The paintings seen in plate 54 lack the spiritual qualities of Ray's work, and are largely in the decorative bird tradition of recent Sandy Lake works. They reflect the artist's sense of humour. Many pieces are painted in the typical Woodlands browns and blues but several are done largely in greys -- Roger wanted to try "something different". The rapid development from the awkward linear pieces of 1980 to the smooth, sophisticated designs of plate 54 is indicative of the conscientious efforts the artists put into producing high quality, saleable work and a signature style.

Rocky Fiddler (born 1958) was born in Kenora, Ontario, and after five difficult early years was adopted by a Sandy Lake couple, Dario and Julia Fiddler -- the positive community atmosphere has made Sandy Lake a favourite placement centre for the Children's Aid Society. Rocky completed high school in Ottawa and after education training at Lakehead University may well, like Johnson Meekis, return home to Sandy Lake. The relationship between Rocky and Carl was strong and apparently Ray saw this young man as his protege. Plates 55a and 55b show the strong Ray influence in Rocky's painting. There is a more static quality evident in plate 55c showing that the student has not outdone the master but Rocky shows ample indication that he may be the one young Sandy Laker able to carry on the spiritual style of

Woodlands painting.

Saul Mamakesick (born 1957) is another Sandy Lake artist who has developed the decorative, curvilinear approach to painting. Particularly in plate 56a the influence of Wescoupe is evident -- long flowing lines and minimal bodies. Occasionally Saul paints more personal, introspective works but the market for them is limited. Saul is also a poet.

Peter Kakegamic (born 1961) has only recently decided to be a painter and has not yet attempted to sell his work in big centres like Winnipeg. At the time the works of plate 57 were observed in 1981, Peter had been painting for only a few months. The stylistic debt to local mentor Robert Kakegamic is evident as are some of the Ray forms. Despite his novice status, Peter, like all the young artists of Sandy Lake, uses only top quality paper and paints and the works are technically impeccable.<sup>6</sup>

Wally Kakepetum (born 1955) was also a painter of only a few months when the works of plate 58 were observed in 1981. He too has had extremely limited market exposure. His style and themes are much like those of Robert Kakegamic. Wally's paintings are quite similar to those of Peter Kakegamic but perhaps a little more static or stiff.

Raymond Kakepetum (born 1957) considers himself an artist "a little bit" and had been working for a couple of months when the works of plates 59a and 59b were observed in 1981. Again the painting is technically excellent and only quality materials are used. The other artists thought Raymond's paintings were "really good" and comments were made on how the forms were "like Chee Chee and Wescoupe". Raymond didn't know Chee Chee's work but had "seen stuff" by Wescoupe.

Dennis Kakegamic (born 1957) is probably the least skilled of the artists observed. He had only two pieces available as he had recently been to Thunder Bay and sold several works, mainly to university students. Although the painting illustrated in plate 59c lacks the sophistication and sense of design evident in other works presented here, the actual painting technique and materials used are of high quality.

In Jackson Beardy -- Life and Art, Hughes states that "The temptation -- despite the risks -- to call Morrisseau the romantic wing of the new art and Beardy the classical wing is scarcely resistable".<sup>7</sup> He contrasts the "intuitive boldness" of the former with the "calm, controlled rationality" of the latter. This kind of division may be found within Sandy Lake among the works and followers of Carl Ray and Robert Kakegamic respectively. In the Woodlands movement as a whole there is a similar division chronologically

between the early, active, spiritual style and the later, cool, static, decorative approach. The latter may be a shift in market emphasis due to the considerable popularity and wide distribution in the late 1970's of the work of Clemence Wescoupe and Benjamin Chee Chee. It may also signal a decline in the significance of the traditional spirit beings.

The artists of Sandy Lake spoke in a direct and frank manner about the art movement and their work -- acculturation has not yet produced the type of gallery jargon which afflicts more urban artists. They expressed concern over the high cost of good materials but acknowledged the necessity for them. They consider every piece "art" and make no distinction between good and bad. Each sheet in a pad of paper results in a saleable painting. With a couple of minor exceptions, the art of these artists is not displayed in their homes. The suggestion had been made to use several pieces to decorate the new band hall. However the council was unwilling to pay for the paintings and the artists were not prepared to make outright donations.

Sometimes the artists "can't" paint and other times can produce several works in a short period of time. Some paintings are done in three or four hours. All works I observed were of fine technical quality -- pride in craftsmanship is high and no slap-dash pieces were seen. The artists are conscious of a need for a signature style and often try out new colour schemes and forms. While the portfolios of the earlier artists exhibited wider variety, many of the works today

are characterized by an almost formula approach to subject, style and composition.

The artists are extremely reluctant to make qualitative comments of a negative nature. While their pricing structure clearly indicates a ranking of the artists, they declare that "it is not a competition". They assist each other with a willing identification of new buyers because "they are my friends or relatives and we all help each other".

The question of quantity control is of major interest. Comments were made about "seeing Wescoupe's work everywhere". Helen Ray and Robert Kakegamic particularly showed concern that the young artists are too readily prepared to have a print series made as a quick and easy source of money. One young artist had been persuaded by a graphics company to simply sign a thousand sheets of blank paper for prints that would be produced later. Yet on this remote reserve the artists talk easily of potential markets in Europe and Japan. There can be no doubt that Sandy Lake is a community of artists in the truest sense and marketing experts in embryo.

Perhaps the mood of the artists of Sandy Lake can be summed up in a poem by Saul Mamakeesick.

I look at other artists' paintings  
 feeling no critical spirit  
 Accepting what they have put to life  
 Reaching their goal through  
 depression and frustration  
 Trying to show that art has ways of  
 giving in to people who obey.<sup>8</sup>

NOTES: b) The artists of Sandy Lake

1. Hughes, "Jackson Beardy", 41.
2. Some of Carl Ray's last works, however, do show the influence of the trend to decorative bird themes.
3. Bernard Cinadar, Contemporary Native Art of Canada -- the Woodlands Indians (Toronto 1976), 5.
4. Some information on Triple K taken from Contemporary Native Art of Canada -- Silk Screens from the Triple K Co-operative, Red Lake, Ontario.
5. References to stylistic similarities or apparent influences are largely based on my own observations although, in several instances, the comments of knowledgeable collectors and dealers, and occasionally the artists themselves, have reinforced my statements.
6. By technical excellence or impeccability, I refer to sharp edges, smooth application of paint, clean ground, and good composition features such as balance and spacing. I was struck by this "technical" ability of all the young and even novice artists whose work I observed.
7. Hughes, "Jackson Beardy", 48.
8. Poem by Saul Mamakeesick taken from an undated Wah-Sa Gallery exhibition invitation.

## V. Observations

Studies of the Lake Superior and northwestern Ontario regions show a wide range in acculturation, due in large part to the proximity of whites and the extent and nature of white economic and religious activity in areas previously and currently occupied by native people. Even in the remotest hinterlands there is considerable variation in the history and character of Indian communities.

Acculturation in Sandy Lake may well be idiosyncratic and based largely on geographic remoteness and strong local leadership in spiritual, political, economic, and social matters. Certainly many of the traditional beliefs and practices were retained at Sandy Lake long after they were lost or substantially diminished in other areas. The social environment of Sandy Lake appears to have been a significant factor in the development of a large art-producing community, which itself reflects the non-atomistic, old native values of communality and sharing, pride and care in craftsmanship, and communion with the natural world.

Despite the richness of the artistic traditions of the people of this study, there is little evidence for continuity of themes or styles directly into the present. Rather, the personal experiences of Norval Morrisseau produced an economic opportunity and sparked a reculturative drive, particularly among those people for whom the mythology, if not the forms, still held some meaning. On both counts Sandy Lake was fertile ground and further fortunate to experience both

the historic accident of Morrisseau's brief presence and the local talent of Carl Ray. Carl directed his subsequent success back into the community that he never left for the white world.

For many years Carl Ray shared his talent and expertise with those who gathered around him out of curiosity or with more serious intent to follow his lead. After Ray's death the role was filled in part by Robert Kakegamic, also a man of prestige, who serves as a new role model and instructs young artists in the psychology, pitfalls, and skills of marketing their work. The new artists also have a tendency to remain in Sandy Lake, thus perpetuating what is essentially an apprenticeship system.

This study has addressed some of the concerns raised in chapter II by Graburn, Brody, Silver, Linton, and others.

While there is a body of opinion which denigrates Indian art as neither "Indian" nor "art" and another which perceives and promotes it as "aboriginal expression", the growing popularity of Woodlands painting is ample evidence of a buying public prepared to accept it on its own terms. While it is difficult to see Woodlands art as purely aboriginal in style, motif, or function, neither can it be perceived as simply Uncle Tomism, given the context of production, the method of acquisition of skills, and the sources of inspiration.

There are novel factors in the nature of the media and techniques which must be considered of white origin. Many of the aboriginal motifs and themes have been recycled or revived from white resource materials. White contact has altered the lifestyle of native

people, created an economic vacuum, and provided an opportunity for material gain through the production and sale of art. The aboriginal forms have lost their private and religious secrecy and adorn the homes and shops of the white man. Yet in an abstract way the ancient functions of both power and direction are being served.

The art movement in Sandy Lake has been led directly by individuals of prestige within the community and indirectly by other successful Indian artists such as Beardy and Wescoupe. Indian artists have as their heroes and models other Indian artists.

While the strength and significance of preexisting traditions is somewhat unclear, Sandy Lake is certainly high on the scale of communities with surviving resources. Initially the perceived fit of magico-religious art themes and symbols with current art was a source of resistance. Time and the material success of artistic efforts have in large part diminished this problem.

In conclusion, before criticizing the Woodlands painting school and other native arts for economic motives, apparent stylistic inbreeding, and the search for a signature style, we might rather question whether a similar pattern exists in the development of our own artists and the movements of "western" art history.

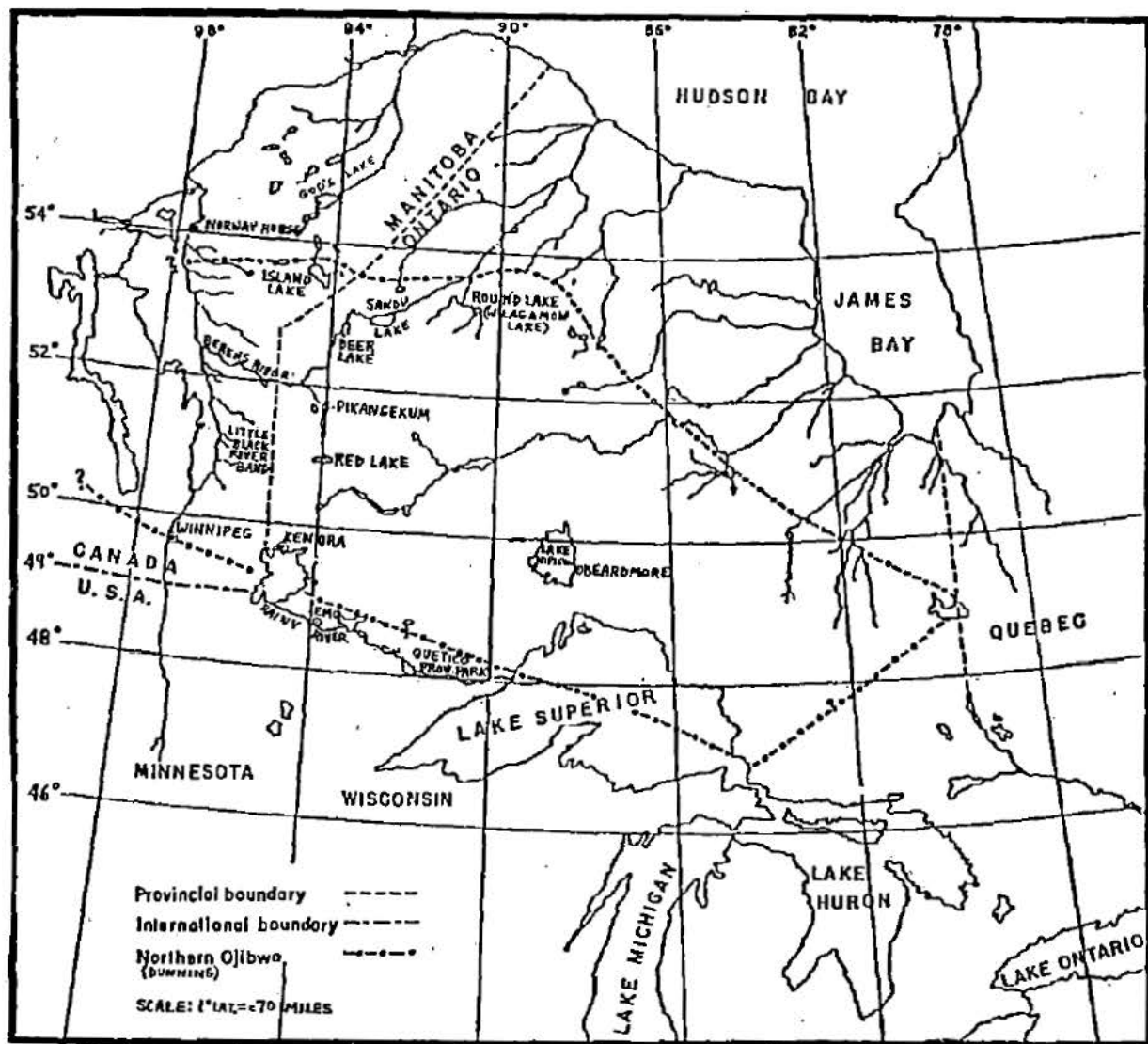
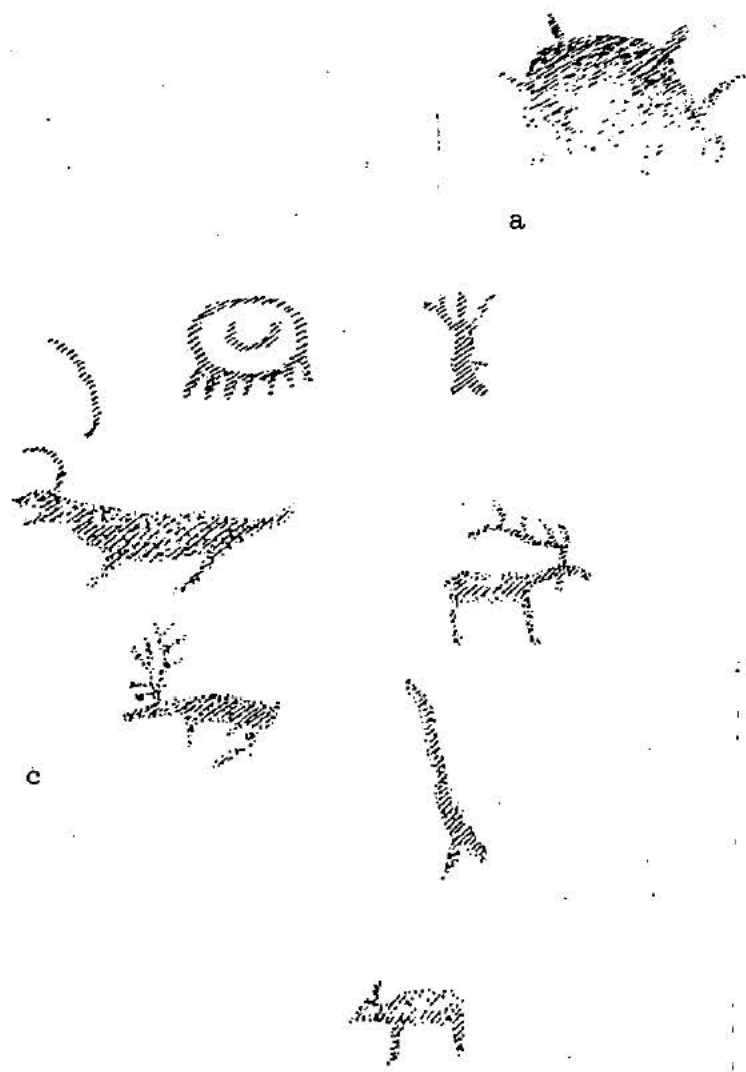
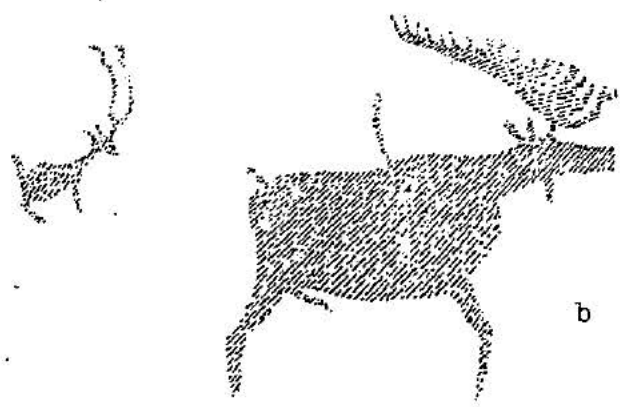


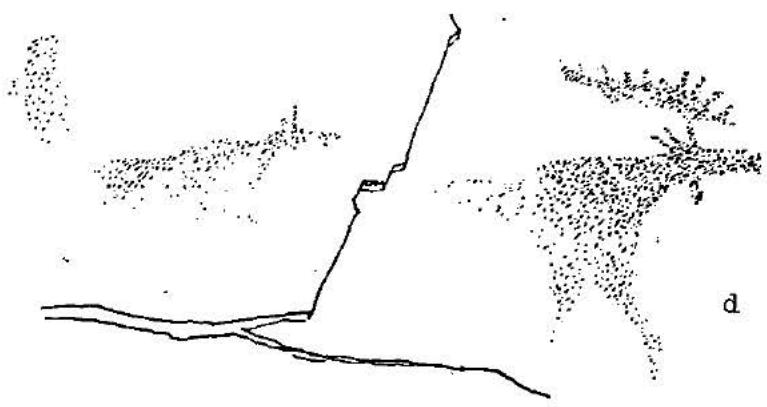
Plate 1



a



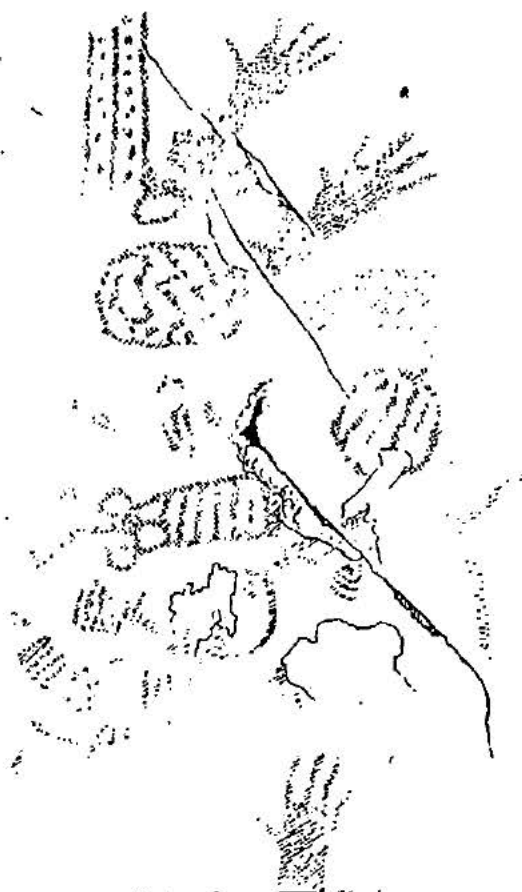
b



d



a



b

Plate 3

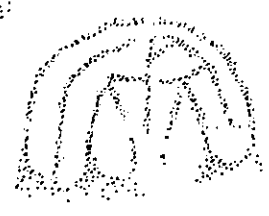
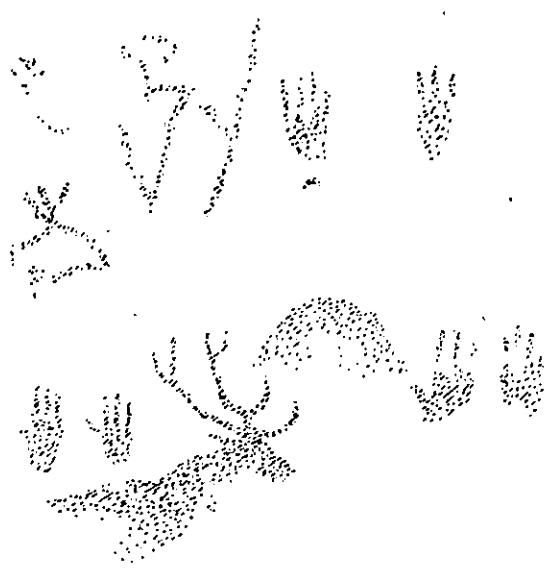


a



b

c



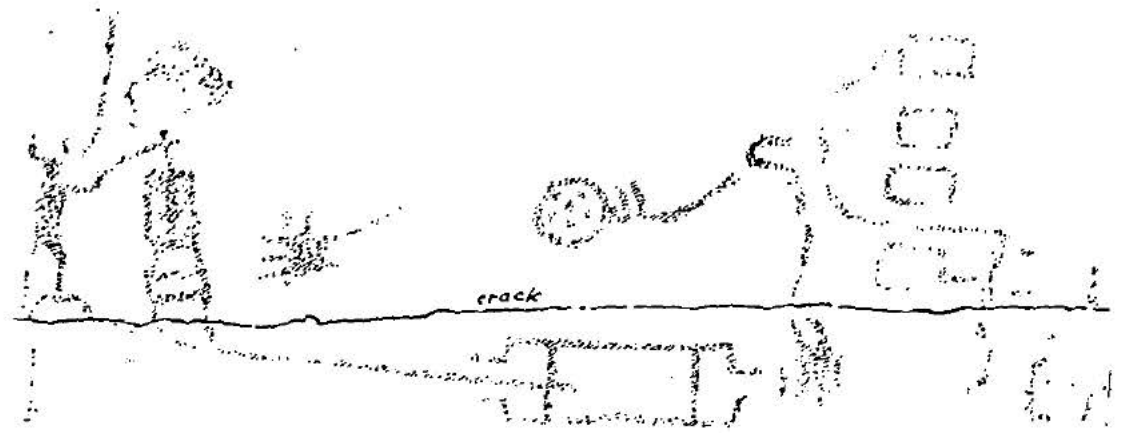
d



a



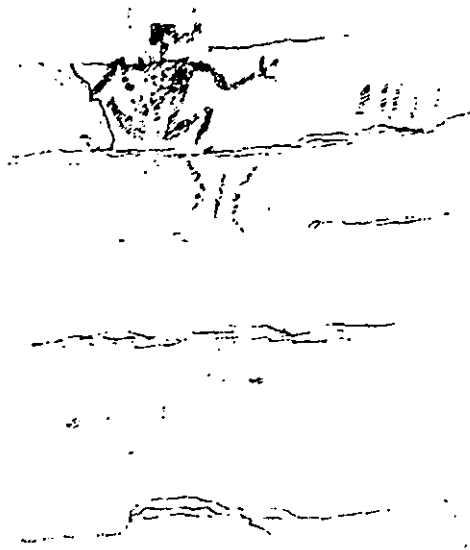
b



a



b



a

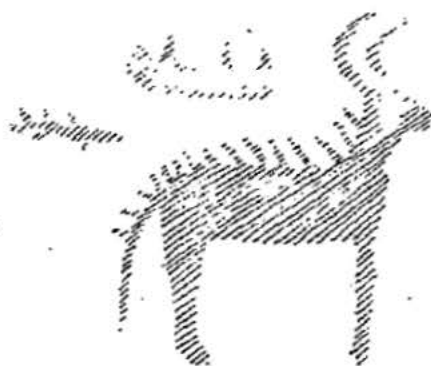


b



c

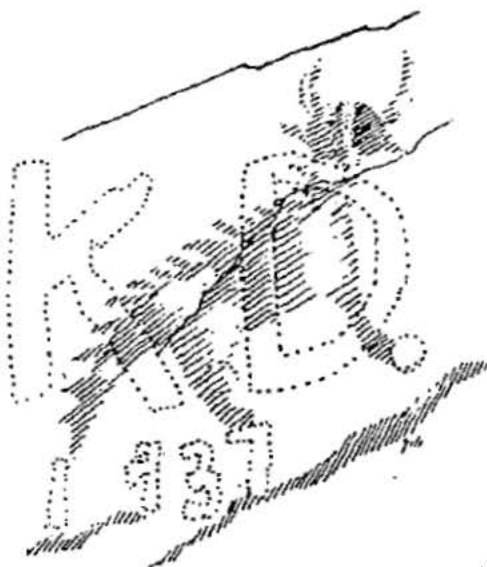




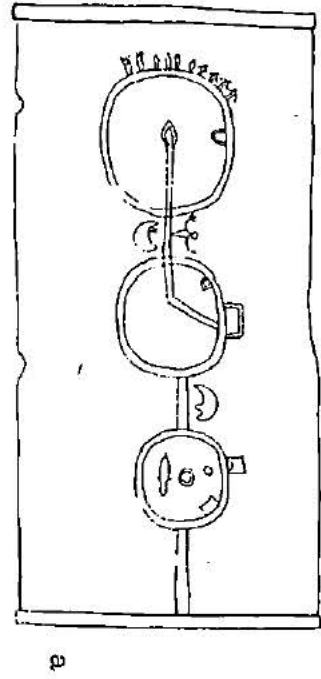
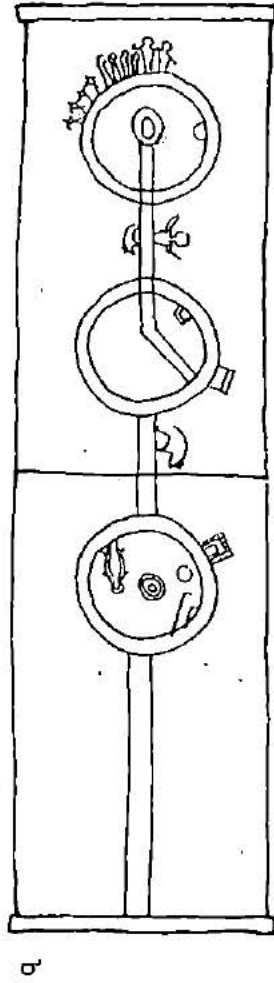
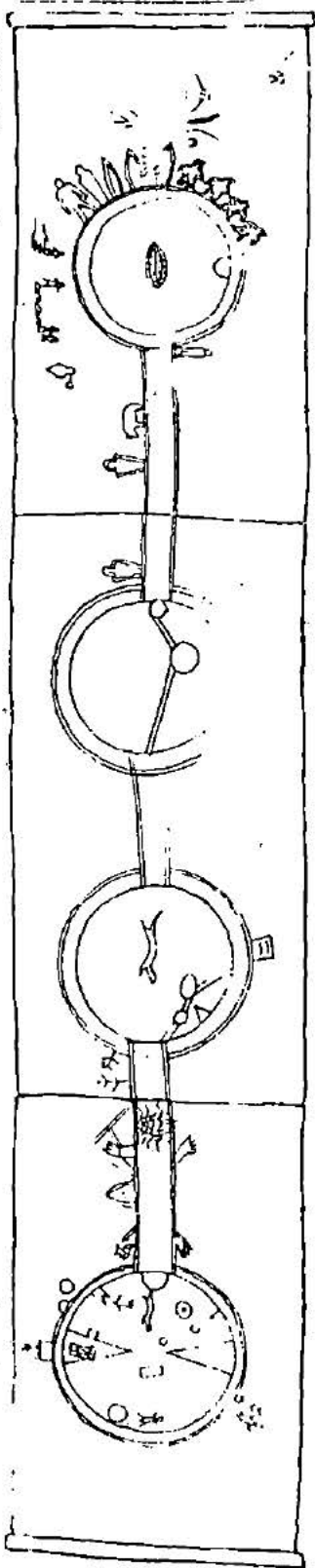
p

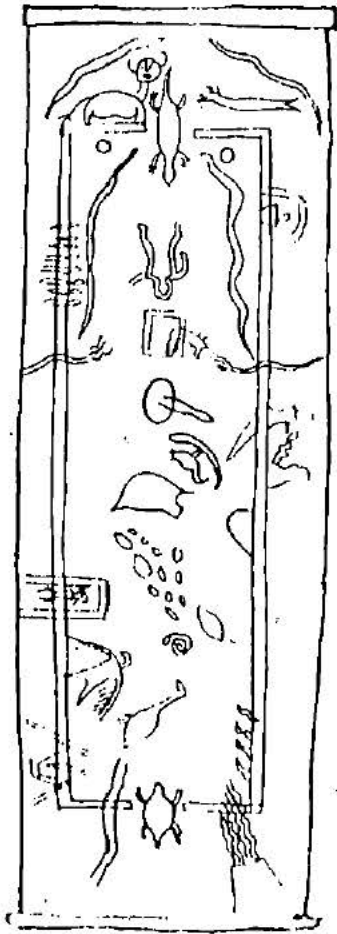


b

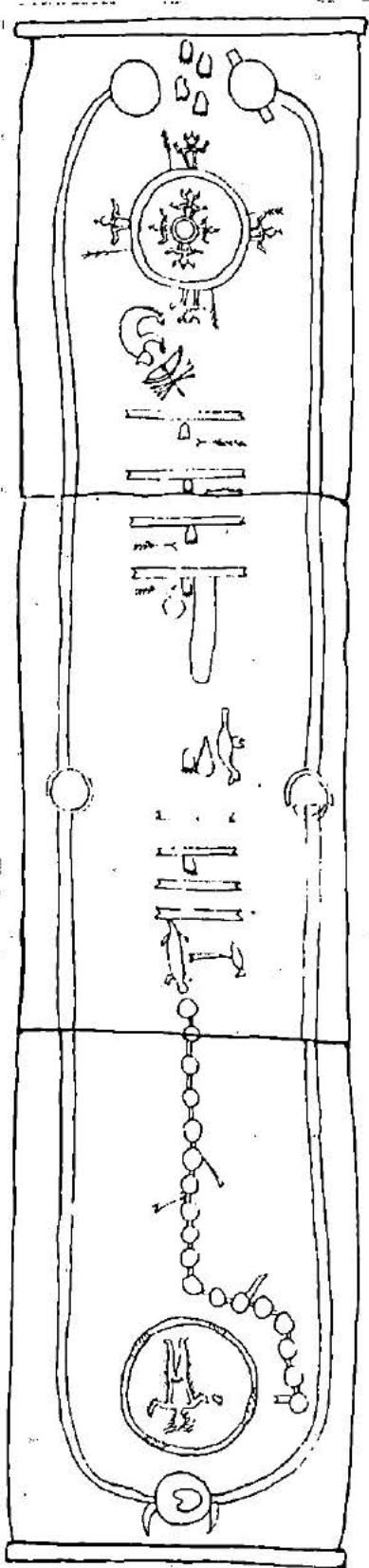


c



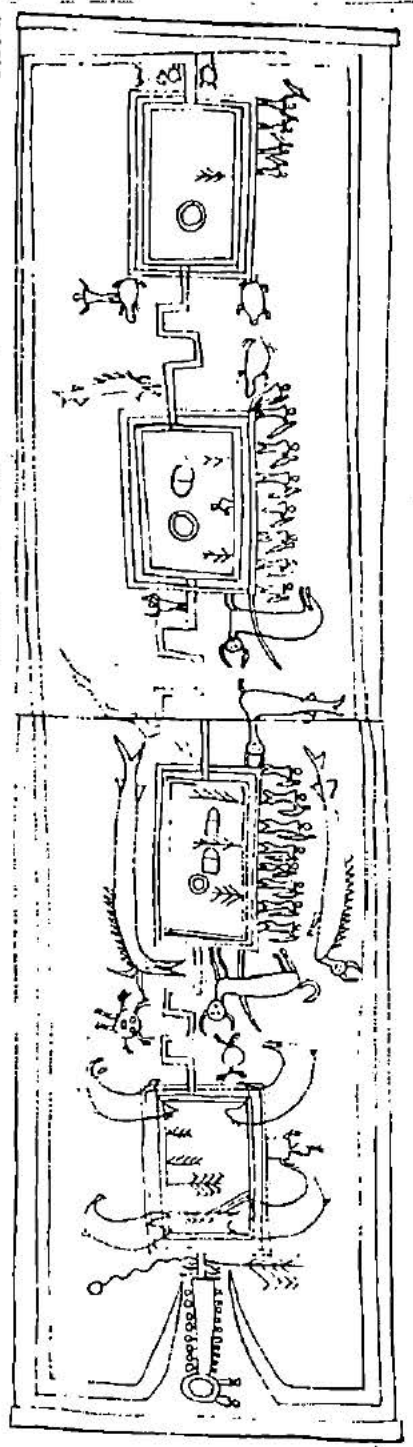


a

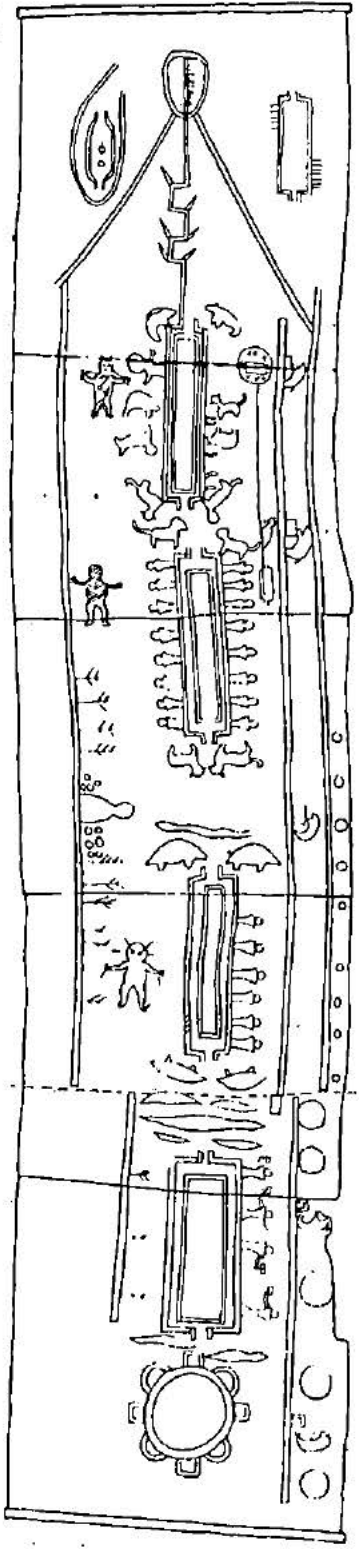


b

Plate 11



a



b

Plate 12

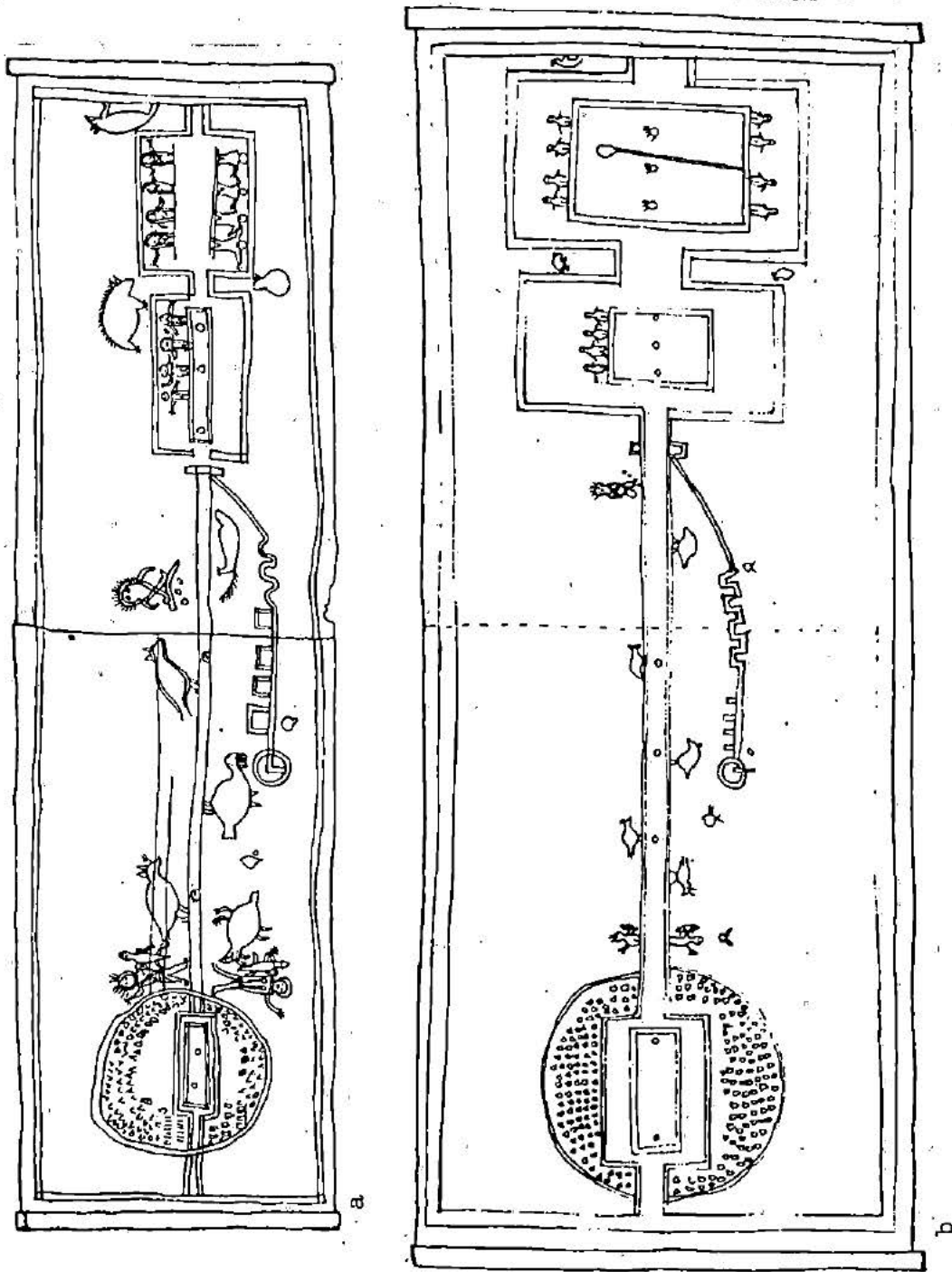
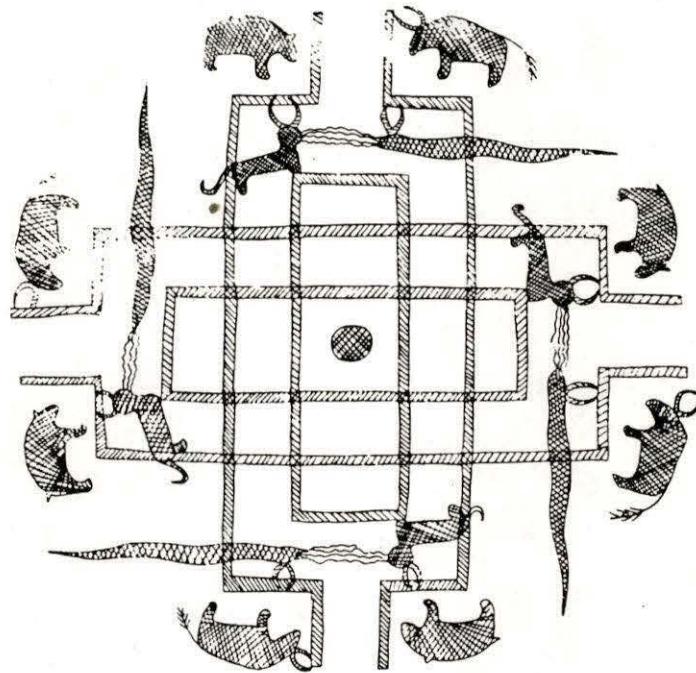
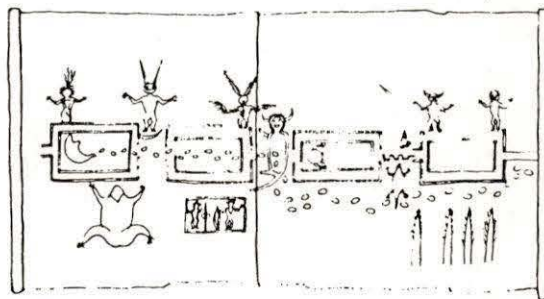


Plate 13



a



b

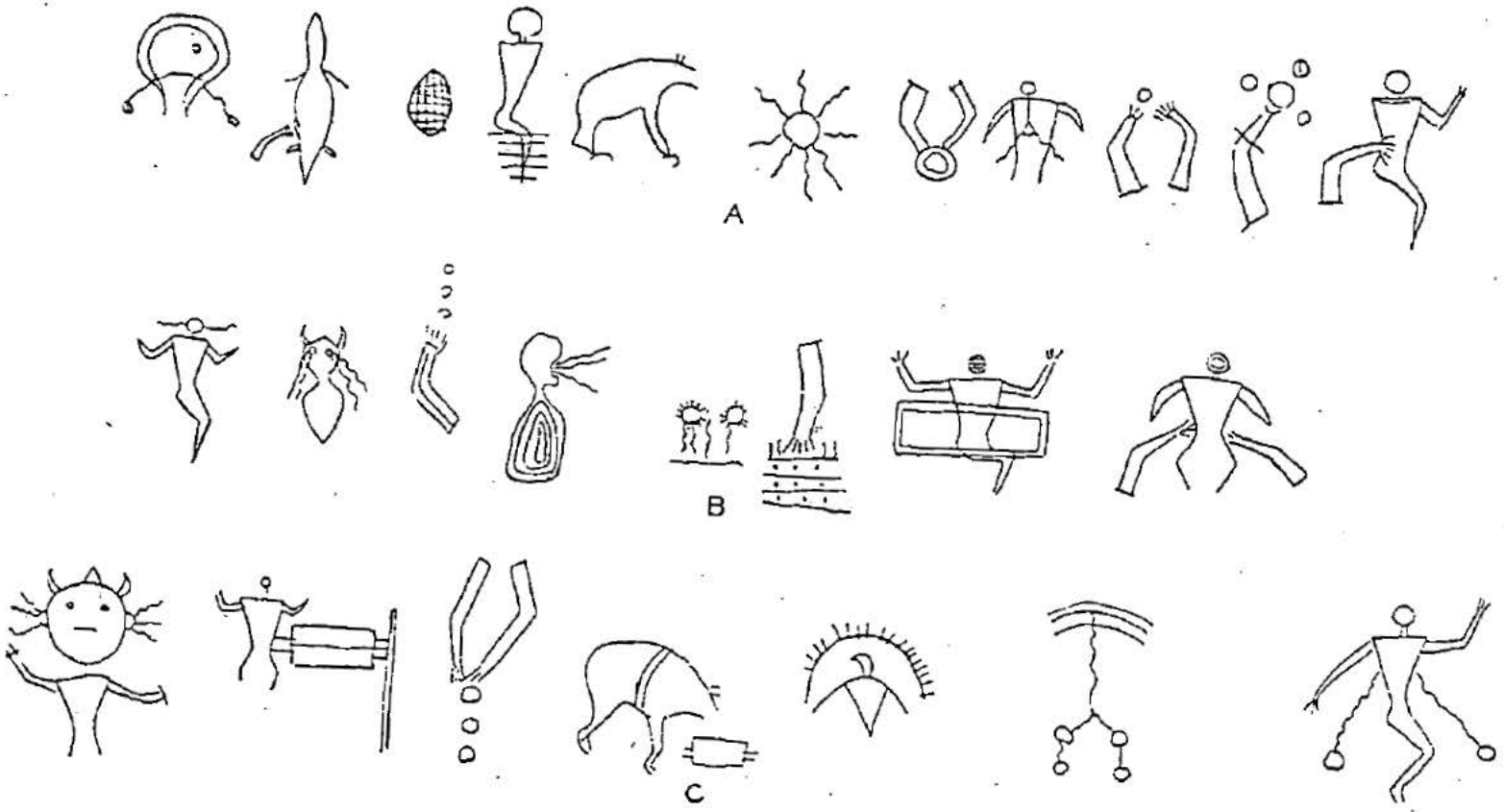
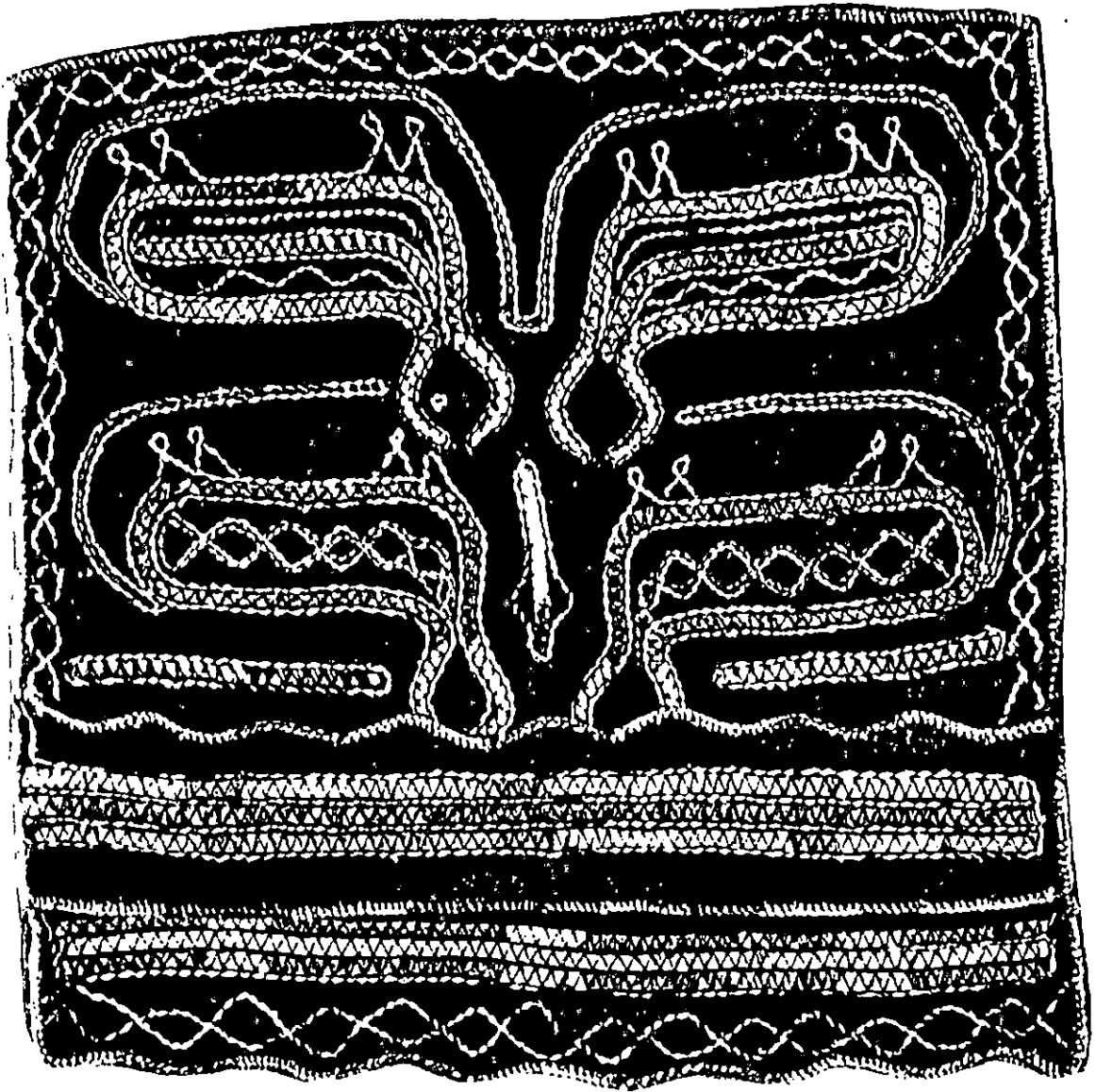


Plate 15





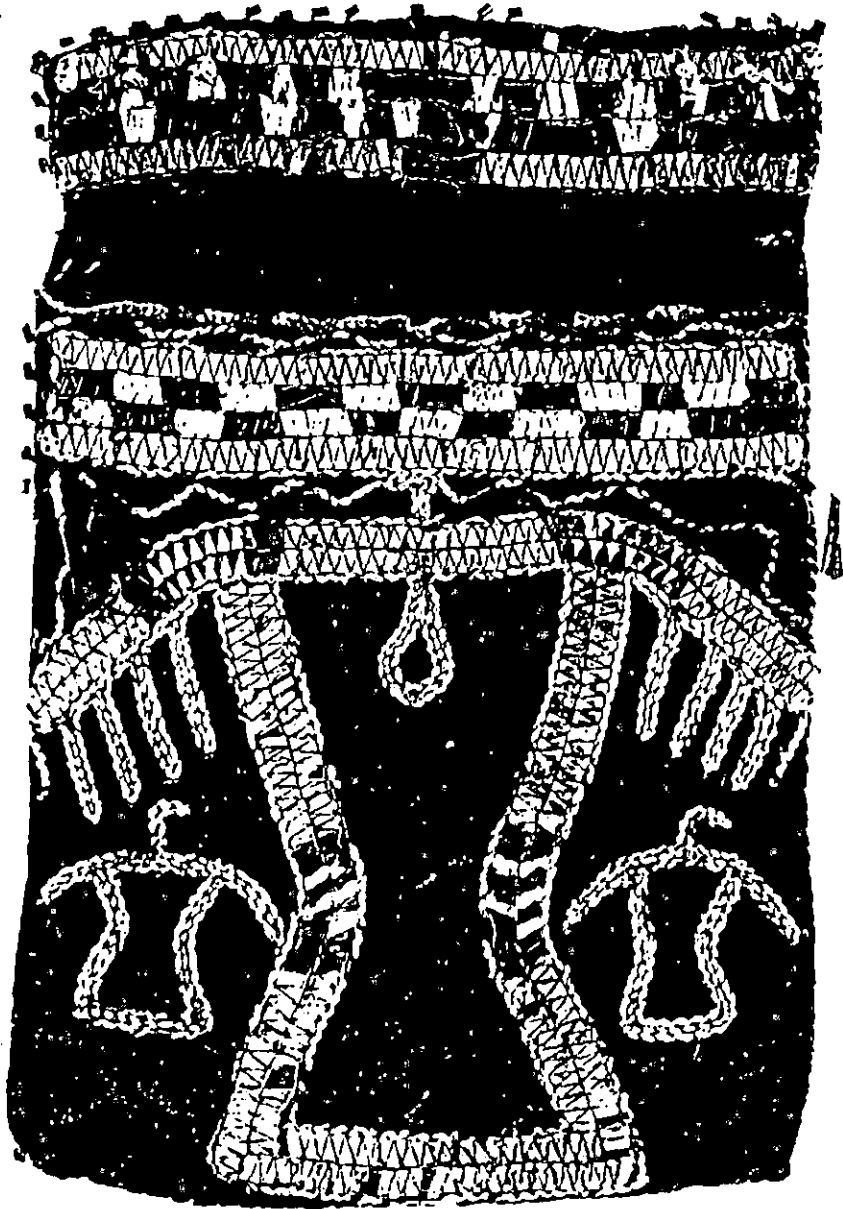


Plate 18



Plate 19

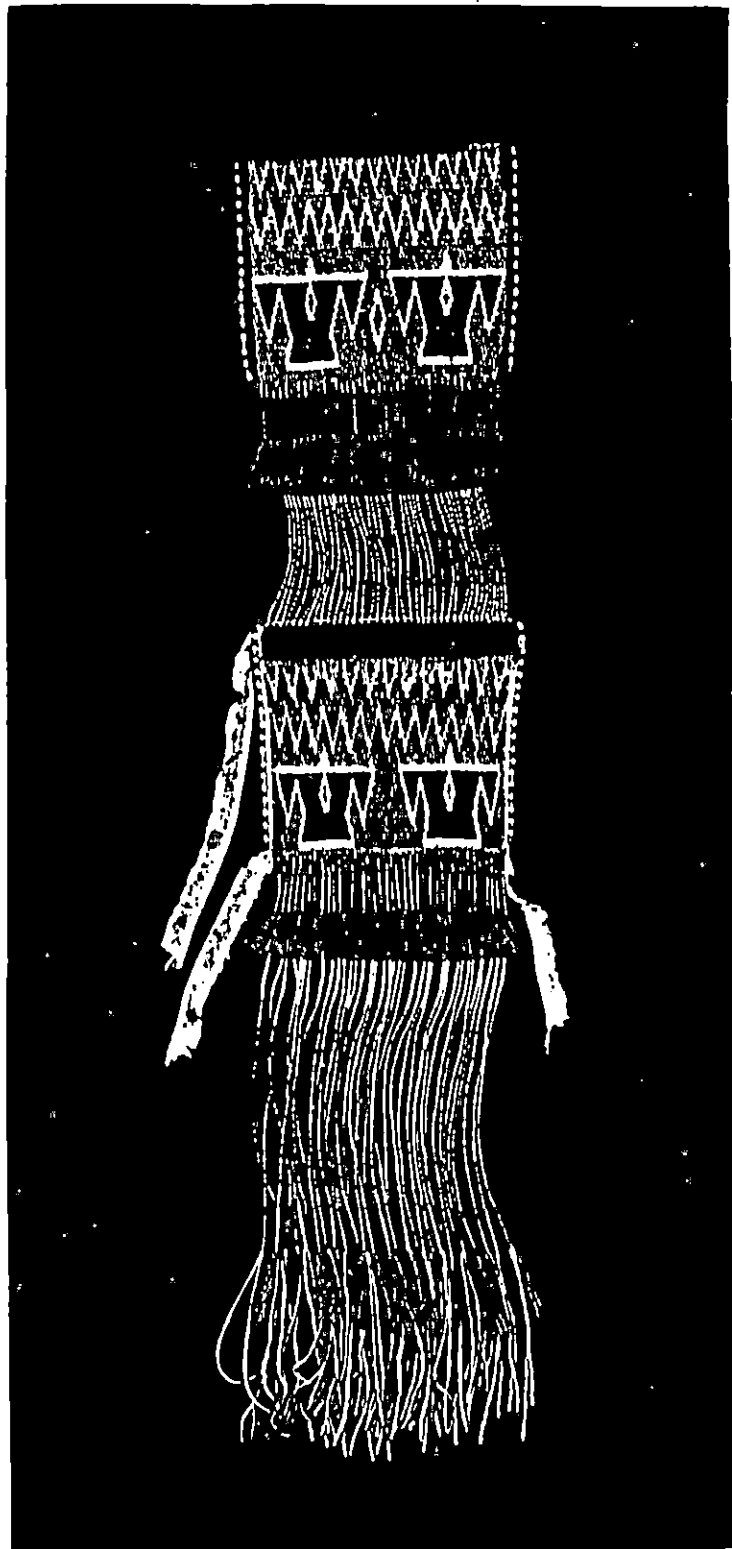


Plate .20

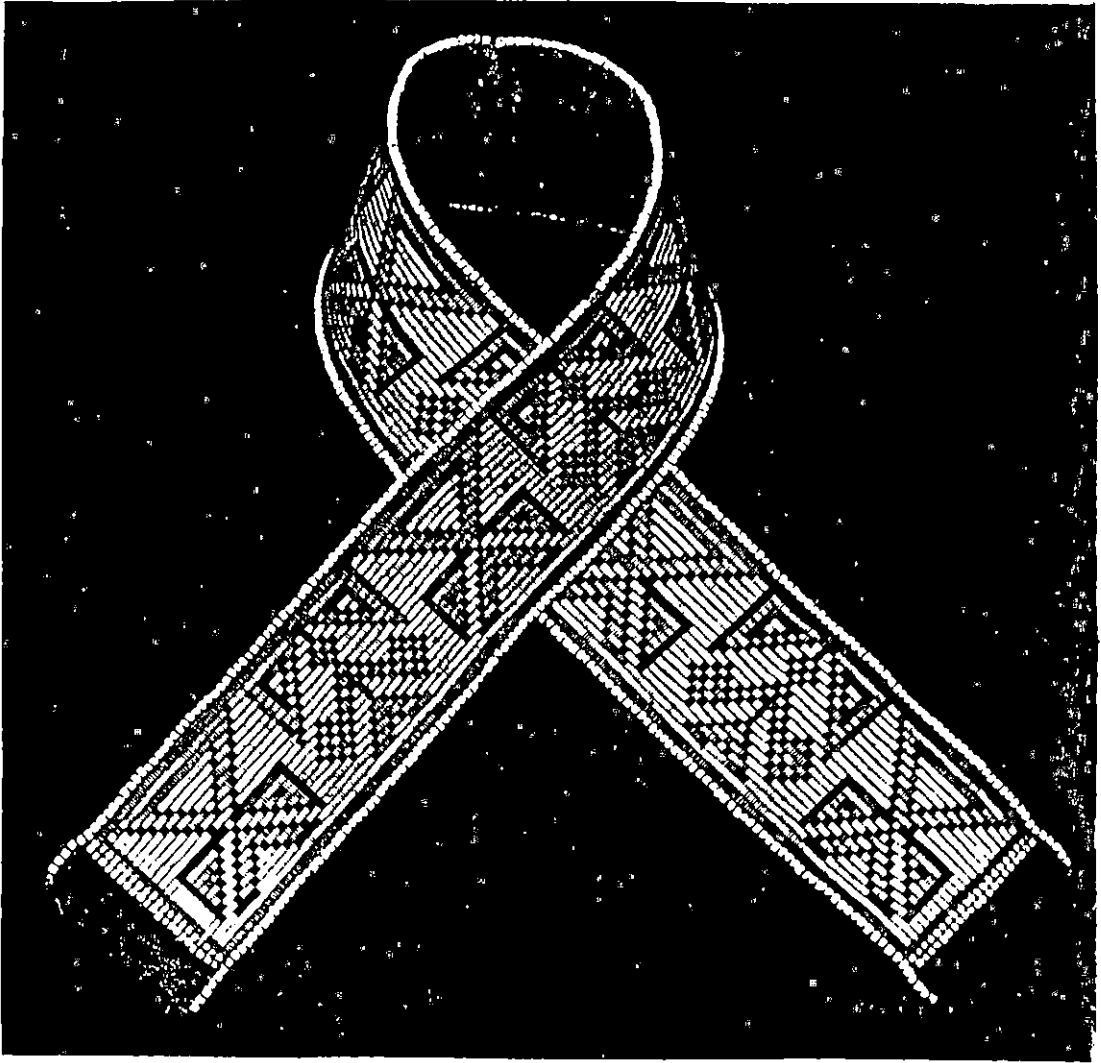


Plate 21

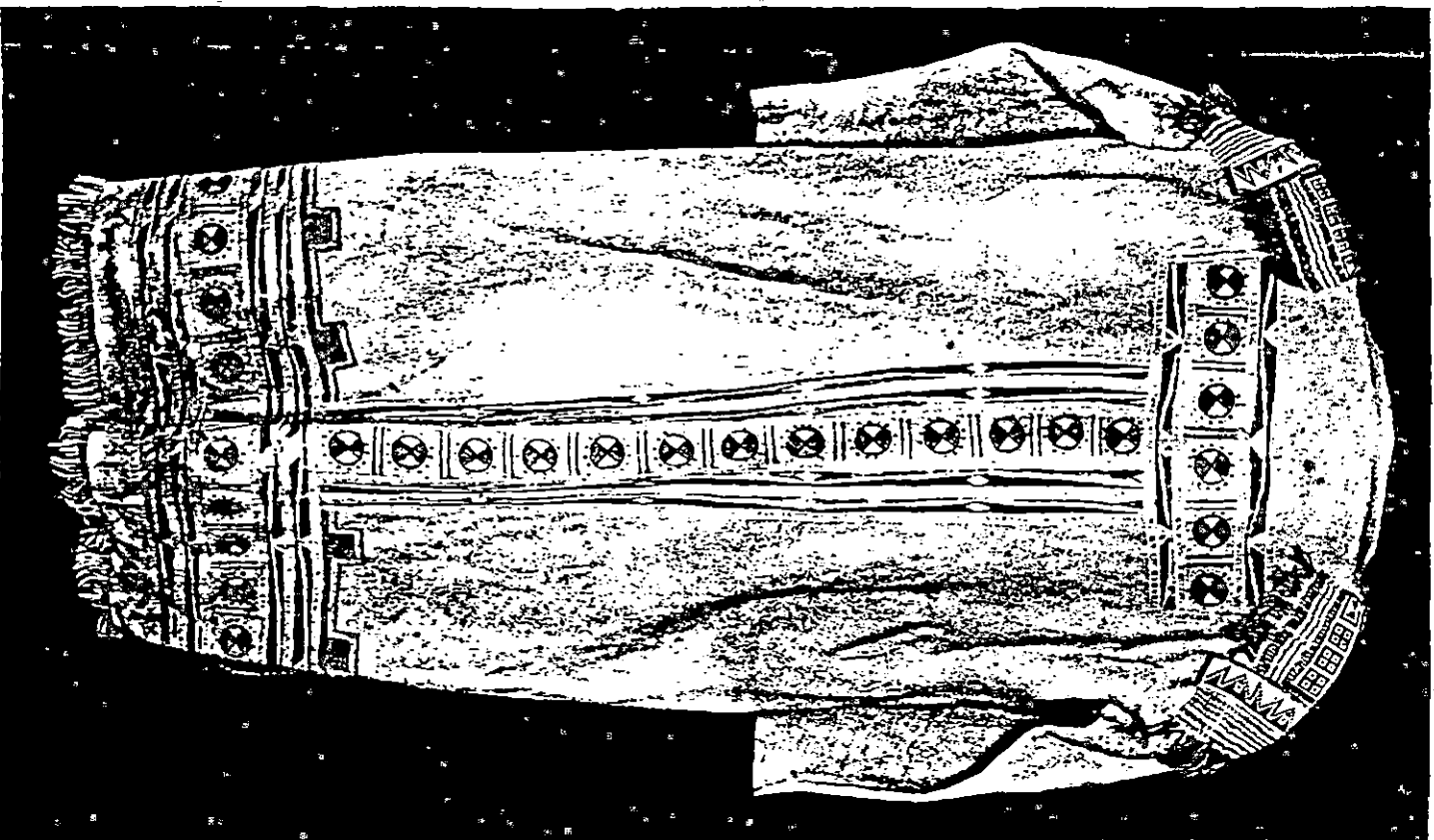


Plate 22

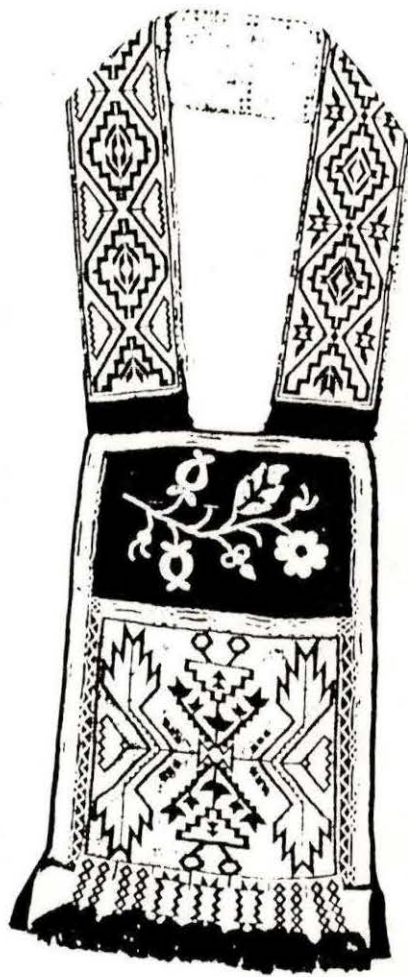


Plate 23

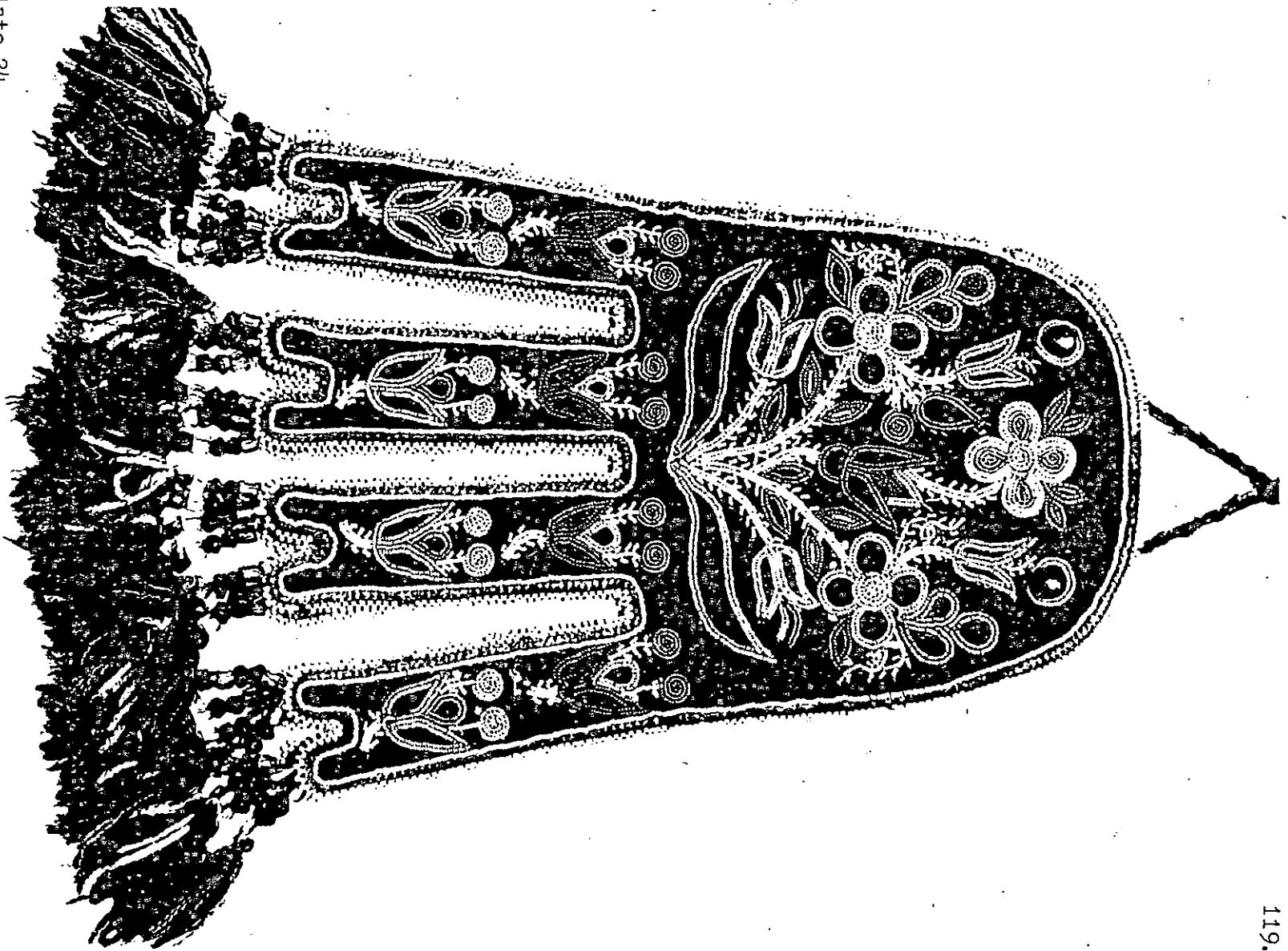


Plate 24

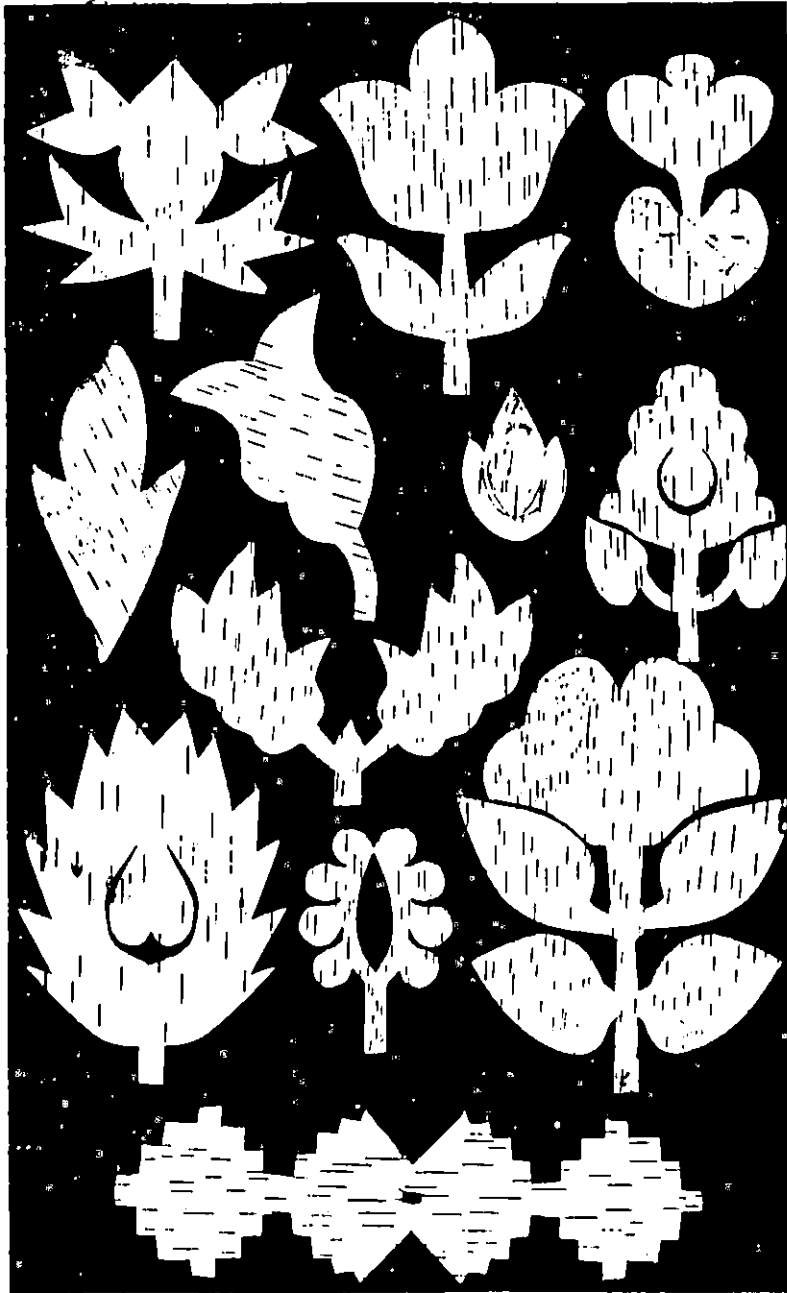


Plate 25

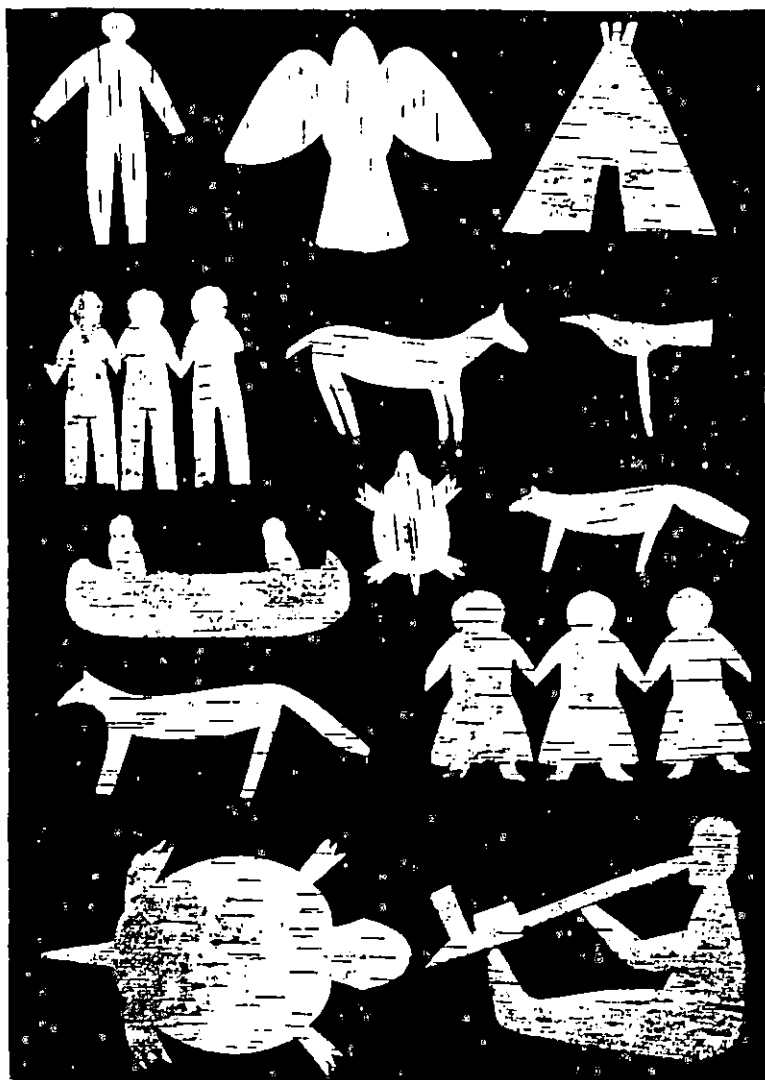
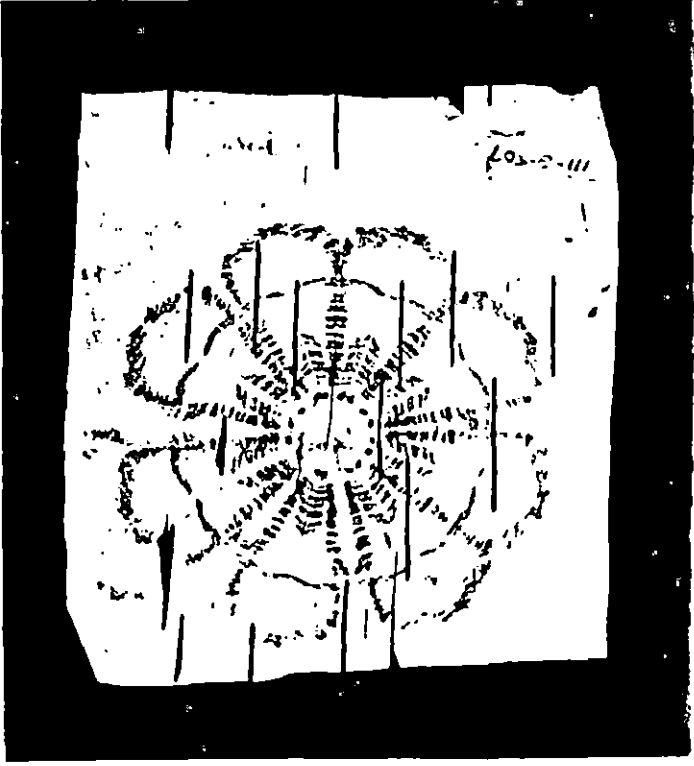
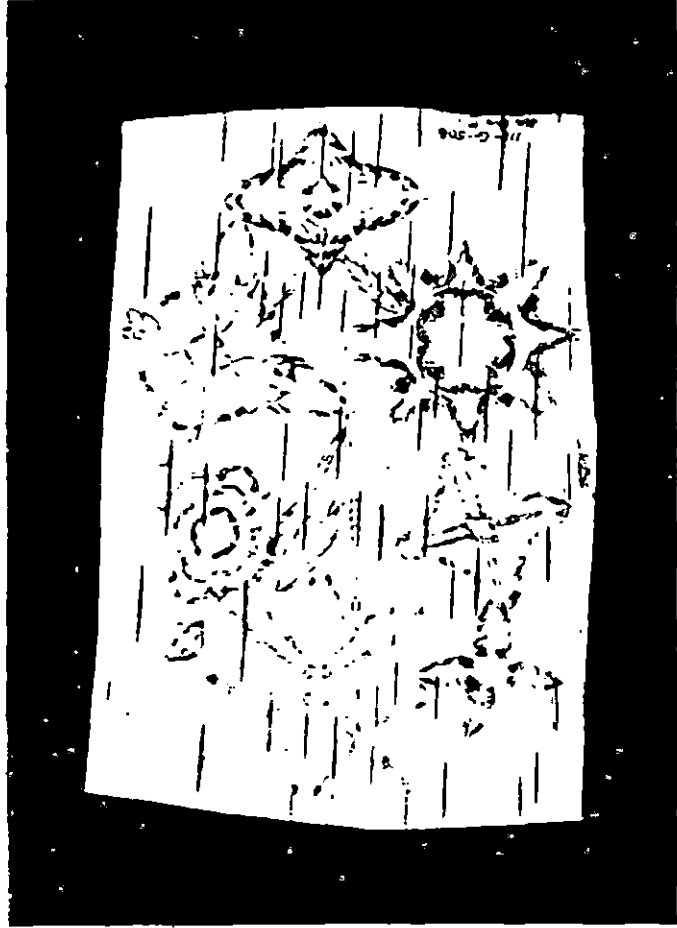


Plate 26

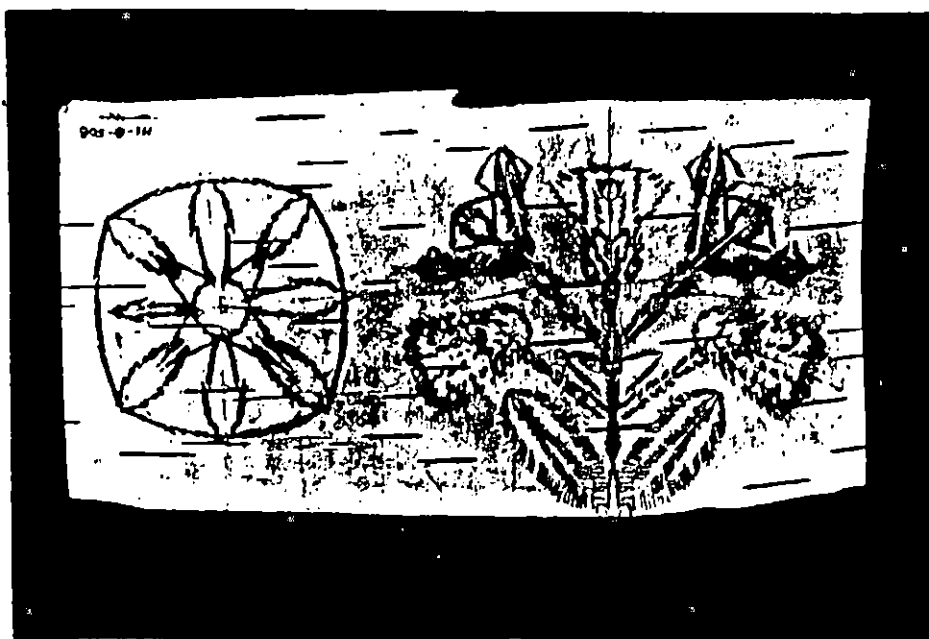


a

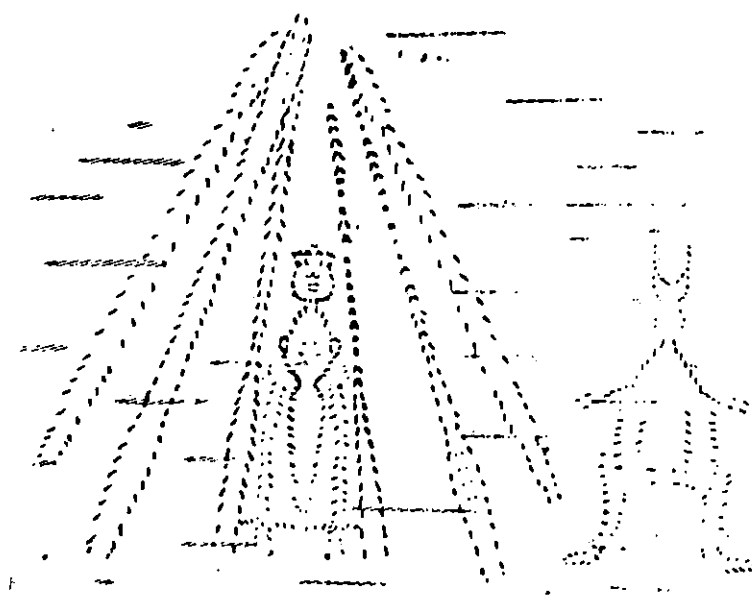


b

Plate 27



a



b

d



e



c



a



b

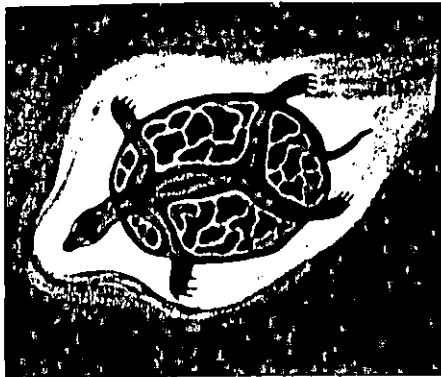




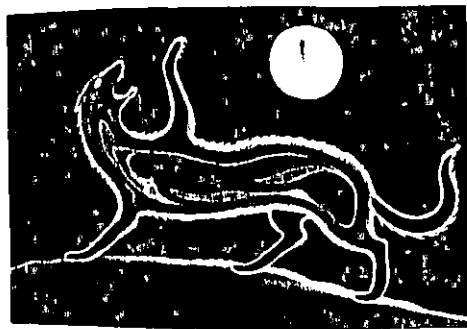
a



b



c



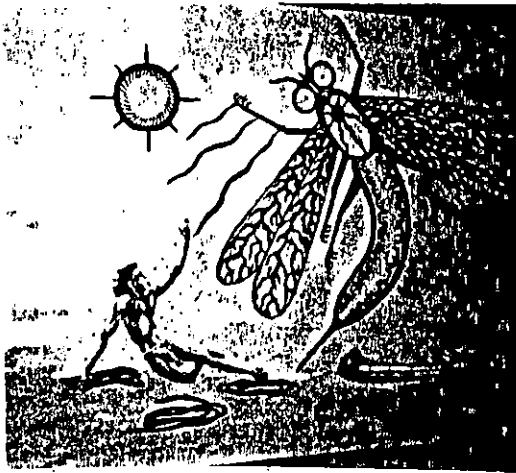
d



a



b



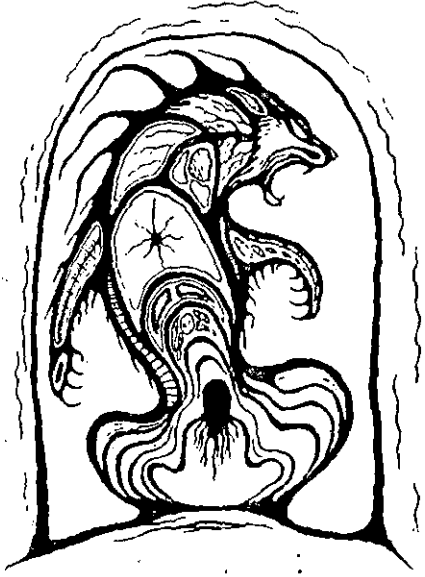
c



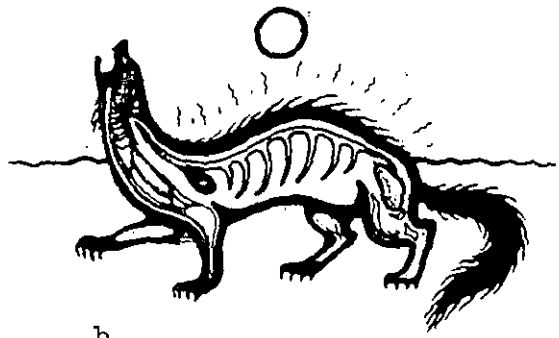
d



e



a



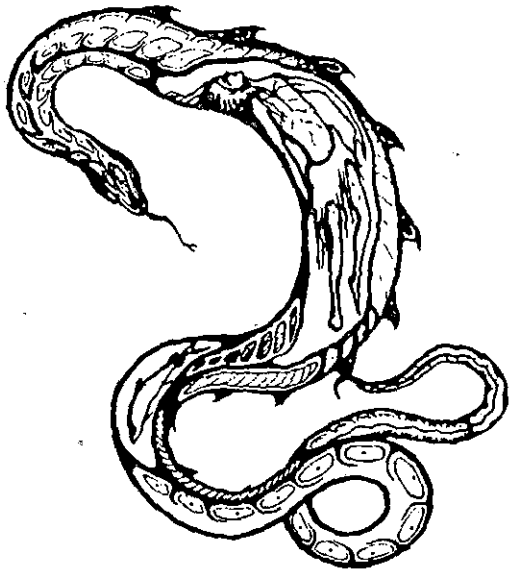
b



c



d



e

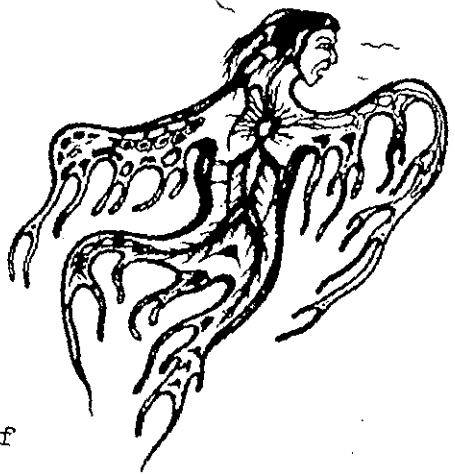
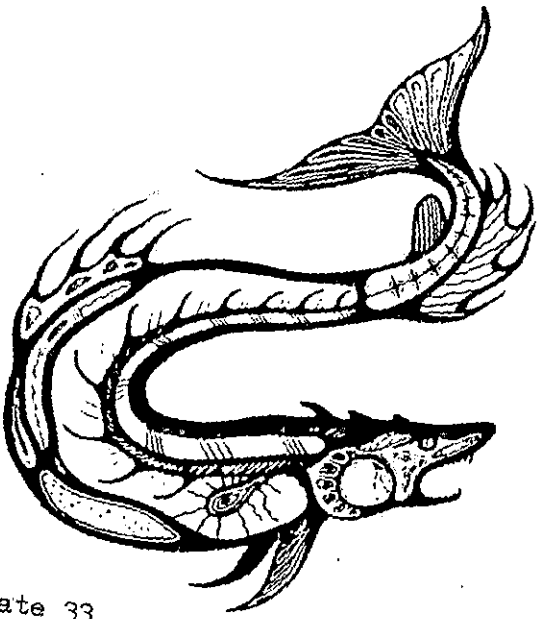
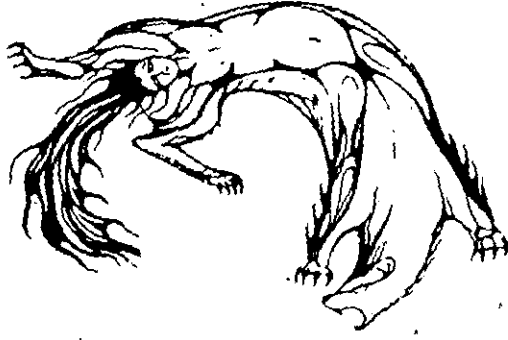


Plate 33

f

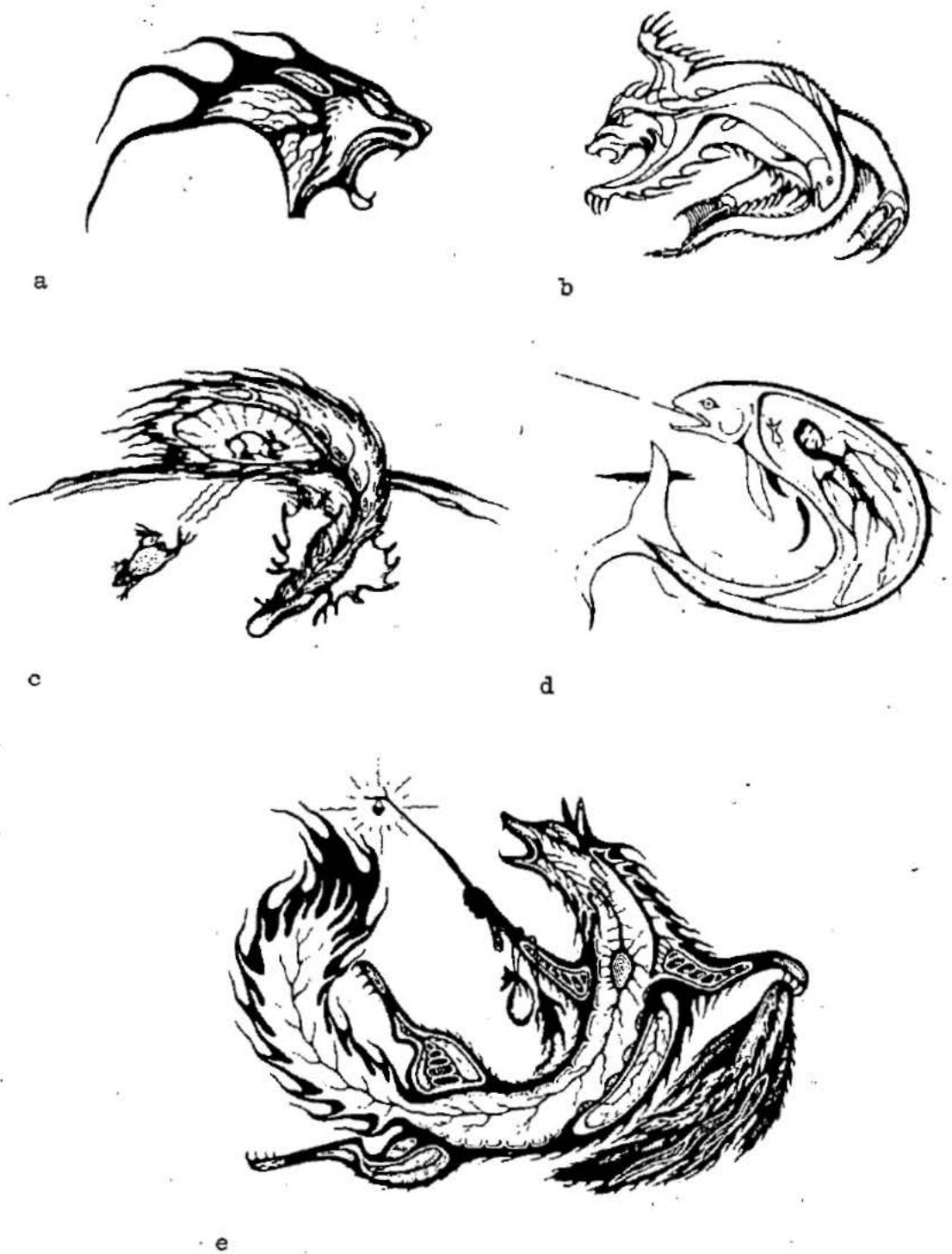
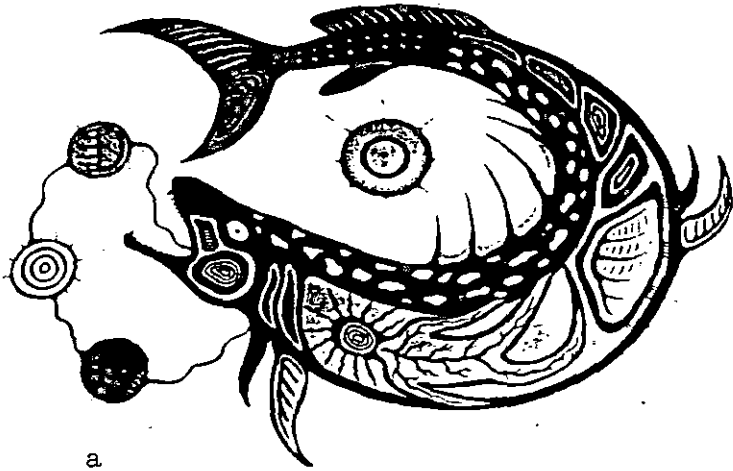
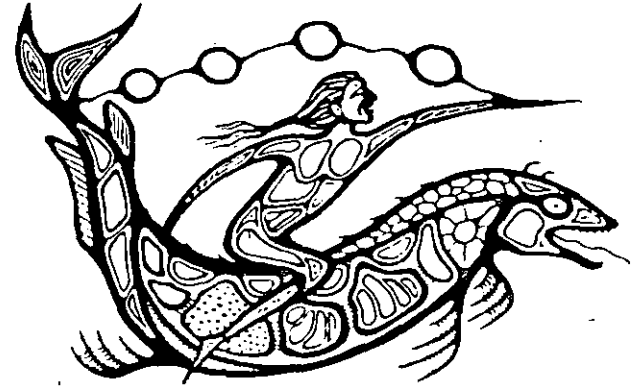


Plate 34



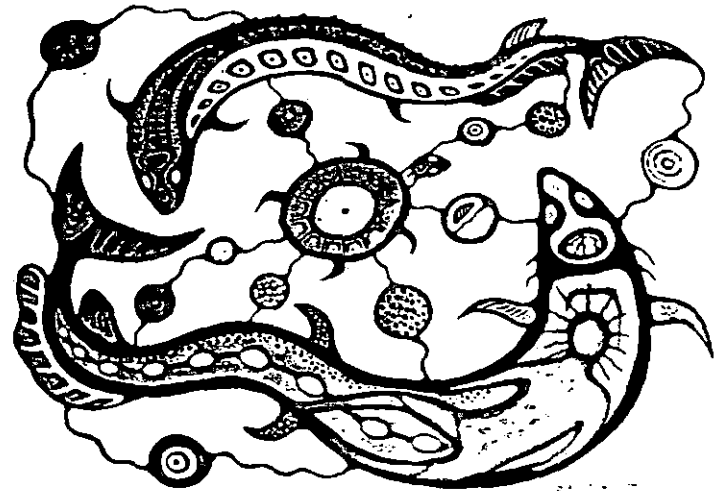
a



b

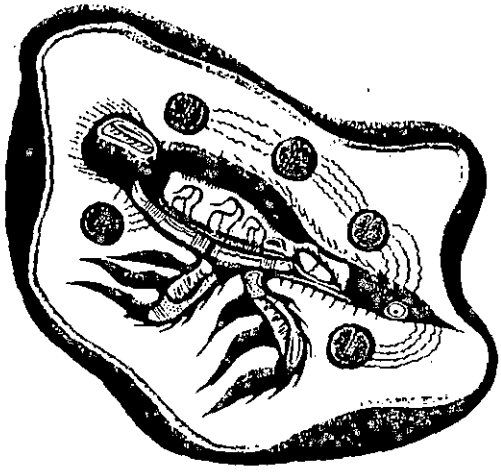


c

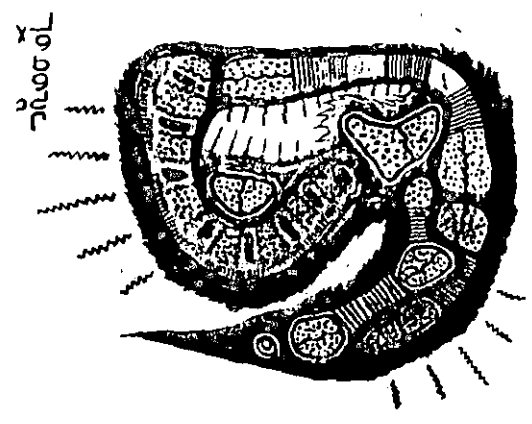


d

Plate 36

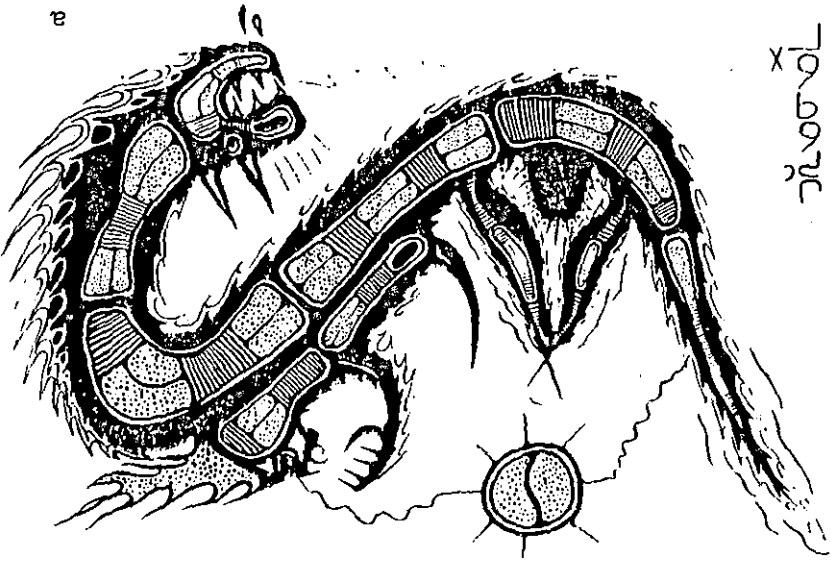


c



1  
X 1000

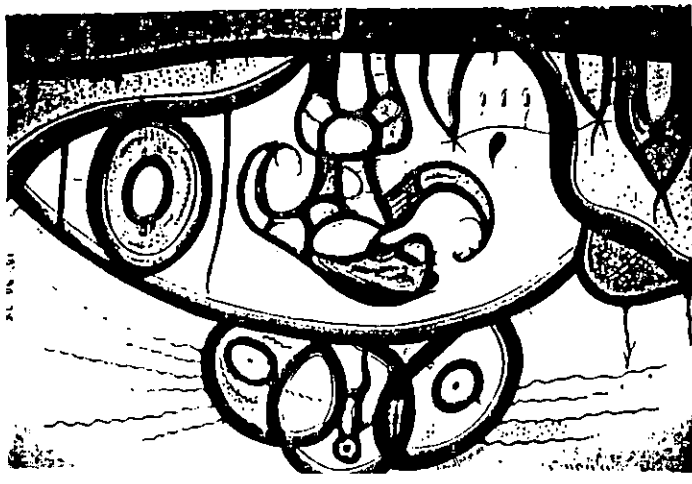
b



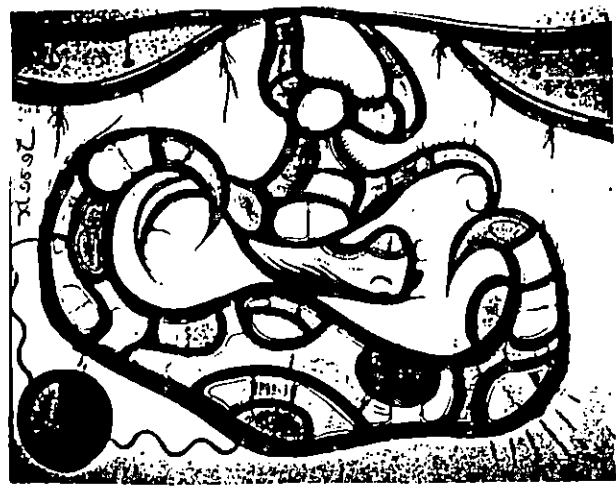
X 1000

a

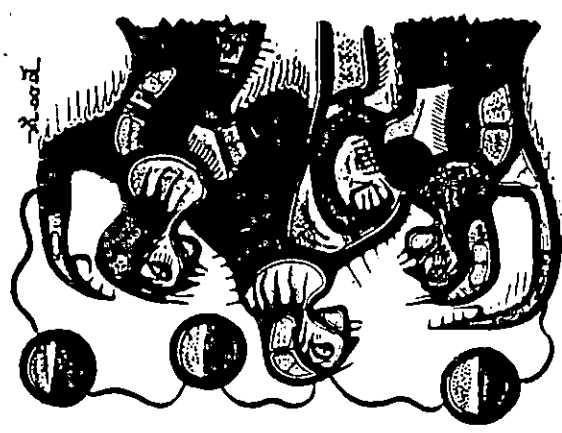
c

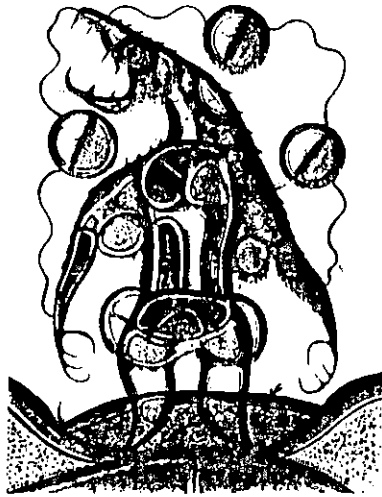


b

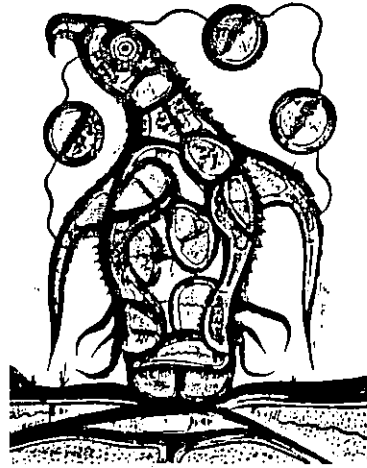


a

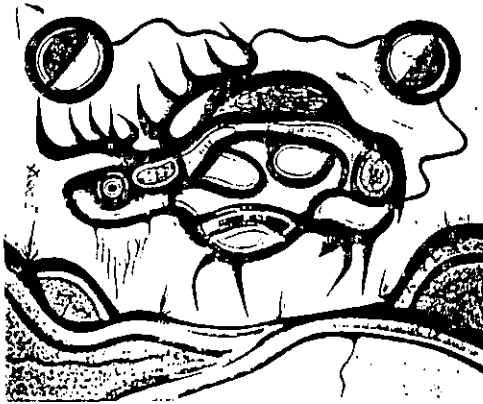




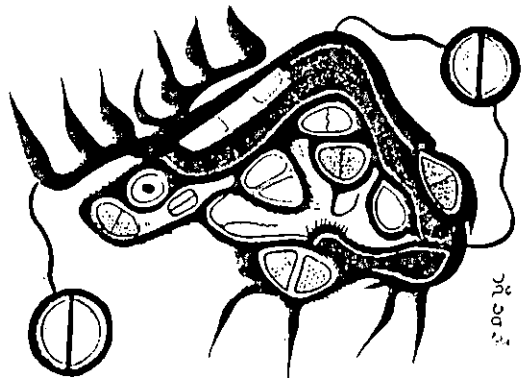
a



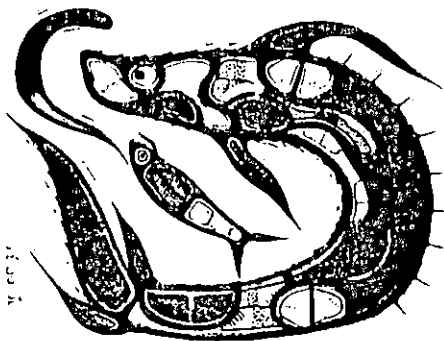
b



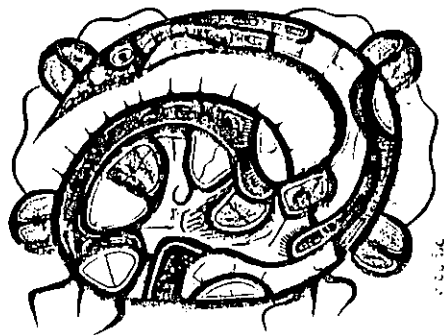
c



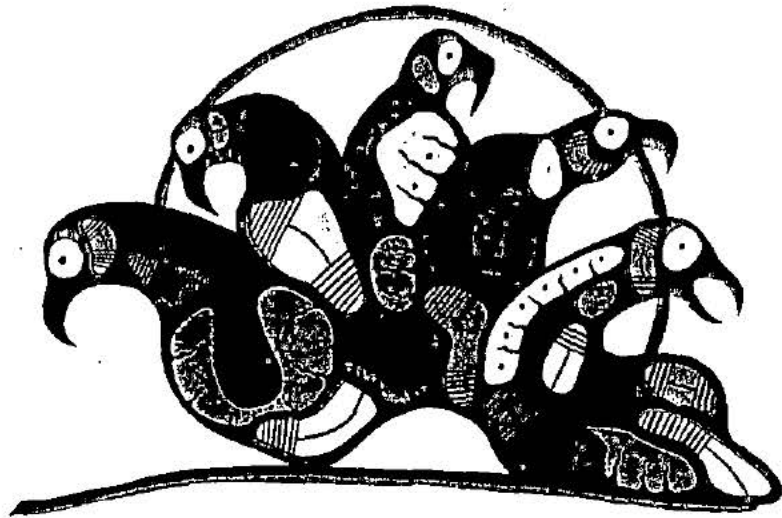
d



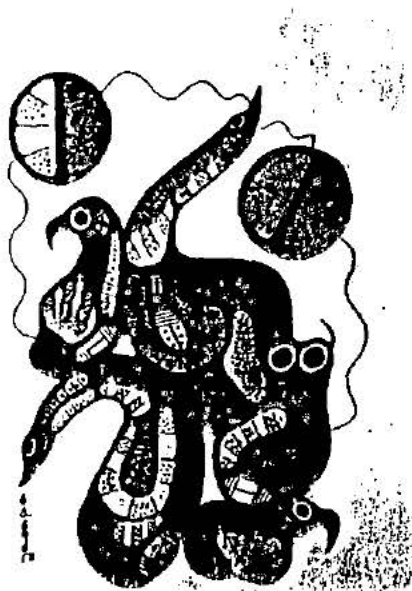
e



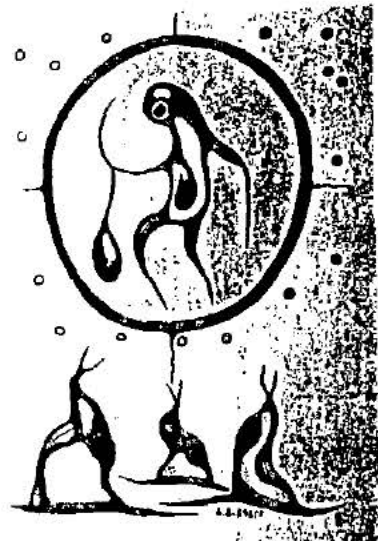
f



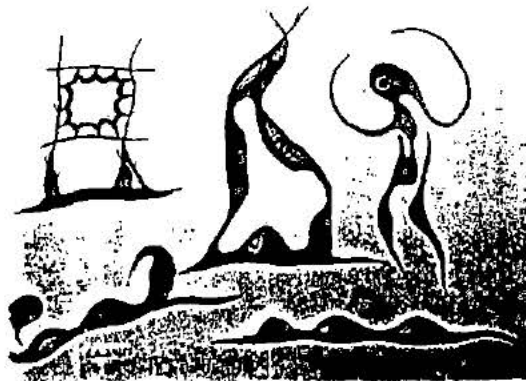
a



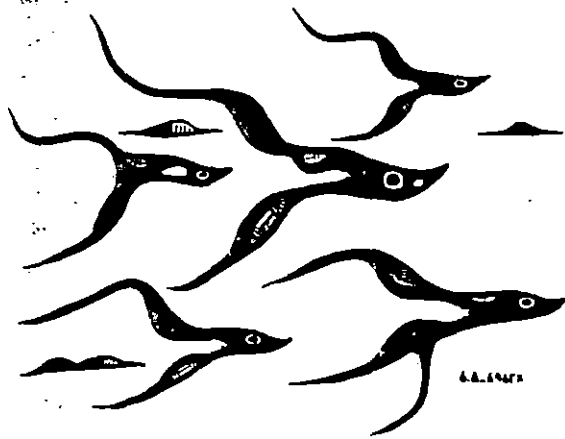
b



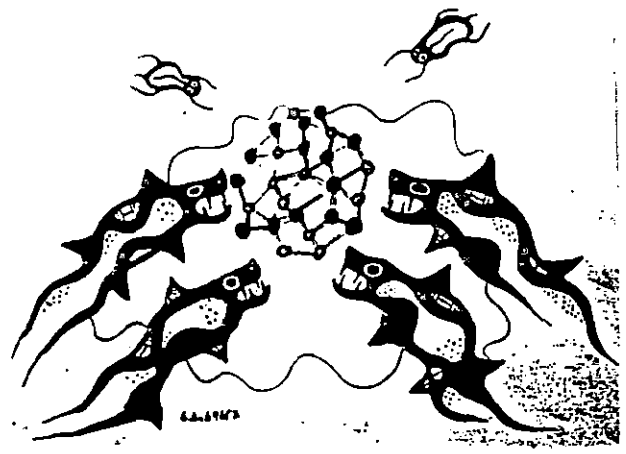
c



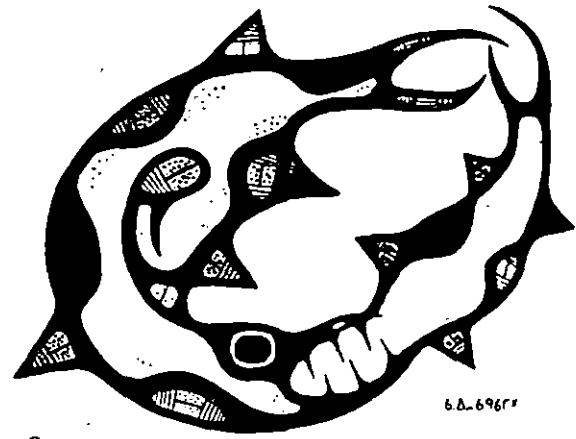
d



a



b



c



d

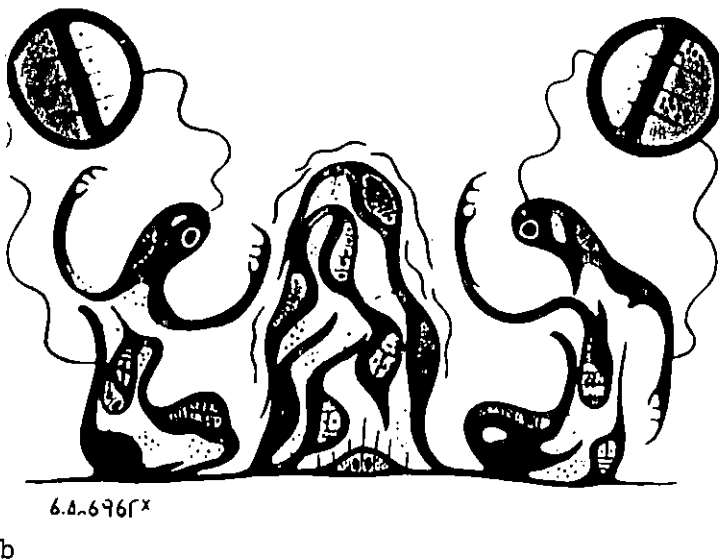
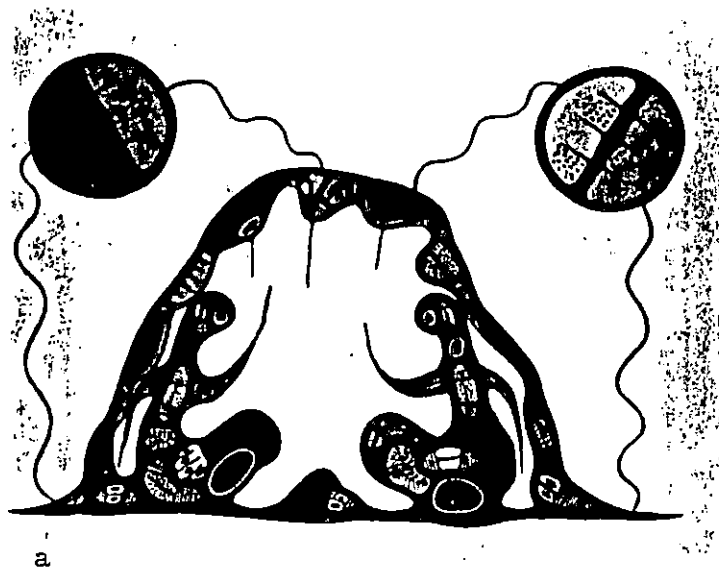


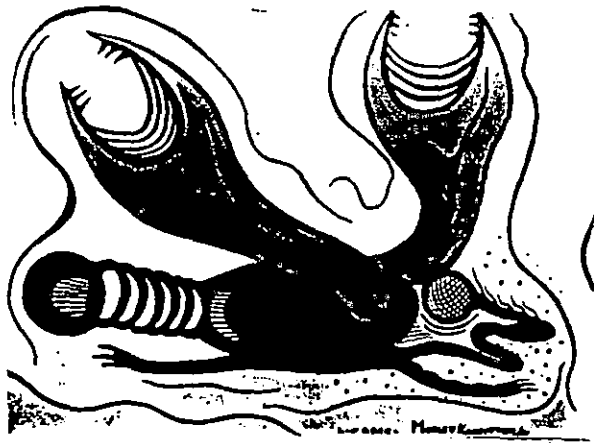
Plate 42



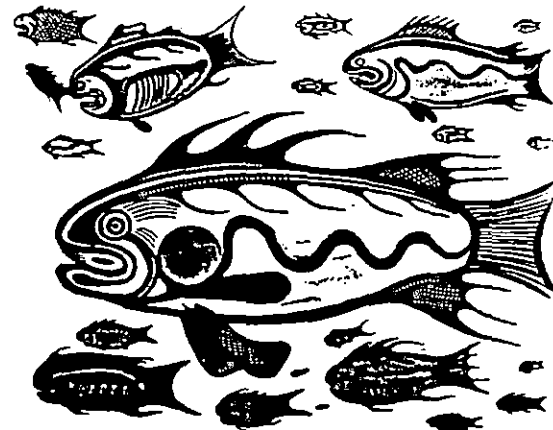
a



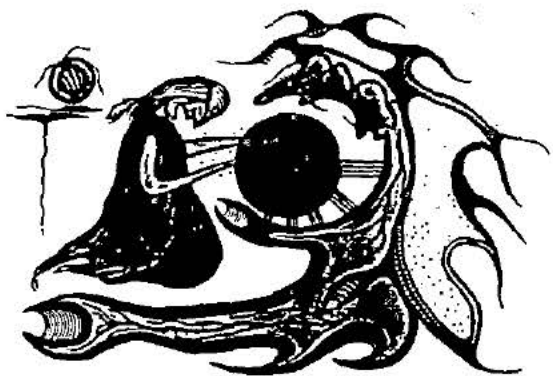
b



c



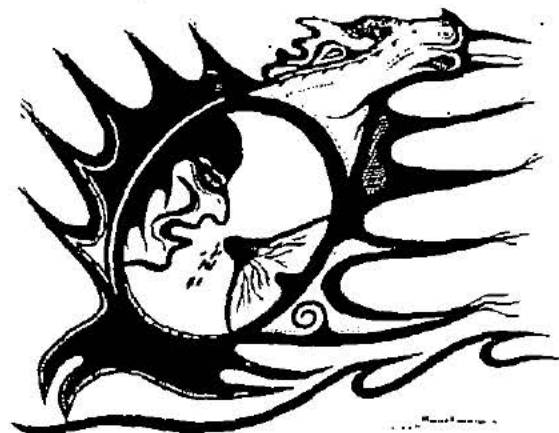
d



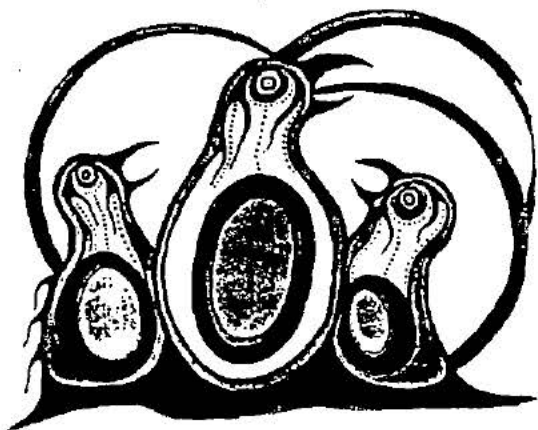
a



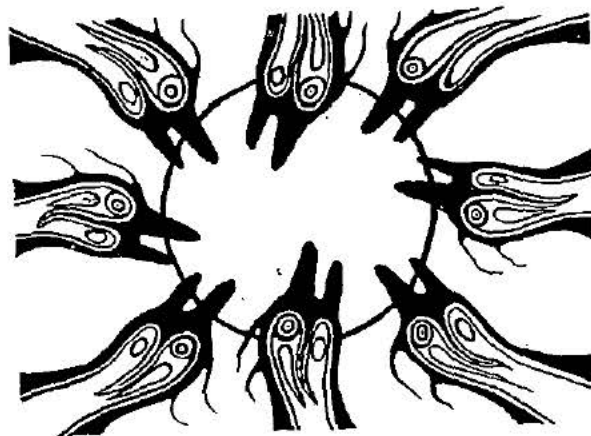
b



c



d

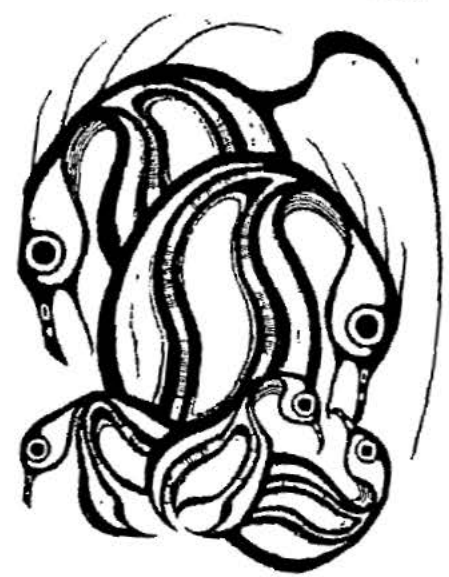


e



a

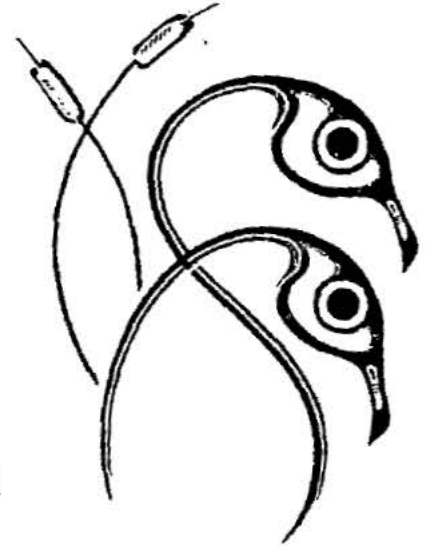
1915.50A



b



c



d

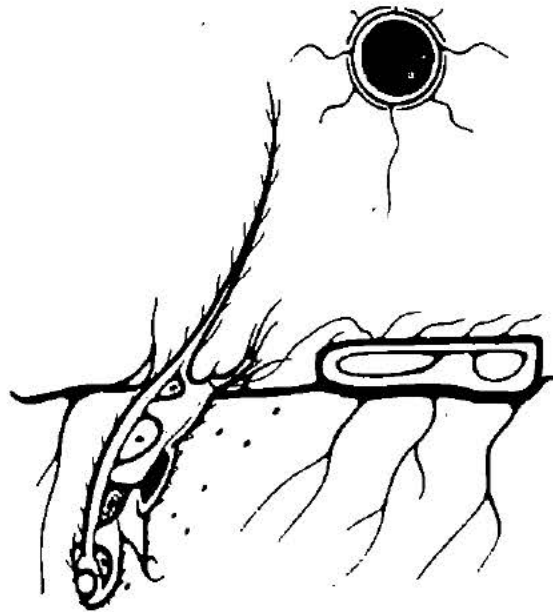
1915.50B



e

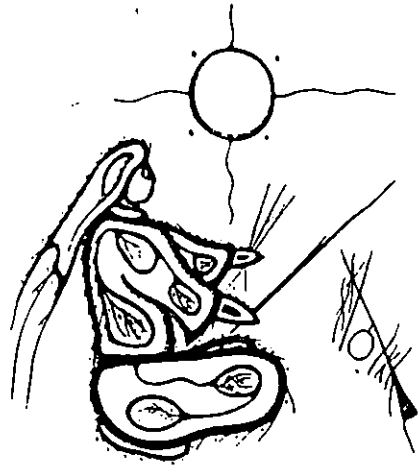


a



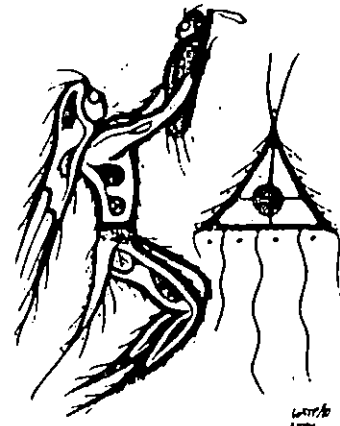
b

60/10



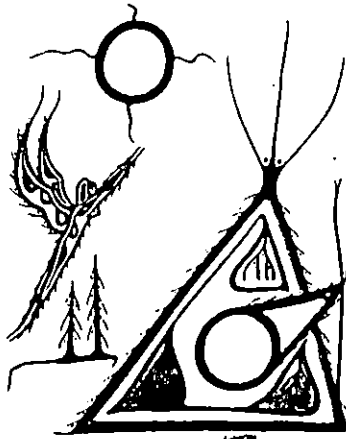
a

W. 17/10



b

W. 17/10



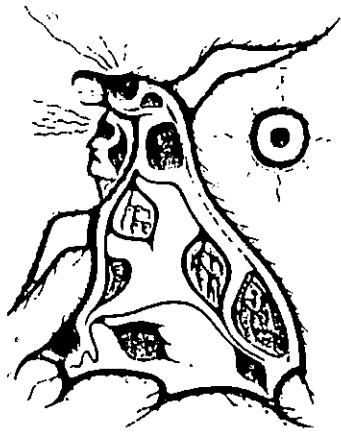
c

W. 17/10



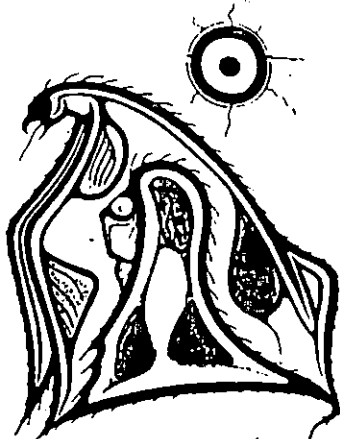
d

W. 17/10



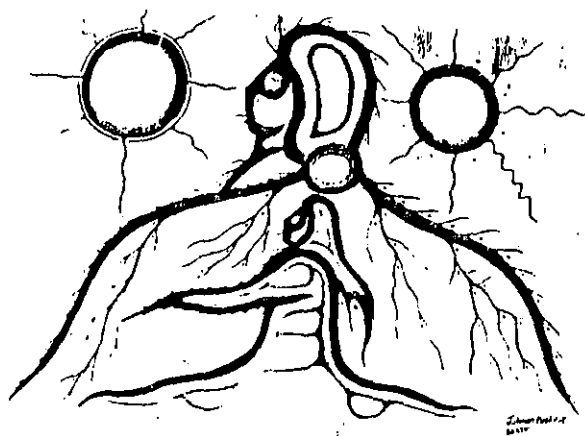
e

W. 17/10

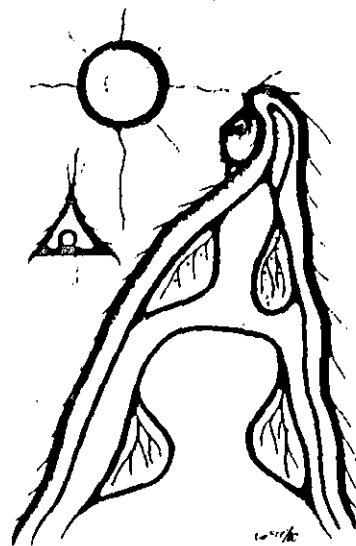


f

W. 17/10



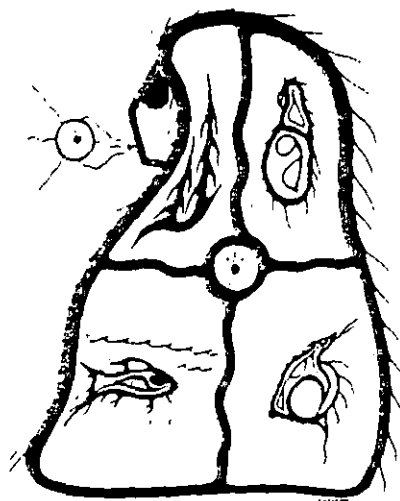
a



b



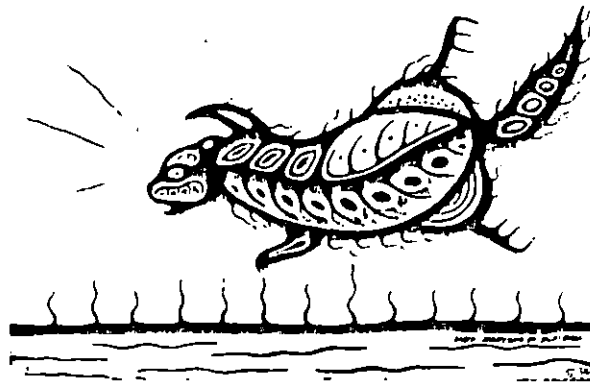
c



d



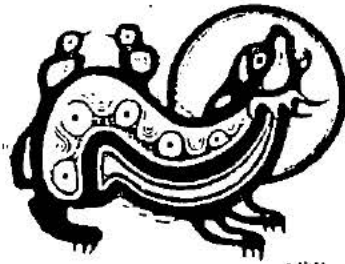
a



b



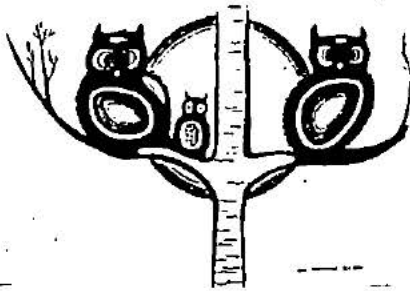
c



a



b



c



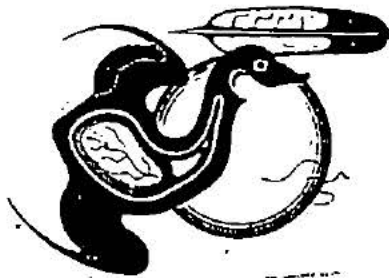
d



e



f



g



h



a



b



c



d



e



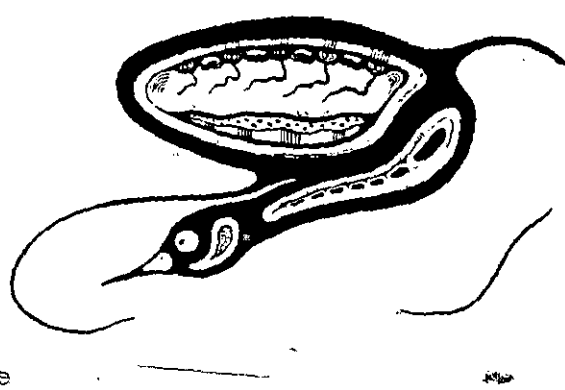
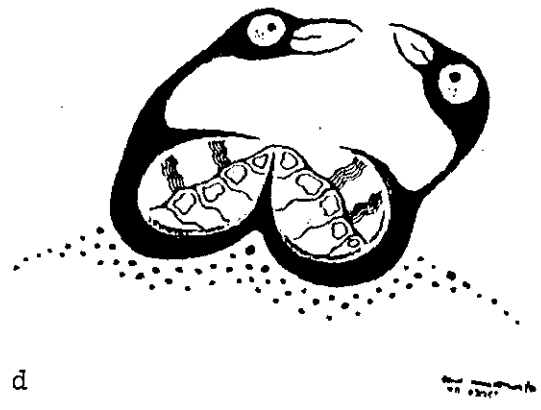
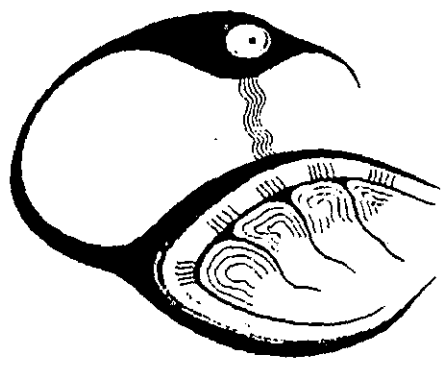
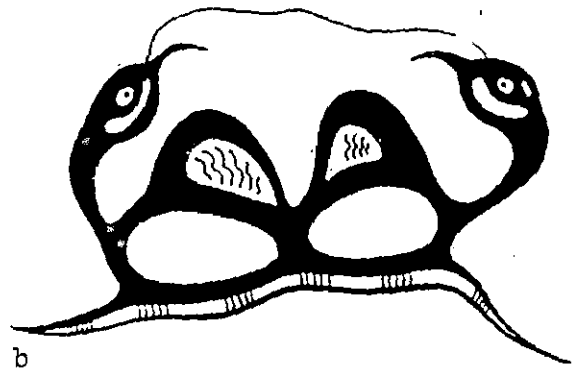
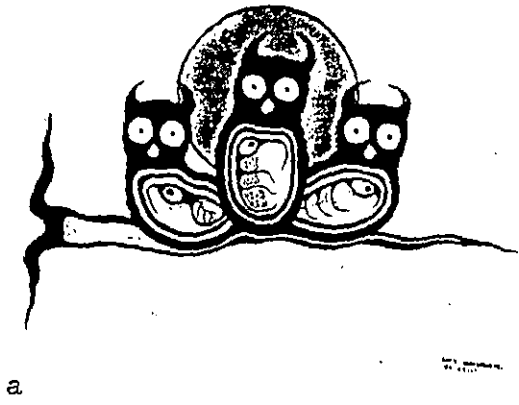
f



g

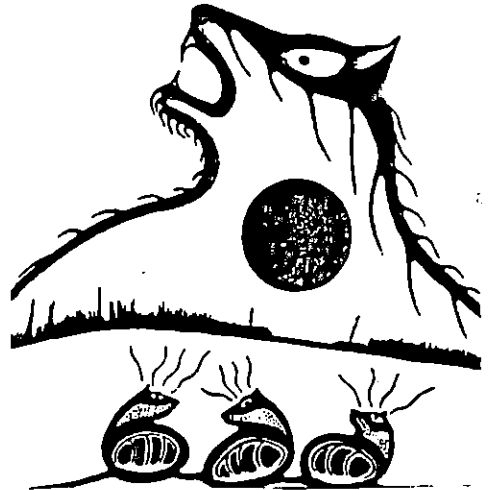


h

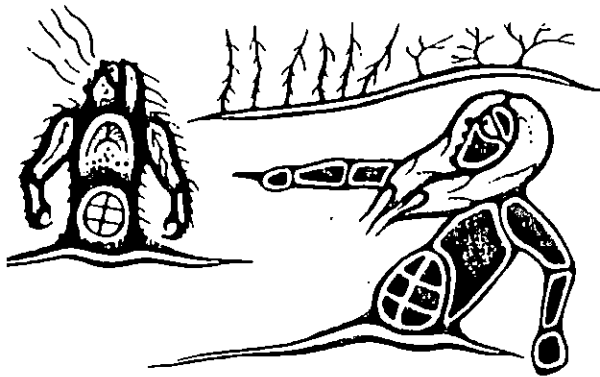




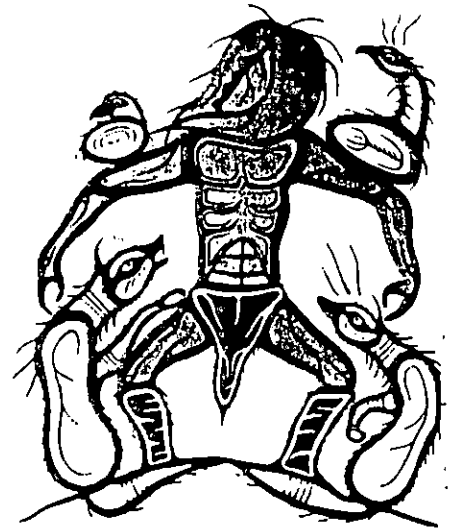
a



b



c



d



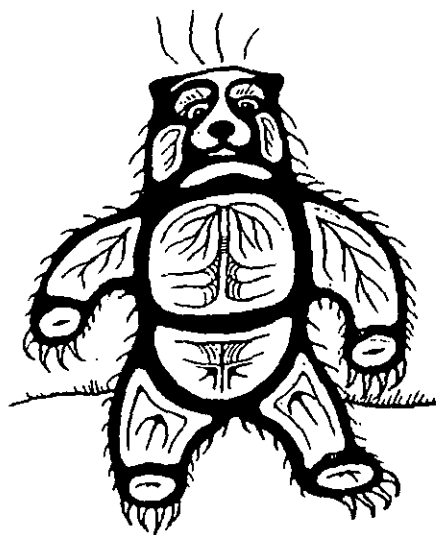
a



b



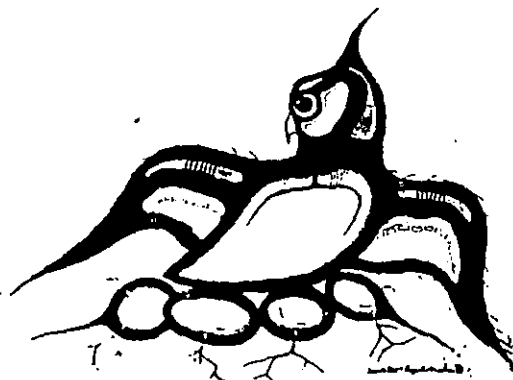
c



d

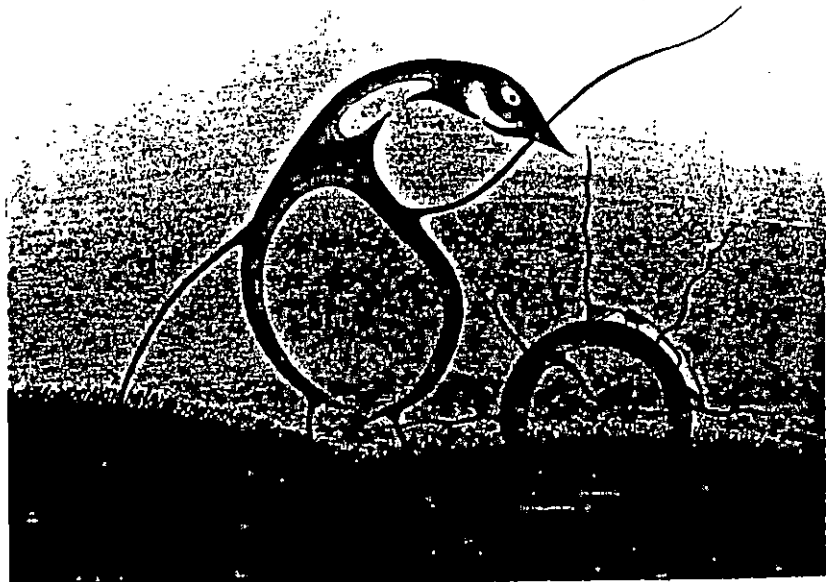


e

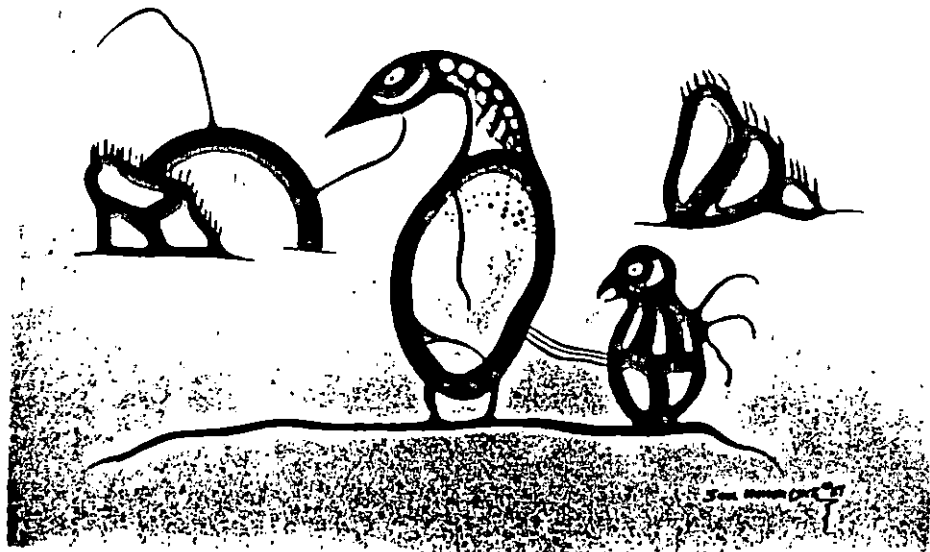


f

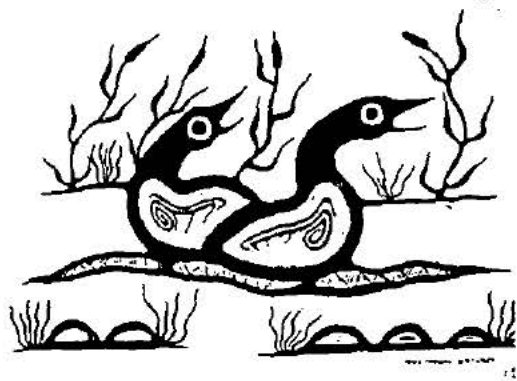




a



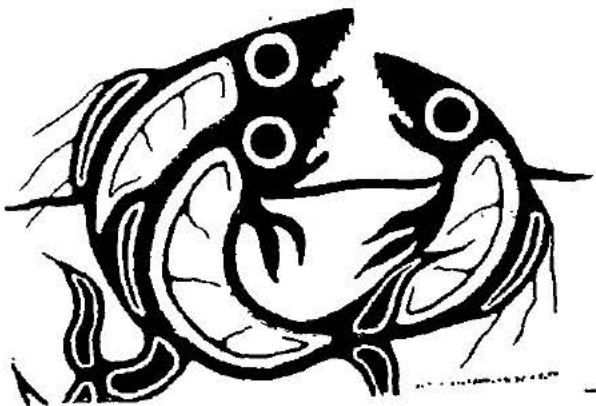
b



a



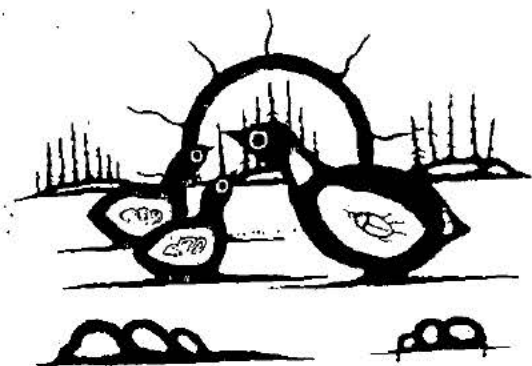
b



c



d



a



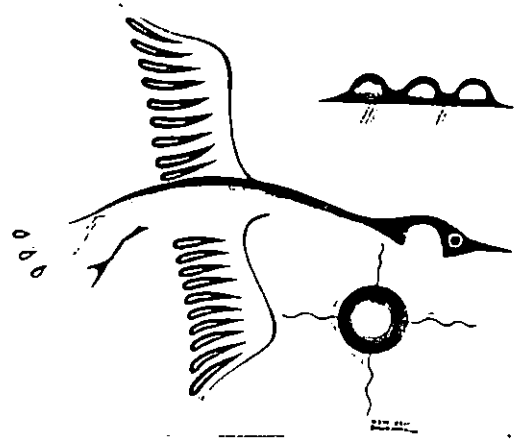
b



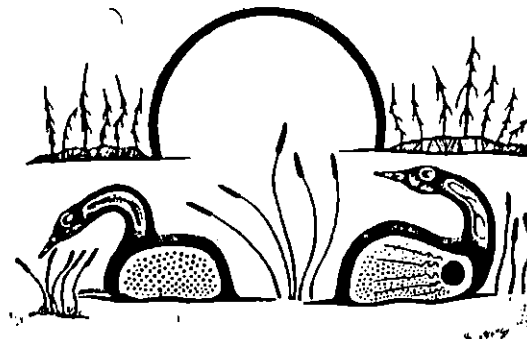
c



a



b



c

## LITERATURE CITED

- Bishop, Charles A. and M. Estelle Smith. "Early Historic Populations in Northwestern Ontario: Archeology and Ethnohistorical Interpretations." American Antiquity, vol. 40, no. 1, 1975, pp. 54-63.
- Bishop, Charles A. The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade, An Historical and Ecological Study. Toronto and Montreal: Holt, Reinhard and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1974.
- Black A.K. "Shaking the Wigwam." The Beaver, December 1934, pp. 13, 39.
- Brasser, Ted. "Bo'Jou, Neejee", Profiles of Canadian Art. National Museum of Man Publication, Ottawa, 1976.
- Brody, J.J. Indian Painters and White Patrons. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.
- Cinadar, Bernard. "The Art of the Woodlands Indians." Contemporary Native Art of Canada -- The Woodlands Indians, exhibition catalogue. Royal Ontario Museum Ethnology Department publication.
- Clay, Charles. Swampy Cree Legends. Toronto, 1938.
- Contemporary Native Art of Canada -- Silk Screens From the Triple K Co-operative, Red Lake, Ontario. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum Publication, 1977.
- Densmore, Frances. "The Native Art of the Chippewa." American Anthropologist, N.S., 43, 1944, pp. 678-681.
- Dewdney, Selwyn. "Ecological Notes on the Ojibway Shaman-Artist." Arts Canada, Aug. 1970, pp. 17-25.
- Dewdney, Selwyn, and Kenneth E. Kidd. Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes. University of Toronto Press, 1962; 2nd. ed., 1973.
- Dewdney, Selwyn. "Norval Morrisseau." Canadian Art, Jan./Feb. 1963.
- Dewdney, Selwyn. The Scared Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1975.
- Dunning, Robert W. Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.

- Faegre, Torvald. Tents, Architecture of the Nomad.  
Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1979.
- Fry, Jacqueline Delange. "Contemporary arts in non-western societies." Arts Canada, Dec. '71/Jan. '72, pp. 96-101.
- General, Dave. "Indian artists or artists who are Indian."  
The Native Perspective, vol. 3, no. 2, 1978, pp. 32-33.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H. "Art and acculturative processes."  
International Social Science Journal, vol. XXI, no. 3, 1969,  
pp. 457-468.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H. "I like things to look more different than that stuff did: An experiment in cross-cultural art appreciation" in Art and Society. Ed. Michael Greenhalgh and Vincent McGaw. London: Gerald Duckworth Co. Ltd., 1978, pp. 51-70.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H., ed. "Preface and acknowledgements; Introduction; North America; Eskimo Art: The Eastern Canadian Arctic." Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976, pp. xii-xv, 1-32, 33-37, 39-55.
- Hallowell, A. Irving. Culture and Experience. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955.
- Hallowell, A. Irving. "The incidence, character, and decline of polygyny among the Lake Winnipeg Cree and Sauteaux." American Anthropologist 40 (1938), pp. 235-256.
- Hallowell, A. Irving. "The Passing of the Midéwiwin in the Lake Winnipeg Region." American Anthropologist, N.S., 38, 1936, pp. 32-51.
- Hallowell, A. Irving. "Some empirical aspects of Northern Sauteaux religion." American Anthropologist 36 (1934), pp. 389-404.
- Hickerson, Harold. "Notes on the post-contact origin of the Midéwiwin." Ethnohistory 9, no. 4 (1963), pp. 404-423.
- Hickerson, Harold. "Some implications of the particularity, or 'atomism', of Northern Algonkians." Current Anthropology 8:4 (1967), pp. 313-343.
- Hoffman, W.J. "The Midéwiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa." Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (1885-86), pp. 143-300.

- Hoffman, W.J. (M.D.). "Pictography and Shamanistic Rites of the Ojibwa." The American Anthropologist, vol. I, July 1888.
- Hughes, Kenneth James. "Jackson Beardy -- Life and Art." Canadian Dimension Magazine, special issue, 1979.
- Jenness, Diamond. The Indians of Canada. Seventh edition, 1977; rpt. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1980; (originally published 1932 as Bulletin 65, Anthropological Series No. 15, National Museum of Canada).
- Johnston, Basil. Ojibway Heritage. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1976.
- Landes, Ruth. "The Ojibwa of Canada." Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples. Ed. Margaret Mead. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1937, pp. 87-126.
- Linton, Ralph, ed. Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes. D. Appleton-Century Co. Inc., 1940; rpt. 1963; esp. pp. vii-xi and pp. 463-520.
- Lippsett, Brenda McGee. "A comparative study to determine the origin of some Canadian Shield Rock Paintings." Ten Thousand Years: Archeology in Manitoba, W.M. Hlady ed. Altona, Manitoba: Manitoba Archeological Society (D.W. Friesen and Sons Ltd.), 1970, pp. 181-9.
- Lyford, Carrie A. Ojibwa Crafts (Chippewa). Education Division, United States Department of the Interior, 1943.
- Monahan, Gene Ritchie. An Experiment in Art Exposure Among the Indians of the Isolated Communities of Northwestern Ontario at Sandy Lake Reserve, June 15-July 15, 1968. Report for the Department of Education of Ontario (1968).
- Morrisseau, Norval. Legends of My People, the Great Ojibway. Ed. Selwyn Dewdney. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965.
- Ray, Carl and James Stevens. Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1971.
- Rogers, Edward S. "Changing settlement patterns of the Cree-Ojibwa of northern Ontario." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 19 (1963), pp. 64-85.

- Rogers, Edward S. "Natural environment -- social organization -- witchcraft: Cree versus Ojibwa -- a test case." Bulletin, National Museum of Canada no. 230 (1969), pp. 24-39.
- Rogers, Edward S. The Round Lake Ojibwa. Royal Ontario Museum Occasional Paper 5. Toronto (1962).
- Roufs, Tim. "Myth in Method: More on Ojibwa Culture." Current Anthropology, vol. 15, no. 3, September 1974.
- Sandy Lake Community File Sheet, Hudson's Bay Company Library (Winnipeg), 1967.
- Schwartz, Herbert T. "Daphne Odjig." Arts West, vol. 2, no. 2, 1977, pp. 12-15.
- Schwartz, Herbert T. Tales From the Smokehouse. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1974.
- Schwartz, Herbert T. Windigo and Other Tales of the Ojibways. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1969.
- Silver, Harry R. "Ethnoart." Annual Review of Anthropology, vol. 8, 1979.
- Sinclair, Lister and Jack Pollock. The Art of Norval Morrisseau. Agincourt, Ontario: Methuen, 1979.
- Steinbring, Jack. Acculturation Phenomena Among the Lake Winnipeg Ojibwa of Canada; A paper presented at the 38th International Congress of Americanists, Stuttgart, Germany (Winnipeg 1968).
- Stevens, Reverend F.G. "Sandy Lake -- 1897." Toronto Native Times: vol. II no. 3 (March 1980), pt. 1; vol. II no. 4 (April 1980), p. 2; vol. II no. 5 (May 1980), p. 3; vol. II no. 6 (June 1980), pt. 4; vol. II no. 7 (July 1980), pt. 5.
- Wright, James V. "A regional examination of Ojibwa culture history." Anthropologica 7 (1965), pp. 189-227.

VITA

Surname: Pearce Given Names: Alice Carol

Place of Birth: Picton, Ont. Date of Birth: January 22, 1944

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

University of Toronto 1963 to 1967

University of Winnipeg 1978 to 1980

University of Victoria, B.C. 1980 to 1983

\_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A. (Honours) 1967 University of Toronto

B.A. (General) 1980 University of Winnipeg

Honours and Awards:

University of Winnipeg, Board of Regents' General Proficiency Award,

1979

University of Winnipeg, Gold Medal in Anthropology (General), 1980

Publications:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis

Social Change and Woodlands Indian Art: The Sandy Lake School

---

---

---

---

Author



Signature

Alice Carol Pearce

April 25, 1983

Date