


Fall 11-8-2017

Cultural imPRINT: a History of Northwest Coast Native and First Nations Prints

India Rael Young

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/arth_etds

 Part of the [Contemporary Art Commons](#), [Fine Arts Commons](#), [Indigenous Studies Commons](#), [Other History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#), and the [Printmaking Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Young, India Rael. "Cultural imPRINT: a History of Northwest Coast Native and First Nations Prints." (2017).
https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/arth_etds/68

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Art & Art History ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

India Rael Young

Candidate

Department of Art

Department

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Joyce Szabo, Chairperson

Dr. Kirsten Buick

Professor Aaron Fry

Dr. Allan Ryan

**Cultural imPRINT:
A History of Northwest Coast
Native and First Nations Prints**

by

India Rael Young

B.A., Liberal Arts, Eugene Lang College, The New School, New York
M.A., History in Art, University of Victoria, Victoria
Ph.D., University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Art History

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December, 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my committee supervisor, Dr. Joyce Szabo. I had the fortune and honor to be one of Dr. Szabo's last students in her profoundly impactful career. She has been a tireless supporter of my doctoral pursuits and an advocate for my research. It was her scholarship that brought me to the University of New Mexico and her mentorship that has enabled me to arrive at this life's milestone.

I would also like to express my gratitude for the generosity and intellectual rigor of my committee members: Dr. Kirsten Buick, Dr. Allan Ryan, and Professor Aaron Fry. Dr. Buick and Professor Fry exhibited a level of excellence and inspiration in teaching that I will spend my career striving to achieve. Dr. Ryan's writings will likewise be enduring models for accessible and engaging scholarship.

I have had the fortune to work with many exceptional educators. Dr. Victoria Wyatt, my Master's supervisor, has continued to be a mentor throughout my doctorate. She has lent her time and her knowledge and has been particularly supportive in the development of my career as an educator. Dr. Beverly Singer exemplifies interdisciplinary and community-based research practices. Dr. Michael Pettinger, my undergraduate supervisor, continues to remind me that academic work is a joy, a privilege, and a commitment to society. These scholars have mentored me and will continue to guide me through this lifetime of learning.

Cultural imPRINT has been made possible through the generosity and support of these granting institutions: the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, and the Bill Holm Center for the Arts at the University of Washington. I recall Terry Eagleton, writing in *After Theory*, "Because subjects like literature and art history have no obvious material pay-off, they tend to attract those who look askance at capitalist notion of utility. The idea of doing something purely for the delight of it has always rattled the grey-bearded guardians of the state. [This work] has always been a deeply subversive affair." Without the support of these institutions I would not have been able to pursue my *deeply subversive affairs* towards social change.

Within the introduction of my dissertation I also acknowledge the many individuals who have been instrumental in material creation. They have gifted me their knowledge and shared their experiences. I am truly grateful for their generosity and trust. Here I would like to record those friends who lent their time and encouragement; I would not have finished without Jody Riley, Emily Scholes, Margaret Archuleta, Suzanne Newman-Fricke, and Suzanne McLeod.

Finally, I must acknowledge the support I have received from my family. Piers Henwood made a commitment to my career the day I left for Albuquerque, and never once wavered. "This love is true, the miracle of being loved by you." In the darkest moments of disquiet Piers has been the foundation where I find stability. My parents, Robert Young and Orlinda Kittredge, have never pretended to understand what I do yet they have unfailingly supported me regardless. They taught me independence, perseverance, and the simple pleasure of a job well done.

Thank you all.

Cultural imPRINT:
A History of Northwest Coast Native and First Nations Prints

India Rael Young

B.A., Liberal Arts, Eugene Lang College, The New School, New York

M.A., History in Art, University of Victoria, Victoria

Ph.D., University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

ABSTRACT

Cultural imPRINT provides the first substantive art historical investigation into Northwest Coast Indigenous prints. Since the 1960s, Northwest Coast artists have employed the print medium to share their histories, heritage, and culture amongst each other and with the larger world. Because print artists number in the hundreds, and print editions in the thousands, this dissertation takes a socio-cultural approach to understanding the purposes for the medium's production and circulation. First, it analyzes the deep histories of reproduction in the North American art world and in Northwest Coast Indigenous communities, asserting that reproduction within coastal communities serves to perpetuate history from one generation to the next. Both objects and images are imbued with the authority to carry histories so they may be retold. From this foundational understanding, prints are presented as the cultural ambassadors of the Northwest Coast Native art market. The chapter on the market centers prints to critically reevaluate the larger creation and continuance of a distinctive art world. The final chapter details the biographies of key print artists Robert Davidson, Roy Henry Vickers, Marvin Oliver, and Susan Point. These artists strategically employ the medium to create a social space for themselves and their communities' arts practices. Their prints educate the public about Northwest Coast Indigenous cultures and insist upon the visibility of Indigenous peoples in the Pacific Northwest. In observing changes to creation, reproduction, and circulation, the conclusion documents the beginning of a new era for printmaking. *Cultural imPRINT* surveys the first revolution in the cycle of a vital Northwest Coast arts tradition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Literature survey	6
Unwritten histories and Methodology	14
Chapter Summaries	19
 Chapter 1: Worldviews on Reproduction	 27
Benjamin, Reproduction, and Social Conditioning	29
Meeting of Worlds: histories of screen-printing as fine art	33
A Case Study for Repetition in Northwest Coast Art and Society	41
 Chapter 2: Seriality within Northwest Coast Ideologies	 50
Repetition within Vernacular Aesthetics	53
 Chapter 3: The Northwest Coast Native Print Market	 72
Origins of the Northwest Coast Art Market	75
The Print Boom	82
Features of the Northwest Coast Art Market	89
Millennial Market Shifts	98
 Chapter 4: Way-making and the Stories told by Northwest Coast Prints	 103
Way-makers: Robert Davidson, Marvin Oliver, Roy Henry Vickers, and Susan Point	 105
Storytelling: Telling Stories as Practice and Pedagogy	128
 Conclusion: Prints in the New Millennium	 139
Legacies: a new generation	141
Digital Making and Sharing	146
 Figures Appendix	 157
 References	 208

INTRODUCTION

The screen print entered popular consciousness in the 1960s when Pop Art pulled the medium from the commercial realm, splashing it all over the art world, to lampoon customs of originality. At the same time, with another agenda, Native and First Nations artists from the Pacific Northwest embraced the potential of the screen print. Without irony, coastal artists appreciate that the medium is relatively inexpensive, reproducible, and holds the power to engage the masses. It has the ability to reclaim heritage and assert cultural sovereignty as an art object recognizable for non-Native audiences. By the end of the 1970s the medium became a Northwest Coast Native arts tradition. It has been incorporated into Northwest Coast culture in a number of ways: nearly every coastal artist has dabbled in the medium, the sheer volume of production has only increased since its inception, and it is often gifted in cultural ceremonies. The most famous First Nations artists, from Bill Reid who is represented on the Canadian twenty-dollar bill to Susan Point whose architectural forms cover the faces of Vancouver and Seattle, have all worked in the print medium. Over their significant careers, these artists employed the print to disseminate their cultural knowledge in particular ways. Yet, while Bill Reid and Susan Point are easily considered major Canadian artists, and they suffer no lack of scholarship, the significance of their prints remains unexamined. The following dissertation provides the first overarching study of the history of Northwest Coast Native prints.

The many peoples of the Northwest Coast – from the Coast Salish who are original to territories on the Olympic Peninsula, through Seattle, Vancouver and Southern Vancouver Island, all the way to the Tlingit of the Alaskan Panhandle – produce artwork

with distinctive but related iconographies. These many peoples have long histories of using particular visual languages to relay their laws, their histories, and their ways of understanding the world. The print is one of the newest mediums employed to exchange this visual vocabulary, historically found embedded in textiles, basketry, carvings, and metalwork.¹ The overarching visual language is often termed *formline*, as coined by non-Native curator Bill Holm. For Holm, the term applied to the historic structured graphics employed by the Northern peoples of the Pacific Northwest, including the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian. More broadly, the peoples of the Northwest Coast cultivated graphic aesthetics with repetitive forms and calligraphic lines. Over the course of the second half of the twentieth century the screen print, in tandem with the new market for Northwest Coast arts, has solidified coastal iconographies.

There are no definitive borders that define the peoples of the Northwest Coast. These communities, related by geography and cultural values, are as diverse as they are similar. Their current territories span over 2,000 miles of coast. While the Saint Elias and Coast Mountain Ranges provide physical barriers, coastal peoples regularly moved amongst themselves and their neighbors. Nations in Oregon, interior Alaska, the Southern Yukon, interior British Columbia and Washington share some similarities in cultural production to those peoples of the more prototypical Northwest Coast.² To that end, I refer to artists and cultural groups as Indigenous, Native, First Nations, and

¹ Many Northwest Coast artists also work in glass, which like prints should be considered a recent addition to the canon of Northwest Coast arts.

² The term, "Northwest Coast" itself has come under academic scrutiny because it geographically references the coast from the perspective of the United States. For Canada this territory is simply the West. Charlotte Townsend-Gault et al., eds., "Pushing Boundaries, Defying Categories," in *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 828, 829.

Aboriginal.³ For this study, I focus on the artists who produce prints and the centers of production: Seattle, Vancouver, and Victoria. Artists specifically from the Haida, Kwakwaka'wakw, Nuu-chah-nulth, and Coast Salish cultural groups emerge as central to the graphic medium. Each of these communities has enough artists working within a common aesthetic to create culturally specific works on paper. The Coast Salish, whose territories span the Canadian-US border, who speak fourteen distinct languages, and whose historic cultural objects were most severely decimated by urban settler development, have used the print medium to build unity, and to command space within the Northwest Coast art world distinct from the Northern nations' formline. There are many artists from other coastal nations - Gitksan, Tsimshian, Makah, and more - who work in the medium. These artists may have achieved success through the use of a general formline, or developed a personal style, or perhaps they have only dabbled in the medium. However, such artists have not cultivated a distinct aesthetic that corresponds to cultural nationhood.

This idea of cultural aesthetics is central to the framing of Northwest Coast Native prints. Their unifying quality remains the ethnographic graphics. Some artists choose to work in the graphic style of coastal nations beyond their own, or move fluidly between cultural styles. Some artists work with non-historic colors, some include figural or representational elements, and some distill the forms in minimalist fashion. However, for my purposes, all Northwest Coast Native prints contain recognizably coastal graphic

³ "Native American," "First Nations," and "Aboriginal" all have legal definitions within the United States and Canada. Most often I employ each term specifically, however, I often employ the term 'Native' as interchangeable with Indigenous.

designs.⁴ The artists within the scope of this study elect to employ an historically non-Native medium to relay their geographically specific visual language. Many of the first generation of artists who work in the print medium seamlessly refer to their work as “traditional” or “authentic.” Some younger artists, and certainly scholars, have grown weary of such terms, which historically have been employed by non-Natives to confine or control Indigenous arts and artists. This study reverts to a simple definition of tradition, in both Indigenous and European descended communities, as a continuation of cultural practice. I leave the debate over traditional and contemporary binaries to others.⁵ Northwest Coast Native prints and the artists who create them confound any such binary, and reinforce the importance of continuity within an Indigenous notion of tradition. These works are decidedly contemporary, created simultaneously in art world and coastal aesthetic traditions.

The other central factor to this study is the niche Northwest Coast art market. It occupies a distinct and separate space from the larger art world. The rise of the print medium coincided with the development of the market for contemporary First Nations art in British Columbia. It has been the Native art galleries in the cities of Seattle, Victoria, and Vancouver that have invented, organized, and promoted contemporary Northwest Coast Native art as something equal to but distinctive from other arts. Occasionally,

⁴ Some artists from the Northwest Coast, such as Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun, Tanis S'eiltin, or Marianne Nicolson, may reference coastal forms in their print works. Such artists are not included in this study, as they operate beyond the Northwest Coast art world. In the introduction I briefly explain the new realm of circulation, however, the evaluation of how such artists now operate requires a much larger study that considers the opportunities to attend and succeed in art school, which were largely not available to previous generations of Northwest Coast artists.

⁵ Ruth B Phillips and Christopher Burghard Steiner, eds., *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 18–19, <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10611513>; Sean Mallon, “Opinion: Why We Should Beware of the Word ‘traditional,’” *Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa*, December 20, 2016, <http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2016/12/20/opinion-why-we-should-beware-of-the-word-traditional/>.

ideas and objects have co-mingled in the public gallery spaces of the regional art world, but most often Native prints circulate as the emblems of a highly cultivated alternative space. Within this market, prints have taken on a particular role as translators of cultural knowledge, over more obvious cultural media such as masks or weavings. In the literature on the market, prints are routinely cited as cultural objects circulating in ceremonial contexts as potlatch gifts.⁶ However, this object-use is rarely the intended purpose for a print. Most often, prints circulate through commercial galleries and only secondarily in museums, public galleries, and Native communities. Short marketing narratives regularly accompany prints, typically composed by the artist and used as promotional material by the gallery. Seldom does the story relay a specific cultural mythology, or discuss the formal, ethnographic composition. Typically, these narratives share the artist's immediate inspiration and subtly reinforce the iconography by creating continuity between the life of the artist and his or her cultural worldview. Susan Point offers a typical example for her work, *Timeless Circle*:

The overall form is the essence of the artwork and is meant to appeal on an emotional level. And, as one draws nearer, you can explore the content of the imagery and discover the unique different complexities. The circular format of the artwork incorporates a range of human faces, each one unique, celebrating the diversity of cultural and ethnic backgrounds of people around the world ... these faces also represent our local peoples from the past, present and future.

This design symbolically represents a Coast Salish spindle in my own unique contemporary Coast Salish art style.⁷

⁶ Robin Kathleen Wright, Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse, and Shaun Peterson, *In the Spirit of the Ancestors: Contemporary Northwest Coast Art at the Burke Museum* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013); Karen Duffek, *A Guide to Buying Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Arts* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, 1983), 5; Hilary Stewart and Robert Davidson, *Robert Davidson, Haida Printmaker* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 8; Edwin S. Hall and Margaret B. Blackman, "Contemporary Northwest Coast Art: Tradition and Innovation in Serigraphy," *American Indian Art Magazine* 6, no. 3 (1982): 58.

⁷ lessLIE, *Perpetual Salish* (Victoria: Legacy Art Gallery, University of Victoria, 2014), 15.

This bonding between text and image, I suggest, signifies the real cultural value for prints and is a topic I explore in the third chapter. They are not meant to function as traditional objects; they are designed to deliver cultural worldviews and iconographies to outside communities. The market for Northwest Coast Native arts remains distinct from the art world because it seeks to engage a broader spectrum of the population.

Most significantly, this history of Northwest Coast Native prints considers how artists use the silkscreen to eschew dominant art structures in order to retain cultural authority. While most coastal artists are interdisciplinary, they choose prints as their primary two-dimensional medium. Artists seem to relish the concept of the multiple, which they demonstrate through their designs, their prints, and the relationship between prints and works in other media. For example, versions of *Timeless Circle* have also been created in wood and bronze. The print medium remains prevalent among artists because, over the course of sixty years, artists have appropriated it as an Indigenous arts tradition, uniquely imbued to relay Northwestern Native and First Nations cultural experience and knowledge to non-Natives.

Literature Survey

To date, there is no comprehensive recorded history of the print as a Northwest Coast medium. The primary reference point for those interested in prints has been a joint commercial and anthropological text: Edwin Hall, Martha Blackman, and Vincent Rickard's *Northwest Coast Indian Graphics* (1981). This text, as the first and last pseudo-scholarly investigation, is both short and general, with a specifically anthropological scope that dwells more on historical objects than on prints. Rickard, the

primary printer for Northwest Coast artists, had already written a commercial brochure that was incorporated within Hall and Blackman's book. The couple, who were themselves beginning an encyclopedic collection of coastal prints, petitioned the then National Museum of Man in Ottawa for a contract to investigate the emergence of the medium. The anthropologists and printer situate the medium as a reiteration of nineteenth-century coastal art production. The text includes short essays on "traditional culture," "traditional art," "cotemporary [traditional] art," and gives a two-page summary of the history of the print medium on the coast, which at the time of its publication was just over a decade old. The presentation, with very brief text and glossy illustrations, was a format then in vogue on the coast, and was used to strategically position the medium within a fine arts context. However, another trend of the time - the inclusion of brief, narrative descriptions of each image - also made its way into the text. Without ascribing authorship to the artists, the descriptions read as anthropological rather than examples of storytelling.

Hall and Blackman spent several summers in the late 1970s in research and collecting while Blackman was working on her dissertation on Florence Davidson, a Haida weaver and grandmother to Robert Davidson. Their research for the National Museum of Man resulted in a wealth of interviews from the early artists and gallery owners working with the medium and market. New collectors themselves, Hall and Blackman's interviews focused on the transition of the market at the time.⁸ Transcriptions of their interviews are currently held at the now renamed Canadian Museum of History and at the Burke Museum of Natural History at the University of Washington, which also holds the Blackman-Hall print collection.

⁸ Edwin S. Hall, "The Marketing of a Tradition: The Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild," 1980.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the market developed into a sustainable, settled system. As a signifier of this change, a handful of artists, commercial galleries, and anthropologists produced several small catalogues of silkscreens. In retrospect, all of these works were heavily influenced by the format for the first text on Northwest Coast Native prints, *Kwakiutl Art by Henry Speck*, published by the artist in conjunction with the New Design Gallery of Vancouver in 1963. The next catalogue, *Northwest Coast Indian Graphics*, by the Northwest Coast Indian Artist Guild, was published by Canadian Indian Marketing Services, a division of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in 1977.⁹ Modeled on the Speck book, catalogues from this period were primarily illustrative, with a brief text narrating each image. Individual authorship was rarely ascribed to each descriptive text, although artists were most often the primary source for these short narrations. An anthropologist would routinely pen a short forward to situate the prints in terms of cultural arts and iconography; sometimes alternatively, sometime in tandem, a commercial gallery owner would write the forward, which positioned the works as fine Indigenous arts in a new medium. Members of the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild banded together for two and a half years to produce catalogues in 1977 and 1978. Several members would go on to dominate the direction of coastal prints, including Robert Davidson, Roy Henry Vickers, and Joe David. In 1979, an offshoot of the Guild produced, *Northwest Coast Indian Artists*, a catalogue for a commercial gallery in Toronto. In 1978, Gitanmaax School of Northwest Coast Indian Art produced their first and only catalogue of graphics in conjunction with Vancouver gallery owner Bill Ellis, of Canadian Native Prints, *First Annual Collection 'Ksan: 1978 Original Graphics*.

⁹ However, Bill Ellis of Canadian Native Prints Ltd. published reproductions of Bill Reid's serigraphs in a 1974 catalogue for his company.

Anthropologist Hilary Stewart compiled the most extensive text on print works, *Robert Davidson, Haida Printmaker* (1979), centered entirely on the biography of the still rather young artist. The work focuses on how Davidson is both a 'traditional' and 'modern' Haida artist. The Burnaby Art Gallery hosted *Northwest Renaissance* in 1980, curated by Vancouver gallery owner, David Young, of the Bent-box Gallery. In 1984, the first art historian to take note of the print medium mounted an exhibition and published a corresponding catalogue with the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, *The Northwest Coast Native Print*. Leslie Dawn situated print production as a transformative medium, capable of evolving traditional art forms towards more contemporary means of cultural expression. The text accurately and succinctly summarized the early history of Northwest Coast prints. In 1985, the Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art hosted an extensive show of prints, *Eye of the Dreamer: Heroes and Heroic Transformation in Northwest Coast Silkscreen Prints*, on long-term loan. The works came from the National Museum of Man's collection amassed by Blackman and Hall on behalf of the museum while they were conducting their research. Finally, in 1986 anthropologist Karen Duffek produced the last exhibition catalogue focused exclusively on prints: *New Visions, Serigraphs by Susan A. Point, Coast Salish Artist*. It is a pamphlet, more than a catalogue, of Point's earliest works in serigraphy. Some of the reproductions show Point's graphic copies of historic Salish works, and others employ the unique color palette and fade technique that hint at the innovation Point would bring to Northwest Coast art through explorations in the print process itself.

Since the mid-1980s the topic laid dormant - until recently. Meanwhile, the emergence of a new generation of artists with art school pedigrees who worked in more

traditional art world media garnered the bulk of a limited pool of art historical interest in contemporary work. These artists and their works made marked incursions on normative museological representations in Canada and the United States. Anthropologists and art historians alike began to distinguish between Indigenous art appropriate for museum space and that which was made for the market; prints largely fell into the latter category.¹⁰

There were two typical tropes for referencing coastal silkscreen prints. First, traditionalist scholars asserted that contemporary Indigenous artists could only be considered serious when working in historic media.¹¹ Secondly, other scholarship subversively reaffirmed this position by mentioning print production as a 1970s “boom” phenomenon that propelled art innovation. Such referential scholarship implies later print production is passé, or unoriginal.¹² A typical example is found in Bill McLennan and Karen Duffek’s *Transforming Image*, which investigates historic painted formline on three-dimensional objects. The text focuses primarily on bentwood boxes, which offer

¹⁰ As Judith Ostrowitz has noted: “Therefore these postcolonial artists on the Northwest Coast, who are generally themselves encouraged by the art market and by non-native scholarship that identifies them by means of their heritage, are nonetheless excluded from contemporary art discourse. They appear to converse in an idiom that is timeless, at least to the untutored eye. Their works, currently on view in museums, art galleries, through the printed media, and in film, are considered perennially premodern and imagined as static in an international art environment driven by invention.” Ostrowitz, *Privileging the Past*, 109. A more complex example of this shift is exemplified by the nationally renowned 1992 exhibition organized by Diana Nemiroff, Robert Houle, and Charlotte Townsend-Gault, *Land, Spirit, Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1992). Curators included Northwest Coast works that continue historic art making, namely masks and button blankets. Innovations in coastal media were noticeably absent, including prints, just as Inuit artworks that circulate in the market were also excluded. While curators wrote about the longstanding innovations in coastal art forms (134-136) they failed to illustrate recent innovations. Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun’s paintings and digital experiments were included, and these both visually reference Northwest Coast design. However Yuxweluptun’s text takes pains to separate himself from other coastal artists. He wrote, “My work is very different from traditional art work. How do you paint a land claim? You can’t carve a totem pole that has a beer bottle on it.” 221.

¹¹ Peter L Macnair, Alan L Hoover, and Kevin Neary, *The Legacy: Tradition and Innovation in Northwest Coast Indian Art* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 267. Macnair, Hoover, and Neary, *The Legacy*.

¹² See exhibition description: Ruth Phillips, “Formline Modern: The MacDonald Collection of Northwest Coast Graphic Art,” curatorial essay, *Carleton University Art Gallery*, accessed January 1, 2017, <http://cuag.carleton.ca/index.php/exhibitions/242/>.

five visible, two-dimensional surfaces for painting and relief carving. Of prints, they briefly note:

Today, silkscreen prints display a broad range of styles and imagery based largely on contemporary interpretation of the nineteenth-century tradition [of painting]... Even as the tradition of the painting remains a source of inspiration for printmakers today, however, the character of the painted line itself has not readily been translated through the silkscreen technique. Most Northwest Coast prints are created through the use of successive stencils and applications of inks to assemble a complete and predetermined image. In painted compositions, by contrast, form and line take shape directly through the movement of the artist's brush... The mechanical perfection emphasized by printmakers has encouraged a similar reliance on templates and drafting tools by painters. The result has been a general shift away from the painterly impulse within a traditionally fluid and inventive approach to composition.¹³

While there is no doubt that coastal peoples have long painting histories, it is equally correct to note that contemporary artists who work in formline firmly reject a European descended painting tradition in favor of the print medium. Moreover, historic coastal artists used stencils, templates, and drafting tools for their designs. Current drafting practices maintain a continuation of creation rather than a break from an historic moment. This overt privileging of the painterly line over the print process is a strategy for validation within academic structures. Northwest Coast anthropologists and art historians routinely employ formalist terminology and idealize the hand of the artist, invention, and originality to conform to canonical art historical structures. These strategies serve the purpose of authenticating coastal arts within the academic discourses. However, the dismissal of the screen print as a meaningful modern medium fails to acknowledge its place within contemporary coastal arts.

¹³ Bill McLennan and Karen Duffek, *The Transforming Image: Painted Arts of Northwest Coast First Nations* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 260.

Print aesthetics have critically shaped the visuality of all coastal arts traditions and innovations of the last sixty years. However, within the literature on contemporary Northwest Coast art prints routinely function in an illustrative - rather than substantive - context. Often, without any discussion of the medium or its history, printed works are reproduced in the majority of books on contemporary Northwest Coast arts. Today's most prolific and prominent scholars and curators of the coast - Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Ian Thom, Aaron Glass, Aldona Jonaitis, and Barbara Brotherton, to name a few - reproduce print works in their tomes on coastal arts. Depending on the era of publication, and its larger scope, these works focus on the formal elements within the image, or the biography of the artist.

In recent years there has been a wave of curatorial interest in Indigenous prints, in which Northwest Coast prints have been touched upon through exhibitions and their catalogues. In 1998, the Burke Museum at the University of Washington hosted a salon style exhibition, *Graphic Culture: Prints from the Blackman-Hall Collection*, based on the newly acquired collection. Around that same time George MacDonald also became interested in donating his encyclopedic collection of prints. He first offered them to the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, but the majority of his works ultimately went to Carleton University. In 2001, Carleton graduate student Carissa Looman curated a small show based on the collection.¹⁴ I completed my master's thesis on the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild in 2011, and the following year my preliminary research paper was published in *Articulate*, the University of Victoria's

¹⁴ Paul Gessell, "Ottawa's 'other' Art Gallery: Exhibits at Carleton University Art Gallery Prove This Venue Is on the Cutting Edge," *The Ottawa Citizen; Ottawa, Ont.*, June 9, 2001, sec. Going Out.

graduate art history journal.¹⁵ In 2013, Andrea Walsh worked with a graduate student, Shelby Richardson, to curate a small print exhibition from the University of Victoria's Rickard collection at the McPherson Library.¹⁶ The next year, Ruth Phillips organized a course to curate a small show of the MacDonald collection, *Carleton Curatorial Laboratory: Formline Modern: the MacDonald Collection*. That same year, artist and curator Tania Willard held a residency at the Kamloops Art Gallery. She became interested in the gallery's under-exhibited print collection. As she prepared her exhibition she recognized the dearth of scholarship on non-Inuit print histories in Canada.¹⁷ Her exhibition catalogue essay offers the most comprehensive and detailed history of Northwest Coast prints to date.¹⁸ Most recently, heather ahtone curated *Entering the Matrix: Indigenous Printmakers* at the University of Oklahoma's Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, which covered the breadth of Native American printmaking and featured a handful of Northwest Coast prints.¹⁹ Loaned from the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City, the migration of these works from the coast to the Midwest demonstrates the popular and perhaps unexpected dissemination of Northwest Coast prints. Finally, the Tacoma Art Museum invited me to guest curate an exhibition that emphasizes women's work and new media for 2017.

¹⁵ India Young, "We Poets, Philosophers, Serigraphers: Locating the Northwest Coast Indian Artist Guild within Indigenous Tradition" (University of Victoria, 2011); India Young, "Re-Pressed: How Serigraphy Re-Envisions Northwest Coast Iconography," *ARTiculate* 1, no. 1 (2012): 39–54.

¹⁶ Shelby Richardson, "Understanding Place in Culture – Serigraphs and the Transmission of Cultural Knowledge," curatorial essay, *University of Victoria Art Collections*, (2013), <http://uvac.uvic.ca/gallery/placeinculture/>.

¹⁷ Tania Willard, informal conversation with India Rael Young, Kamloops, March 5, 2014.

¹⁸ Tania Willard, *Unlimited Edition* (Kamloops: Kamloops Art Gallery, 2015), http://www.kag.bc.ca/docs/unlimited_edition.pdf.

¹⁹ Also in 2015, a graduate student at Columbia University, Sarah Driver, curated *Weaving Past Into Present: Contemporary Native American Printmaking* at the IPCNY. However, the show did not feature any Northwest Coast Native prints.

This recent flourishing curatorial and academic awareness of Indigenous prints demonstrates the necessity for an in-depth history of Northwest Coast Native prints. Such ephemeral, curatorial overviews can only skim the surface of a sixty-year history. However, the homogeneity of student impetus, at academic institutions, centering on donated, encyclopedic collections should be recognized. With this print history in its sixth decade, it enters the scope of a human lifetime. Some of the original artists, printers, and dealers have passed away; many more have recently retired. A new generation of Northwest Coast Native artists has begun to question the role of the Northwest Coast Native art market, and consequently the production and purposes for prints are changing. Coastal artists will undoubtedly continue to make prints. Like the flurry of activity in the late 1970s, this recent interest seems to signify a foundational shift.

Unwritten Histories and Methodology

This dissertation reflects both academic knowledge systems as well as Native and First Nations ways of knowing. To uncover this print history I have worked with the creators of the history themselves. I have spent time in Vancouver, Victoria, and Seattle and worked with artists, printers, dealers, and curators to collect the narratives that contribute to my coalescing of a linear history. I have sought out the most prolific contributors, the first generation of print artists, and this newest generation for interviews. Likewise, I have reached out to some of the most prominent artists working in the larger field of Northwest Coast arts to ask when and why they work in prints. I have spent time with public and private collections, and visited exhibitions to gain secondary

observations. The field is so vast that it would be impossible to collect personal histories from everyone involved with the medium. Nevertheless, primary voices remain my primary sources. This dissertation is testament to the biographies of those who created a history.

The many people who have contributed to this history are sometimes represented telling their own stories, and are ever-present through my necessary retelling that teases out common experiences and themes. Along with the artists themselves, certain printers have helped shape this print history. Similar to the workings of the Tamarind Institute, Native artists bring their designs to master printers who then recreate those works, predominately as serigraphs.²⁰ By and large, Vincent Rickard and Paul Nicolson have created the thousands of Northwest Coast Native prints in circulation since the 1960s. Rickard owned the print studio Pacific Editions, in Victoria, for over forty years. Nicolson began printing at the University of Washington, moved into his own shop, and eventually took over Seattle's Legacy Ltd. Gallery. Michael Ee at Screencraft in Vancouver, and Eric Bourquin at Seacoast in Victoria, have also been instrumental printers.²¹ Their first-hand knowledge and experience has been imperative to my research. As Rickard and Nicolson recently moved towards retirement, a few printers have begun to compete for their place. Meanwhile, for some artists, digital design and printing is changing aesthetics and production.

²⁰ The Tamarind Institute is America's most significant lithography house. It began in the 1960s, alongside LA's print workshop Gemini G.E.L., with the dual purposes of training master printers and collaborating with artists wishing to work in the print medium. Tamarind has printed with many of America's well-known artists, including Albers, Diebenkorn, De Kooning, Dine, and Rusha, to name just a few.

²¹ Andy MacDougall has dabbled in Northwest Coast screen-printing over the years. In 2015, he began working with the Wachiay Friendship Centre to mentor Indigenous screen printers.

Washington State's Seattle, and the British Columbian cities of Victoria and Vancouver, create an apex containing the most successful commercial galleries that economically sustain the print market.²² I have spoken with current and past gallery owners to gain a better understanding of how their market functions, including: Lia Grundle, Peter Lattimer, John Livingston, Elaine Monds, Elizabeth Steinbrueck, Gary Wyatt, and Melanie Zavediuk. Their knowledge is particularly important because of their relationships with both artists and patrons. They also endorse art through slightly different means than public art galleries and museums, which have not actively promoted the coastal print tradition.

That said, a handful of public institutions hold significant collections of Northwest Coast prints. Primary objects have been as important to my study as primary voices. Major collections are held at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria, the Legacy Gallery at the University of Victoria, the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, the Burke Museum at the University of Washington in Seattle, and the Seattle Art Museum. Martha Black, Caroline Riedel, Mary Jo Hughes, Karen Duffek, Robin Wright, Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse, Rebecca Andrews, Justin McCarthy, and Barbara Brotherton have all been generous with their time and resources. I have spoken with the encyclopedic collectors who have donated these collections: Vincent Rickard, Margaret Blackman, Simon Ottenberg, George MacDonald, Doug McTavish, and George and Christiane Smyth. They offered a picture of the longer history of the market through their interests.

²² While the Alaskan panhandle has related arts iconographies, the development of the market in Alaska has been quite different. The geographic and governmental isolation from other communities has delayed external interests in local Native arts. This has resulted in a cultural community focused on providing arts for itself. Only in recent years has an external arts market begun to develop. Southeast Alaskan artists who make fine art prints have made and marketed them through Washington outlets, and are included as such.

The most important contributions to my research have been insights from artists. I learned from a wide range of artists, who work in many styles, and who have achieved varying degrees of notoriety in their home communities and within the art world. Their personal histories connect to each other and offer a broad perspective. I had formal conversations with: Joe David, Robert Davidson, Rande Cook, Richard Hunt, Angela Marston, Clarissa Rizal, Preston Singletary, Marika Swan, Chris Paul, Marvin Oliver, lessLIE, Roy Henry Vickers, Lyle Wilson, and Don Yeomans, and had many helpful informal conversations with other artists including: Stan Bevan, Thomas and Kelly Cannell, Greg Colfax, Beau Dick, Charles Elliot, Andy Everson, Maynard Johnny Jr., Doug Lafortune, and Andy Wilbur-Peterson.

Affirming Northwest Coast knowledge as authoritative shaped my methodology. Northwest Coast epistemologies related to politics and economies are imperative to understanding the social place of a coastal print history, however, Indigenous worldviews remain sparse within the academy. Scholars from Boas to Jonaitis have attempted to describe unifying features of the arts of Northwest Coast peoples. And yet, the peoples of the Northwest Coast are as diverse as they are similar. I have resolved to present the commonalities of narrative from many individual actors as new art historical theories, with the intent that such theorization activates Linda Tuhiwai-Smith and Shawn Wilson's call for decolonization within the academy.

Working with Tuhiwai-Smith's *Indigenous Methodologies*, Wilson's *Research is Ceremony*, and James Clifford's anthology, *Writing Culture*, I have been considering my place as researcher, scholar, and non-Native. Smith and Wilson, as Indigenous scholars, teach interconnected lessons about creating space for Indigenous worldviews within the

academy. First, university knowledge both comes from colonization and is itself colonizing. It then follows that Indigenous peoples have what Smith describes as, “a very real ambivalence” towards university education.²³ Through my inquiries, I felt first hand this ambivalence both to university knowledge and to art world structures, which are likewise rooted in intersectionalities that colonize how and why “art” is created, shared, and valued. Both Smith and Wilson argue that when Indigenous values are upheld as academic methodologies the process of decolonization begins. While their methodological lessons cannot be distilled, common principles have become important for my research. Wilson’s discussion of relational accountability foregrounds respect and responsibility.²⁴ As both Wilson and Smith write as Indigenous scholars, I consider it imperative to reflect on how respect and responsibility might be exercised as a non-Native scholar, particularly in consideration of the real and deeply ambivalent relationship between Indigenous and academic communities. It is important to note that, for very different reasons, non-Native scholars maintain an ambivalent relationship to Indigenous peoples. Through the rise of post-modernism, academics were forced to grapple with colonialism and identity and began to acknowledge the colonialist values of their research practice. Anthropology - a field whose primary objective is the study of the Other - more than most academic disciplines, including art history, has been forced to confront its relationship to Indigenous peoples as colonialist. Clifford’s anthology explores how individual academics simultaneously interrogate themselves and their disciplines through their research. Significantly, anthropology more definitively shapes

²³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: research and indigenous peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999).

²⁴ Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Pub, 2008).

the history of Northwest Coast prints than any other academic discipline. From the anthology, Mary Louise Pratt notes that ethnography subordinates narrative to the perceptively more factual description.²⁵ My concern has been to treat narrative as perceptively factual. I consider this dissertation both a narrative and a history. Because it is the first monograph, it cannot be definitive. Throughout the text I aim to share the authority that comes with writing with the men and women who have lent me their knowledge; I privilege worldviews that disrupt dominant academic structures to reveal that, indeed, all our narratives and histories are simultaneously authoritative, relational, perceptual, and flawed.

Chapter Summaries

The scope of this history is too vast to contain all the actors within the pages of a dissertation. There are simply too many artists and too many prints - editions number in the thousands - to accurately catalogue artworks and artists' biographies.²⁶ This dissertation focuses on the systems that have made the print medium a popular and enduring Northwest Coast arts tradition.

In the following chapter I consider the two cultural positions that have contributed to the institutionalization of Northwest Coast prints. I first situate the print within North American art history. The print occupies second tier status within the dominant arts tradition.²⁷ I contend the print's reproducible nature and connections to mechanization

²⁵ James Clifford and George E Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

²⁶ My assessment places the number of editions somewhere over 7,000, perhaps as high as 10,000. With edition sizes varying from the most exclusive to 500 or more, and reproduction prints and cards produced from those original prints, it is likely a million Northwest Coast prints have been released into circulation.

²⁷ Michel Melot, *Prints: History of an Art* (New York: Rizzoli, 1981); Rosemarie L Tovell, *A New Class of Art: The Artist's Print in Canadian Art, 1877-1920* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1996).

are denigrated as common. European arts traditions privilege the original, and the hand of the artist; there is very little theoretical space for objects in multiple crafted through a mechanical intermediary. However, the print's commercial and distribution properties maintain its relationship to art world structures. This chapter outlines the cultural underpinning of the North American art world and coastal Indigenous communities to see how two differing cultural structures came to merge in one medium.

Chapter Two delves into Northwest Coast Indigenous communities' long histories of privileging repetition and reproduction. I conceptualize how values of repetition and reproduction are upheld within coastal communities. Oral traditions, customs of apprenticeship, and mass object production for potlatches offer some key examples of the social currency of that which is reproducible. Moreover, the very aesthetic language of Northern coastal nations is premised on the infinite reproducibility of finite formal elements. The inherent value of reproducibility holds natural appeal for coastal artists, and its commercial and distribution properties serve strategic purposes for individuals and nations working to promote their visibility and economic stability.

This section of the dissertation builds Indigenous worldviews on reproduction into a Northwest Coast print history. I conceptualize the idea of vernacular aesthetics around the methods artists from certain nations used to create recognizable graphic styles. Through reprising historic forms, and repeating, or riff, from each other's designs, certain cultural groups have defined specific cultural styles. The first generation of print artists claimed space broadly for the form itself. They made black and red formlines synonymous with the Northwest Coast. Yet, within that boom Nuuchahnulth artists emerged with a homogenous aesthetic that spoke to contemporary audiences about the

Nuu-chah-nulth community's vitality and unity. Joe David, Ron Hamilton (known variously as Hupquachew and Ki-ke-in), Art Thompson, Patrick Amos, Tim Paul, and Walter Harris isolated specific Nuu-chah-nulth elements from historic objects and collectively revisioned them into a specific visual language. Likewise, Susan Point, Stan Greene, Charles Elliot and others riffed off historic pieces and each other to begin a Coast Salish design style that a second generation of Salish artists, like Chris Paul, lessLIE, Shaun Peterson, and Peter Boome, have used to claim space within the Northwest Coast art world and their territories in Victoria, Vancouver, and Seattle. These culturally defined styles affirm survivance for coastal communities and build tangible connections between nations and larger communities.

Chapter Three addresses the market, which is the primary system where these prints circulate. In the 1960s and 1970s artists and dealers worked to build a new market for contemporary Northwest Coast Native and First Nations fine arts. However, Northwest Coast artists had been participating in commercial markets for their objects since the first European sailors reached their shores. They traded goods and quickly put their skills to work making objects that appealed to explorers, missionaries, and tourists. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Canadian government banned the creation of much Indigenous cultural material. Across the border in the United States missionaries and government officials also suppressed cultures and cultural works of Southern and Northern nations. After this time, many coastal artists learned to rely on tourist arts and collaboration with visiting anthropologists for opportunities to continue practicing their craft. During the early and mid-twentieth century, with few resources

and even less authority, Northwest Coast artists cultivated subversive enterprises.

Framing my discussion of the market I consider the long history of exchange.

For centuries, coastal peoples traded with each other and other neighbors. There were many tiers to this economy. My interest centers on the artist's function within the potlatch complex. This social system provided economic (and social and political) structure for coastal peoples within their own communities and with respect to their neighbors. Artists held a privileged space within society because they provided the most precious and fine works for ceremony and for gifting. The objects they created held both symbolic and literal value. When the potlatch was banned in Canada in 1885, and suppressed in the United States, artists found new ways to maintain their social structures within the imposed North American economy.

Native artists' successes with tourism and as informants for anthropologists critically shaped the market for contemporary Northwest Coast arts in the 1960s. While the artists of this generation created an invaluable space for themselves and their arts practices, they were also still bound by non-Native power dynamics that regulated many conditions of their livelihood. It was not until 1960 that Aboriginal Canadians were able to vote. The simultaneous civil liberties movements of African, Native, and Latin Americans in the 1960s affected the Pacific Northwest as much as anywhere else. Here, Indigenous artists used general societal momentum to redefine how their arts practices were perceived by the larger society. At this moment, contemporary Native-made works began to move from crafts to arts, and from goods to objects. Not coincidentally, Native artists simultaneously took up the recognizable non-Native arts practice of printmaking.

When coastal artists began to redefine their works within the context of fine arts, they employed the print medium - as an already recognizable art form- to disseminate Northwest Coast iconographies as the identifiers of living, present cultures.

Anthropologists and tourists alike were forced to confront the idiosyncrasy of a non-Native medium employed by artists as a contemporary, Native medium. Tourists, also experiencing the drama and the realities the civil rights era, were keen to participate in this aspect of a new economy. Meanwhile, a handful of anthropologists worked to naturalize prints into a linear history of Northwest Coast arts as an extension, or redundancy, of historic object making. For example, Blackman and Hall begin their introduction to *Northwest Coast Indian Graphics*:

The forested expanse of sea coast extending from Oregon through British Columbia to Alaska was the traditional home of several Indian groups who developed an art form of startling power and remarkable sophistication. In recent years, contemporary expressions of traditional Northwest Coast Indian art in many different media have increasingly found an appreciative audience far beyond the boundaries of the Northwest Coast. The ancient totem poles that once towered above the plank house villages have rooted and returned to the forest or are preserved in museums, but newly carved totem poles grace native villages... Vibrant ceremonial masks that long ago spoke of the relationship between humans and the natural-supernatural universe now lie mute on museum shelves or pass under the auctioneer's hammer for tens of thousands of dollars, but contemporary Northwest Coast Indian artists create new masks that are as technically excellent and every bit as inspired, both to be sold to connoisseurs and to be used in modern-day ceremonies.²⁸

The majority of practicing coastal artists worked in the media and iconographies of their forbearers. While Northwest Coast prints are distinctly connected to object histories

²⁸ Hall, Blackman, and Rickard, *Northwest Coast Indian Graphics*, 27. In a broader context Ruth Phillips has written: "...twentieth-century ethnologists have participated in the 'fine art' mystique of their time, subscribing to the standard dichotomy between the sacred and the secular and to the hierarchy of fine and applied arts." Ruth Phillips, "Why Not Tourist Art? Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations," in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 102.

through their iconographies I consider how they also helped to renegotiate the perception of all Northwest Coast contemporary works as fine arts. Unlike totem poles, masks, baskets, and jewelry, prints occupied a legible space within the mainstream North American art world.

The Northwest Coast Native art market remains distinct from the larger art world. This market has always been cultivated as equal but separate from contemporary arts. It is tempting to assume the separation came about through social marginalization. I suggest the role of prints within the market illuminates how artists cultivated a distinctly ambiguous relationship with the art world in order to maintain their cultural authority. For coastal communities, totem poles and masks require no cultural explanations; they are inherently understood. When these objects are made for outside communities there is no definitive method in place that ensures that the work's original purposes are communicated.

However, prints are deployed as educational tools. This is something I explore in depth in Chapter Four. This chapter focuses on the artists who transformed the medium into a regional Indigenous arts tradition, and their methods for doing so. I define these artists as way-makers. I explore the biographies of the four most prolific printmakers: Robert Davidson, Roy Henry Vickers, Marvin Oliver, and Susan Point to understand how prints have become a coastal art form akin to masks or jewelry. These artists strategically employed the medium for place-making and storytelling, and their successes have largely institutionalized the medium as a coastal art. Davidson and Vickers, with the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, used the medium to transition the field from tourism to arts, and the ripple effect of their efforts reshaped shops into galleries. Oliver and Point built a

relationship between their prints and their sculptures that claimed both physical and psychological landscapes for Coast Salish artists, with Point specifically defining Coast Salish aesthetics through her manifold successes in print. The biographies of these artists intersect with the evolutions of the history to create new paths. Their networks of connections ripple into the two other themes I identify.

Place-making relates back to vernacular languages, but also to the relationship built between public works and prints. Along with totem poles, prints are the most visible art form in regional public spaces. They can be found on the ferries, at the mall, dentist's, doctor's, and lawyer's offices. They adorn government building hallways and university libraries. In institutional locations they become a signifier of the presence of living Indigenous peoples, and suggest that institution's positive relationship with Indigenous peoples. In smaller spaces, at offices or in the homes of non-Natives, the works may be tokens of affinity. Within these spaces, they often create a personal connection for the owners who have integrated them into their own framing of their place within the geography of the Pacific Northwest.

It is difficult to fully assess how non-Native print purchasers view their collections. However, the intentionality for printmaking among Native artists originated during the 1970s and remains vital today. Artists expressed a relationship between the valuation of prints and the ability of prints to be shared widely. Most artists contentedly keep print prices reasonable so that broad audiences can engage with them; at the same time they use prints to share stories about their designs, their communities, and their heritage. The gifting of this knowledge does not equally transpire through other media. Masks or basketry will be accompanied by an artist's biography and very little other

contextual information. In contrast, prints have been cultivated to have accompanying stories. Originally, this was invented as a marketing technique. In the late 1970s artists, sometimes asked by dealers or publishers, began to write short texts to accompany their works. These texts helped bind prints to the perceived traditions of the Northwest Coast art world, and generated a sense of authenticity for buyers. However, surprisingly, the stories rarely relayed specific cultural narratives. Instead, the stories worked to affirm the continued persistence of Native ways of knowing and sharing, between artists, and between communities – local, anthropological, arts, and visitor alike. I consider how prints have become educational tools for Indigenous communities through storytelling.

The conclusion of this dissertation focuses on the newest group of print artists. Their works sometimes conform to the systems outlined in this narrative, and sometimes their works defy them. New narratives of the Northwest Coast print are being produced and disseminated through the old channels, and through entirely new ones. New technology and the role of the Internet are rapidly reshaping how artists engage audiences, and redefine the boundaries of reproduction. We can only begin to review how the potentiality of these new modes of production and dissemination are changing the geography of the Northwest Coast art world.

Chapter 1

WORLDVIEWS ON REPRODUCTION

“Real, good art replicates life.” - Chris Paul

Not so long ago a curator friend told me about a discussion she had with the director of one of America’s major art lithography houses. During the conversation this director quietly decried, “Reproduction! Shhh. That’s the dirtiest word you can utter in the art world.” Over the course of my research into Northwest Coast Native prints I have found the statement to underlay a popular art world perception that extends into the very deepest social systems of thought held by Euro-American societies. Social conditioning in the world of art maintains particular ideas about originality and individuality that creates an opposition to multiples, reproductions, and repetitions. Even the director of a print studio must be mindful of how concepts of reproduction are viewed by the larger arts community. The history of Northwest Coast Native prints is embedded within the constructs of the art world and Indigeneity. This chapter navigates through the multiple worldviews around reproduction to position the institutionalization of Northwest Coast prints.

Both art directors and art historians of the print medium find themselves confronted with dominant ideologies about originality and individuality. There are common discourse tropes that art historians and gallery directors alike employ to reposition print reproduction as something singular and intimately connected to the hand of the artist. The inventions of the original print and the limited edition as devices originated with the nineteenth century etching revivals of Europe and North America, and became codified systems in the early twentieth century as evolutions in print media

demanded space in the world of fine art.²⁹ Walter Benjamin and William Ivins, whose theoretical works explore modernity's relationships to reproduction, have become icons for art historians as negotiators of a boundary between the unique and the reproducible.³⁰

Conversely, the Northwest Coast Native arts community recognizes no boundary between an original and that which is reproduced, or reproducible. Cultural ideals position reproductions and the artistic mechanisms for reproductions at the forefront of coastal art systems. Indeed, a reproduction becomes merely one expression of a multifaceted social conception, which replicates the very life ways of coastal peoples. As with social conditioning around individuality within the culture of the art world, a conception of repetition pervades Northwest Coast Native society. A larger understanding about the value of repetition directly informs the arts, in practices and aesthetics. Within Northwest Coastal cultures the concept of reproduction is nothing 'dirty,' but something so deeply ingrained into life ways that its rhetoric is transformative: serial, cyclical, and perpetually reaffirming.

The history of Northwest Coast Native prints has arisen within distinctly opposed systems of valuation, that of the art world and that for Northwest Coast Indigenous cultures. Since Andy Warhol's *Soup Cans* (1962), Northwest Coast artists have silkscreened their iconographies as fine art.³¹ When the prints of Pop artists fell into a place in history, Northwest Coast Native artists continued their practice as something of a new tradition. I intend this chapter to be a theoretical framework within which we might conceptualize all that comes later: reproduction generates tradition.

²⁹ Twentieth century artists, from Duchamp to Warhol, employed the multiple as a challenge to the art world. Such efforts illustrate the entrenchment of the concept of the original within the art world.

³⁰ A parallel discussion on the cult of originality as it applies to contemporary Northwest Native artists can be found in Ostrowitz, *Privileging the Past*, 3-18.

³¹ Henry Speck, *Kwakiutl Art* (Vancouver: B.C. Indian Designs, 1964).

Benjamin, Reproduction, and Social Conditioning

In the North American art world one cannot talk about the modern history of the print medium without invoking Walter Benjamin and his seminal work, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (1936). It theorizes the social position for reproduction in relation to other conditions, namely tradition, authenticity, and modernity. For Benjamin, some of these touchstones are points of philosophical debate relating to modernity, while others enter the text as *truths*, made so only by a supposition of the reader’s common socio-cultural understanding. From Michel Melots’ *Prints: History of an Art* (1981), to Susan Tallman’s *The Contemporary Print* (1996), historians remain compelled to tackle Benjamin and his suppositions about reproduction as they relate to the medium.

With Benjamin as the art historical touchstone on reproduction art prints have been contextualized in specific terms. His work reproduces and perpetuates Eurocentric sensibilities about the place and purpose of art in general. For Benjamin, painting is the “authentic,” “pure,” and “original” art, while reproduction has been “inherently disreputable,” since the Medieval age.³² In an “original work,” the quality of presence, or the aura, “is always depreciated in a mechanical reproduction.”³³ The article goes on to theorize the relationship between an original work of art and things reproduced. Benjamin ponders whether artwork by Dadaists, Surrealists, or filmmakers can ever *truly* assume the authority of an original painting, which occupies, for him, singular presence in space and time, and is therefore capable of historical testimony. The author is not

³² Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Art in Theory, 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2003), 500–520.

³³ *Ibid*, 513.

singularly against reproduction, and indeed queries whether “for the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual.”³⁴ For Benjamin, the ultimate assumed risk of reproduction as artwork is that, like architecture, it will be absorbed by the masses rather than experienced by them. He juxtaposes those who are able to experience art with “the masses.” Such a distinction presumes two tiers of society and mirrors the purported hierarchical relationship between original works and reproductions. Certain elites have the intellectual wherewithal to “read” art, while the masses lack knowledge or taste. Some art historians take this framework to heart. While Benjamin’s work does not discuss the medium of the art print, historians routinely feel they must confront stigmas of reproducibility *because* of its association with the multitudes.

Benjamin’s rhetoric of ‘authentic,’ ‘original,’ ‘singular,’ and ‘essential’ has been the art historian’s tool for the creation of the myth of the unique, for both artist and object, for centuries. “Parasitical” dependence on ritual runs deep through European art history. When Benjamin asserts that an historic original preserves all authority, and off-handedly notes that manual reproductions are “usually branded as forgeries,” he subverts the very ritual of centuries of academic art.³⁵ The hand of the artist has been crucial to the development of the myth of the artist. Masters like Rembrandt remain revered for their deft and identifiable stroke, despite the armies of apprentices and forgers who learned to paint by mimicking his “uniqueness.” Within the “Age of Reproduction” Benjamin frames the Dadaists as modernity’s art originators, and filmmakers as copiers and so perpetuates the myth of the artist, and affirms the aura of the singular artwork.

³⁴ Ibid, 514.

³⁵ Ibid, 513.

Much of twentieth century art history has been consumed with the preservation of the myth of the artist - and art object - as original, pure, and authentic. Even whilst artists themselves overtly attacked the concept, the ritual reproduction of making history continues to be re-inscribed. Artistic commitments to reproduction are continually rewritten by this greater narrative of originality. The artists themselves, along with art historians interested in reproduction, struggle to situate themselves within a deeply entrenched socio-cultural framework.

Art historians of the print medium find themselves in a sociological conundrum. When the history of art conforms to a language about originality and individuality, and confirms a hierarchy that privileges first painting, then sculpture, then everything else, this same language must be employed to validate art prints. Consequently, many art historians of the print medium strive to replicate such rhetoric, all the while affirming that replication in service of the medium maintains rather than destroys authenticity. The task of the print art historian has been to revalue the medium in relation to the myth of the artist. Michel Melot, eminent historian of the European print, frankly discusses the conundrum:

The characteristics of the *product* - a transferred image, mass-produced by a printing machine - were very different from those of the *work of art* with its transcendence of creation and immanence of meaning. The two were mutually contradictory. If such an object was to be produced, society had first to produce its maker, the engraver, who had as yet no place in the social order. Indeed, it was in his personality that this initial contradiction had to be resolved, and that is why such composite qualities were expected of him: he had to be both 'creator' and 'craftsman,' both 'intellectual' and 'manual' worker. The personality of the engraver would always oscillate between workman and artist, and even today, when the artist alone dominates, there are 'archeological' traces of the workman in every printmaker.³⁶

³⁶ Melot, *Prints*, 41.

Melot places the need for this resolve of seemingly disparate qualities of character into the nineteenth century etching revival. By this moment the art world was already socially conditioned to identify a hierarchy both in product and person: painting then print, artist then craftsman.

Another classic example of such rhetorical maneuvering comes from David Platzker, who with Elizabeth Wyckoff published a tome on the history of Euro-American prints, *Hard Pressed: 600 Years of Prints and Process* (2000). In his introduction he writes:

In the *hands of artists* like Rembrandt.. or Edward Ruscha..., the print has also been conceived as a virtually *unique object* rather than as an endless and mechanically repeatable multiple. In tandem with the increasing emphasis on the limited edition, this *individualization* of the multiple has contributed to the self-conscious notion of the '*original print*' that has become increasingly predominant in the twentieth century, culminating in the production of very small, highly marketed, collectable editions. Such small productions have the seemingly contradictory effect of making precious something that is, theoretically at least, endlessly repeatable.³⁷

To think of Rembrandt's output as limited is peculiar, and yet a perversely necessary action. In order to confirm the value of the hand of the artist the scholar contrives to frame reproduction as something that, when handled appropriately, can be elevated beyond the mechanical into the realm of art. These references offer a sample of what art historians continually reproduced to justify print histories in relation to the dominant narratives of the discipline.³⁸

³⁷ Platzker and Wyckoff, *Hard Pressed*, 10. My italics.

³⁸ For another example see the introduction in Lois Allan, *Contemporary Printmaking in the Northwest* (Sydney: Craftsman House, 1997), 8–17. Note the reference to Benjamin and Duchamp in the same paragraph: “Historically, uniqueness has been the *sine qua non* of art. However, certain theorists, beginning with Walter Benjamin, argue that the widespread availability of many kinds of images, including film has challenged the notion that unique existence in itself has a relationship to the value of a work of art. As reproducibility brings art objects to a mass audience, he argues, the aura of authenticity diminishes. Marcel Duchamp further muddled the water by his insistence, both in his art and his works, that the mind, not the object, is the location of art...” 11.

European art history's insistence upon the original has shaped the way prints move through the art world. Reproduction, that dirtiest of words, is continually moderated so that the value, or aura, of any one print may maintain its potential. Artists like Duchamp and Warhol and theorists like Benjamin have pushed against the system and asserted the potential values reproduction offers. Yet, the social narrative continues to frame reproduction as unoriginal, and decidedly proletariat.

Meeting of Worlds: histories of screen-printing as fine art

Around the same time Benjamin's work was first published American screen printers were striving to revalue their works from craft to art. The North American etching revival of the nineteenth century inscribed a place for etching and engraving in the larger narrative of art history.³⁹ Lithography, lino and screen-printing were relatively new media to North America. During the first half of the century, from Russia to Mexico, wood block and linocut prints became defined by their relationships to leftist politics. Screen-printing and lithography eschewed political dynamics when popularized as mass printing methods in the late nineteenth century, and became most directly associated with commercial production.

Screen-printing first originated in China as stencil printing during the Song Dynasty (960-1279 CE), and immediately traveled to neighboring countries.⁴⁰ However, the medium only arrived in Europe in the late eighteenth century and did not gain traction until a century later when European silk became affordable. Eurocentric art histories

³⁹ Tovell, *A New Class of Art*.

⁴⁰ Angela Sheng, "Why Ancient Silk Is Still Gold: Issues in Chinese Textile History," ed. Anne E. Wardwell, Morris Rossabi, and James C. Y. Watt, *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999): 147–68. Accessed June 12, 2014.

routinely whitewash the medium's origins.⁴¹ Canadian and American screen-printing as art began in the 1910s when a handful of artists experimented with the medium at the Art Students League in New York. At this same time professionals of the medium made significant technological advances in photo-screening. Publishers of books, magazines, and newspapers promptly adopted the medium, while artists continued to dabble.

It was not until the 1930s that commercial artists pushed for art world recognition with the formation of the National Serigraphic Society. Curator Carl Zigrosser, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, coined the term serigraphy in an effort to elevate the medium into a fine art. Its Greek etymology, *seri* for silk and *graph*, meaning 'to draw,' was a rhetorical effort to gentrify the medium and connect it with the hand of the artist. The National Serigraphic Society employed the terminologies and criteria of the etching revival to further their cause. Original prints were released in limited editions and the Society held an annual serigraphy exhibition modeled after already well established etching exhibitions.⁴²

"Fine" artists dabbled in the medium through the 1940s and 1950s. All the while, by virtue of commercial publications the screen print's possibilities for reproduction crept into the social consciousness of Northwest Coast Native artists. In 1927, anthropologist Franz Boas published *Primitive Art*. In this seminal text Boas asserted that cultural others produced both "plastic" and "graphic" "arts," which he compared in sophistication

⁴¹ Melot, Griffiths and Plakter make cursory mentions of the medium's origins. Early twentieth-century proponents Sternberg, Beigeleisen, and Busenbark only recount its North American history. Susan Tallman makes no mention of the medium at all, let alone its history. See bibliography.

⁴² Harry Sternberg, *Silk Screen Color Printing: Presenting a New Addition to the Graphic Arts--Serigraphy: A Demonstration and Explanation of the Process of Making "Multiple Original" Color Prints* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942). For a brief history of the invention of original prints and limited editions see Susan Tallman, *The Contemporary Print: From Pre-Pop to Postmodern* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 10, 296, 297.

to each other, and indirectly to European and colonial prescriptions of art through his very vocabulary.⁴³ Boas used both the rhetorical and visual language of the art world to revalue ethnographic objects. Included are hundreds of screen-printed reproductions, including two-dimensional recreations of Northwest Coast Native objects and paintings. The “painting” reproductions were designs lifted from house fronts, dance screens, and three-dimensional objects like bentwood boxes and totem poles then placed into a negative white space on the page and framed by text. The stylized translation of imagery would be a subconscious marker for a North American audience and became a legacy for generations of Northwest Coast print artists.

Primitive Art was reprinted numerous times after its original publication in 1927. It circulated widely in academic and museum communities. In the 1940s, Kwakwaka’wakw artist Mungo Martin had his own copy from which he is reported to have made sketches and drawings.⁴⁴ Martin was one of several artists who worked with Boas and other anthropologists to produce cultural objects, models, and drawings for ethnographic study. The very designs reproduced in *Primitive Art* likely came from Mungo Martin’s relative George Hunt, who as Boas’ primary informant was known to have made drawings and watercolors.⁴⁵

⁴³ Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955). This father of twentieth century anthropology is a controversial figure. His central contribution to the field was the recognition of relative values in world cultures (theoretically in opposition to hierarchical), which he and others of the era referred to as ‘primitive.’ His practices of this theory are notoriously dubious. Indeed, the persistent use of the term ‘primitive’ was a decided marker of Eurocentric hierarchy; the etymology alone connotes a presence of something pre-modern. During Boas’ era of anthropology the term was coded to construct a relationship between “preliterate” cultural groups and their “early ancestors,” while in art circles the term was used as a counterpoint to institutionalized arts; Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1981).

⁴⁴ Phil Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin* (Vancouver: Panorama Publications, 1982).

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 23.

Martin was one of a handful of prominent, mid-twentieth century Kwakwaka'wakw artists who worked to draw attention to the arts traditions of his people. He is best known for his carvings and was also a remarkable painter in two-dimensions. The Royal British Columbia Museum holds his printing plates – remnants of some of the first printed designs produced by a coastal Native artist. These plates would have been a collaborative creation between Martin and a printer. They were featured in an article written by anthropologist Audrey Hawthorn for the Hudson Bay Company's *The Beaver: Canada's History Magazine*.⁴⁶ Throughout Martin's career, British Columbian and American social reformers reshaped national discourses about Indigenous people. These reformers wished to develop economies for Native peoples, and through government programming, promoted Native American arts and crafts.⁴⁷ In Victoria, Alice Ravenhill led such social reforms. With support from the Federal Ministry of Indian Affairs and the Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology Ravenhill organized the British Columbia Indian Arts and Crafts Society. Shortly after its founding in 1940 the society was renamed the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society. Ravenhill published several booklets about her understanding of Northwest Coast peoples and craft-related endeavors, such as cross-stitching, that relied on approximations of Northwest Coast designs. In 1948, the society published *Native Designs of British Columbia*, by then president Anthony Walsh. The book included a series of color silkscreens printed by local Victoria sign maker Ray Garside. These prints were ill-rendered interpretations of coastal designs. As with *Primitive Art*, they recontextualized imagery to conform to

⁴⁶ Royal BC Museum records date the first design to 1960. Audrey Hawthorn, "Mungo Martin, Artist and Craftsman," *The Beaver* 295, no. 2 (1964): 18–23.

⁴⁷ For an in-depth view of the American history see Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009).

publishing standards that centered and foregrounded a single image. Tania Willard notes the paternalistic tone of the text, which was characteristic of reform works:

While [the author] was committed to promoting First Nations art and its educational and commercial potential, Walsh's writing is marked by a sense of paternalism. At one point in his introduction he proclaims that 'Unfortunately, during the last twenty-five years, the high standard of craftsmanship of [the past] has fallen to a low level.' He then goes on to describe the tourist trade as degrading the "purity" of First Nations art. Walsh's view of the tourist trade coloured his ability to see contemporary First Nations art as an innovative response to the cultural, political and economic forces impacting First Nations artists.⁴⁸

While reformers and ethnographers were idealizing an imagined pre-historic moment of coastal artistic creation, Mungo Martin and his Kwakwaka'wakw relatives were deftly adapting the visual system of their culture to contemporary circumstances. They were already part of a long history of Kwakwaka'wakw artists negotiating outside socio-cultural structures to ensure the continuation of their knowledge in the face of colonial erasures and assimilation. In 1885, Canada enacted cultural suppression legislations that lasted until 1951, commonly known on the coast as the potlatch ban. During that time, Kwakwaka'wakw artists found subversive means to continue their arts practices.⁴⁹ An unbroken line of Kwakwaka'wakw artists continued to produce cultural works during the early and middle of the twentieth century including: Charlie James, George Hunt, Bob Harris, Willie Seaweed, Mungo Martin, Ellen Neel, and Henry Speck. They often worked with ethnographers to create commissioned works, models, and sketches. Martin

⁴⁸ Willard, *Unlimited Edition*. Anthony Walsh was an educator at a residential school, the Inkameep Indian School in Ossoyoos, and began the BC Indian Arts and Welfare Society with Ravenhill. His reform philosophies were influenced by his knowledge of Dorothy Dunn and the Santa Fe Indian Day School.

⁴⁹ Ronald William Hawker, *Tales of Ghosts: First Nations Art in British Columbia, 1922-61* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003).

and Neel particularly sought out the tourist trade to promote Kwakwaka'wakw history, culture, and contemporary art.⁵⁰

In 1948, the same year the Welfare Society published their reform book with its ill-rendered silkscreen imitations of Native designs, Ellen Neel spoke at a conference hosted by the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society on Native affairs at the University of British Columbia. There she proclaimed:

The point of mine, which I shall endeavour to illustrate, deals with the idea that efforts should be confined to the preservation of the old work. This idea is a great fallacy where the art of my people is concerned! If our art is dead, then it is fit only to be mummified... packed into mortuary boxes, and tucked away in museums! Were it not for the interest created by the tourist trade, universities and the museums, we would no longer have any of our people capable of producing this art. If the art of my people is to take its rightful place besides other Canadian art, it must be a living medium of expression! I have strived, in all my work, to retain the authentic... Certainly, great work could be produced by the native people, if a true appreciation of their art could be instilled into the general public.⁵¹

To my knowledge, Neel was the first person in the Pacific Northwest to publicly proclaim that contemporary Northwest Coast objects were “art,” not “curios,” or “crafts,” as the reformers and tourist shops alike then labeled them.

She was also the first Indigenous person from the coast to screen print. After World War II Neel moved her family from their home in Alert Bay to Vancouver. She and her husband opened a carving studio and shop in Stanley Park. It was the first Native-owned shop to sell art. Throughout the 1950s she produced screen-printed scarves, ties, and note cards. Phil Nuytten, a family friend, recalls how he and the Neel

⁵⁰ Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers*, 80. Carolyn Butler-Palmer is the leading scholar on Ellen Neel. A monograph is scheduled for publication in 2018.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 50.

children all worked together in an assembly line to replicate Neel carvings.⁵² Her printing innovation helped reclaim the tourist market from the curio shops owned exclusively by non-Natives selling tomahawks and model totems made in Japan. Her works geared towards tourists asserted that Native artists own the cultural property rights to all types of artistic production, not just historic monumental carvings.

With this scarf design Neel reverses the printed imagery from Boas and the BC Indian Arts and Welfare Society to use her design as a frame (Figure 3). This design is the first printed work that clearly employs *formline*. As noted earlier, *formline* is the term coined by Bill Holm to describe the highly stylized painted art of Northern coastal peoples, and is further contextualized in the next chapter. Neel's scarf is an example of eloquently rendered *formline* ravens. Her design relates to no particular culturally specific objects. It does not resemble a bentwood box, nor a house front, dance screen, not even a button blanket. It simply and emphatically offers something specifically cultural as something popular.

Through the 1950s Neel and Martin would entrench themselves in the Vancouver and Victoria communities. Both advocated publicly for the larger appreciation of their culture through their artwork. Both worked on a monumental scale, raising poles across Canada and as far away as England and Argentina. And both continued to produce small objects as signifiers of Kwakwaka'wakw presence and endurance. Other coastal artists followed suit. More Native-owned spaces opened in Vancouver, Victoria, and Seattle.

In 1964, two years after Andy Warhol printed *Campbell's Soups Cans* for the New Realists show at Sidney Janis Gallery, Henry Speck had a show of forty works on paper at the New Design Gallery in Vancouver. Speck's exhibition provided the first

⁵² Phil Nuytten, interview with India Rael Young. Telephone call, Victoria, April 9, 2012.

instance of “traditional” Native art being recognized in a fine art context in the Pacific Northwest.⁵³ A sixteen-page color screen-printed catalogue, *Kwakiutl Art*, accompanied the exhibition. It was not published by the gallery, but by a company called BC Indian Designs Limited. Nothing else is known about BC Indian Designs. They appear to have produced no other works, so it may be reasonably assumed that Henry Speck himself arranged and oversaw the printing of the exhibition catalogue and prints.

In this decade Pop Art developed into a full-blown movement in the history of American art while Northwest Coast Native art claimed a permanent space in the Pacific Northwest. Scholars often refer to this period on the coast as the “renaissance,” or the “revival.” Some of these same scholars coined the term ‘print booms’ to summarize the activities of the 1970s. Chapter Two illuminates how the so-called *print boom* became a cornerstone for success, for artists and galleries alike. Prints in the form of advertisements, cards, posters, and serigraphs circulated throughout the coast and beyond to firmly establish the larger Northwest Coast Native art market as a thriving and distinct entity.

⁵³ This remains one of the few instances where a “traditional” artist held a solo exhibition of “traditional” or “tribal” works in a mainstream private gallery in the Pacific Northwest.

A Case Study for Repetition in Northwest Coast Art and Society

The very qualities – reproduction and seriality – which make the print antithetical to European ideologies of art, ensconce the medium in Northwest Coast societies. From the Tlingit to the Coast Salish, coastal peoples hold a deeply ingrained sensibility about the virtues of repetition. Just as European values about originality and individuality manifest in the sociological valuations of the art world, from the importance of the singular to the conception of the hand of the artist, so to do social values make themselves visible in the arts of coastal peoples. Likewise, as Euro-American ideologies affirm sociological relationships between notions of individuality, originality, and uniqueness, Northwest Coast cultures relate concepts of reproduction, repetition, and seriality. It would be a gross oversimplification to claim that Northwest Coast and Euro-American arts communities have diametrically opposed social constructs. However, this section traces one art history of repetition and reproduction through community values. The long reproduced history of whale hunting scenes in West Coast basketry illustrates only one example of the complexities of coastal worldviews as they differ from European sensibilities, and suggests how coastal worldviews come to underpin the history of Northwest Coast prints.

Previous scholars looked to position prints within the history of coastal art making that focused on painted graphics upon historic sculptural, or “plastic” objects. Such object histories create only a partial picture of the ways seriality pervades coastal values by tracing formal design elements from one object to another. Practices relating to spinning and weaving also - and even more necessarily - revolve around repetition. Annual cycles are observed for the collection of materials. Knowledge about the process

and the practices is passed from mother to daughter (or to daughter in-law, depending on clan customs).⁵⁴ Southern coastal women spun wool with an instrument known as a spindle whorl. The process involves the countless repetitive movements of the whorl spinning (figures 4, 5). Dale Cross and Wayne Suttles corroborate the larger place for these tools within blanket production. Blanket making and gifting then participates in cultural affirmations of power and prestige.⁵⁵ Patterns in weaving reinforce the repetitive motions necessary in a blanket's making. These seemingly mundane objects are crucial to coastal social systems. Susan Point has claimed the spindle whorl as her signature object, producing spindle whorls in wood, glass, metal, and on paper.⁵⁶ Many times, like many coastal artists before her, she will exactly reproduce an historic spindle whorl in a new medium, or she will design a whorl that she then repeats in as many media as she chooses.

Those of us coming from American and Canadian worldviews often find these kinds of repetition in art unoriginal and redundant. For example, when Margaret Blackman interviewed store manager Edith Ross at the then Provincial Museum in 1979 Ross's perception was that repeating artworks, even in various media, degraded its value.⁵⁷ Yet, Tony Hunt and his generation of artists were as little concerned about repeating designs and objects as the generations of coastal artists before and after him. Throughout the history of colonialism Indigenous artists have been particularly

⁵⁴ It should also be noted that communities did not have strict gender boundaries around all weaving practices. Men wove certain kinds of objects like fishing nets. When time was abundant men sometimes helped make baskets for tourist and art markets; Jacilee Wray, *From the Hands of a Weaver: Olympic Peninsula Basketry through Time* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 136.

⁵⁵ Gary Wyatt and Michael Kew, *Susan Point: Coast Salish Artist* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre; University of Washington Press, 2000), 14.

⁵⁶ Ian Thom and Susan Point, *Susan Point: Spindle Whorl* (London: Black Dog Press, 2017).

⁵⁷ Edwin S. Hall and Margaret B. Blackman, "A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs" (Seattle, 1979), Bill Holm Center, Burke Museum, University of Washington, 17.

innovative in finding ways to perpetuate their histories and object-stories through reinventions in the face of legal obligations and social pressures to stop cultural production.

In Canada, during the so-called potlatch ban, many strategies were invented to continue object making to maintain the perpetuation of cultural knowledge. There are infinite examples of repetitions from generation to generation, and from one medium to another, from all communities on the coast. Following, I track a single design form of the West Coast from 1778 to now. Artists transferred it from one medium to the next, and repeated it in each new medium to ensure its continuance, and also to ensure the histories connected to it survived into each succeeding generation. The design is of a whaling boat and a whale, and occurs on Nuuchahnulth and Makah basketry throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Whaling is central to the cultures of both the Makah and the Nuuchahnulth.

Marika Swan, a Nuuchahnulth artist and daughter of Joe David, has written of her community's whaling tradition for her print *Becoming Worthy*:

When our people were whaling they prepared their whole lives spiritually to be worthy of a gift as generous as a whale. Everyone in the community had to work in unity to ensure the hunt was successful and done safely. Each whale was such a bountiful offering of food for the community and each part of the whale was utilized and celebrated.⁵⁸

Imagery about whaling tales permeates Nuuchahnulth material culture and artworks. Many of these images carry specific stories, like those of *Pook-mis*, the drowned whaler figure at the bottom of Swan's print who cautions proper preparation (figure 6). One

⁵⁸ Marika Swan, "Becoming Worthy," *Marika Echachis Swan*, accessed March 28, 2017, <http://www.marikaswan.com/shop/becoming-worthy>.

image in particular carries the simple story of survivance through its very repetition; it is the representation of a whale followed by a whaling boat (figure 7).

In the late eighteenth century the Spanish, English, and Russians navigated the Pacific Northwest, and each landed in Nuu-chah-nulth territory. In those early years explorers were commissioned by their nations to record the lands, resources, and peoples they encountered. Artists John Webber, Williams Alexander, and José Carderos all traveled with explorers and recorded the Nuu-chah-nulth. Consequently both objects and portraits of the Nuu-chah-nulth circulated throughout Europe.⁵⁹ Each of these artists recorded Nuu-chah-nulth leaders wearing a distinctive dome topped hat with imagery of whaling hunts. The figures encircle the hats, boats following whale following boats. The hats themselves became significant objects of interests for colonizers. These distinctive pieces of basketry, featuring figural representations and signature domed tops, find themselves spread throughout the world's museum collections. The British Museum owns four examples of this style of hat acquired on first contact by James Cook and George Vancouver. Prints of Webber's portrait, *Woman of Nootka* (c. 1790), circulated widely, and were reproduced by many European engravers, most notably William Sharp, Alexander Hogg, and Conrad Metz (figures 7, 8). The whaling scene on the hat was printed in graphic detail, but in this case mistakenly shown worn by a woman. In this era women would be the makers, not the wearers of such hats. Chiefs Callicum, Tatoosh (who was Makah), and Maquinna were also portrayed wearing whaling hats, and the hats ultimately became known as "Maquinna hats." Today, hats collected from the period of

⁵⁹ Such imagery circulated so widely that printmakers who never visited the coast reproduced imagery of the Nuu-chah-nulth, including the highly imagined works by French artist Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur; India Young, "Inscriptions of Knowledge: Print Production of and by Northwest Coast Native Peoples" (Chicago, 2016).

first contact can be found in all the major institutions in the world, from Paris to Berlin to New York, from Denver to Ottawa (figure 9).

Throughout colonization West Coast women continued their highly skilled, finely woven basketry. Even before the years of the potlatch ban they transferred their skills from cultural objects to objects that would appeal to the colonizers' sensibilities. They deftly interwove geometric and figural forms onto small mats, dainty baskets, and even napkin rings. Very little has been written about Nuuchahnulth women working during the nineteenth century, but their works can be found in many institutions and continue to circulate on the private market. Sometime during this century more figural forms were added into the vocabulary, and the whales on whaler's hats became less geometric and more figural - perhaps a shift in representation from killer whales to baleen whales. Figures 11 to 14 offer a variety of examples of whaling scenes in basketry made for outside sale in the first half of the twentieth century.

In the era of the potlatch ban such commercial objects became valuable assets to both colonizers and Indigenous women. Victorians went wild for these hand-made, local curios. The famous Grace Nicolson and her shop in Pasadena, California, sold thousands of such works made by Makah and Salish women.⁶⁰ Nuuchahnulth basket weavers traveled to world fairs in Chicago, Saint Louis, and elsewhere to demonstrate their skills. Meanwhile, Indigenous women were able to maintain their knowledge and traditions while earning a wage in a new economy.

During this era new colors and forms were introduced to basketry. Commercial dyes produced brilliant pinks, yellows, and greens. Bird and dog/wolf forms became

⁶⁰ Alan L Hoover, *Nuuchahnulth Voices, Histories, Objects, and Journeys* (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2002), 266.

popular. And yet, the whaling scene persisted. It remained a critical aspect to West Coast culture, and as such continued to reappear throughout the first half of the twentieth century.⁶¹ Figures in the boats varied. Sometimes a line representing the harpoon connected the whalers to whale. At times it was absent. In these years the whale was almost always a baleen whale, without a geometricized interior. Sometimes it splashed its fluke, or spouted water. Occasionally, as in pre-contact belongings, the whale was accompanied by a Thunderbird.⁶² During this period colonizers either praised or bemoaned the loss of Indigenous culture. Anthropologists rabidly “salvaged” everything they could get their hands on, focusing on works that erased any colonial contamination. From a 1903 article on whaling hats, Charles Willoughby of the Peabody Museum at Harvard wrote,

There are doubtless many valuable and rare ethnological objects still in families of the old whalers in the eastern and middle states. These should be deposited for safe keeping in museums of standing, where they would be preserved for all time, and be accessible to students. Otherwise their destruction or loss is inevitable.⁶³

The Nuu-chah-nulth basketry in institutional collections from this era has largely been donated. In 1905, C. F. Newcombe commissioned Ellen Curley of the Tla-o-qui-aht Nation to reproduce a Maquinna hat for the Field Museum in between her visits to world

⁶¹ Wray, *From the Hands of a Weaver*, 131–32.

⁶² This design motif also appeared in Nuu-chah-nulth dance screens, first on board and later on canvas. Because dance screens remain deeply personal for the Nuu-chah-nulth images are difficult to find reproduced; Charlotte Townsend-Gault and Ki-ke-in, *Backstory: Nuuchaanulth Ceremonial Curtains and the Work of Ki-Ke-In* (Vancouver: Morris and Helen Art Gallery, 2010), http://collections.burnabyartgallery.ca/ListDetail?q=src%3Alibrary&p=8&ps=1&sort=creator_sort+asc&subject_facet=Art%2C+Canadian--British+Columbia--Exhibitions. Allan Hoover notes, “both the narrative presentation and graphic rendering of the design are reminiscent of designs painted on ceremonial screens,” Macnair, Hoover, and Neary, *The Legacy*, 80.

⁶³ Charles C. Willoughby, “Hats from the Nootka Sound Region,” *The American Naturalist* 37, no. 433 (1903): 69. The ethnocentricity of this statement is foundational to the field of anthropology and posits that without European, academic intervention Indigenous communities would fail to “progress” to European cultural norms. Meanwhile, it was anthropological removal of such objects from communities that created the “loss” that Willoughby observes.

fairs. Sources suggest that she copied, or was asked to copy, the hat from an illustration, and sharply critiqued its form as too closely related to current works produced for the commercial market.⁶⁴ Yet, Curley's abilities illuminate the persistence of knowledge and culture within the Nuu-chah-nulth community, despite external pressures, and the varied spaces coastal artists created to share their art histories with the larger world.

As the twentieth century progressed, impacts of residential schooling, assimilation, and enforced urbanization continued to limit opportunities for passing knowledge from one generation to the next. Nevertheless, Nuu-chah-nulth women persisted, using the commercial market to perpetuate arts and cultural traditions. As discussed earlier, blooming community revitalization projects of the 1960s created new opportunities for artists to create and share their works. Basket makers pushed back against assimilation policies and limited access to material gathering with their commercial arts, and they also began to make Maquinna hats again in abundance. Mabel Taylor, Lily Michael, and Jessie Webster, among others, made Maquinna hats and other Nuu-chah-nulth basketry alongside carvers, like Joe David, Art Thompson, and Tim Paul, who were themselves revisiting and reproducing historic cultural material (figures 15, 16). As cultural practices were no longer banned, artists openly created pieces to be used in ceremonies and cultural events. Meanwhile, they used the newly developing market to share these cultural artworks with the larger world.

It is important to recall how artists returned to these iconic whaling designs within their prints as homages to women's work and to the importance of whaling within West

⁶⁴ Hoover, *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects, and Journeys*, 267.

Coast culture.⁶⁵ Ron Hamilton created a small card using the whaling hunt scene with structured, geometric borders. The top borders suggest the lines present in a whaler's hat, while the bottom border geometries could also be read as fragments of a weaver's work. Such blocked, framing elements quickly became iconic of Nuuchahnulth graphics. Joe David returned to the motif at least three times in the 1970s and 80s. He painted a drum with the design for *Whaler's Drum* to be used in ceremonial events and then produced it as a print. *Crown of Title* was screen printed as tee-shirts and fine art prints. The sale of both products went to supporting the Meares Island logging protests, and introduced prints into a new facet of the conversation emerging around Northwest Coast arts.⁶⁶ Patrick Amos compressed the aerial view of a whaler's hat into a circular design, *Whaler's Vision*, employing the red and green colors found in twentieth-century basketry. Both David and Amos include Thunderbird in their renditions, another significant supernatural creature for the Nuuchahnulth, which all Nuuchahnulth print artists revisit, time and again, in their graphics.

In the next chapter I further explore the graphic style of these artists when they first began making prints in the 1970s. I continue the investigation into how repetition and reproduction are employed within Northwest Coast communities. Then I locate the development of the concept of the Northwest Coast prints as it relates to these modes and interests in repetition and reproduction. Along with using the print to create and recreate

⁶⁵ To my knowledge, Joe David was the first artist to create a spindle whorl design of Thunderbird and Whale as a print for the Guild in 1978. In the subsequent years Susan Point would make the spindle whorl a hallmark of Salish design and, through boundless reproduction, a monumental tribute to Indigenous women artists.

⁶⁶ Aaron Glass, "Crests on Cotton: 'souvenir' t-Shirts and the Materiality of Remembrance among the Kwakwaka'wakw of British Columbia," *Museum Anthropology* 31, no. 1 (2008): 1–18; Anna Hoover, "Sounding the Alarm Fashion STATEMENT: Native Artists Against Pebble Mine," *Hemisphere: Visual Art of the Americas* 6 (2013): 75–92.

histories and to connect with a broad audience, artists build aesthetic relationships to each other and to historic artworks to define cultural space within the medium.

Chapter 2

SERIALITY WITHIN NORTHWEST COAST IDEOLOGIES

This story of one design motif carried through generations, appearing in multiple media and recreated repeatedly in the same media, represents only one small example from Northwest Coast art histories. A similar story could be told about objects from each coastal nation. Creations and recreations of origin stories for the Tlingit and Haida, like when Raven brought light to man, appear on bentwood boxes, button blankets, argillite, and silkscreens. Masks of the Kwakw'wakw Hamatsa are housed in collections around the world, with only nuances of design and color changed from artists to artist, and from generation to generation. Crest animals and supernatural beings are reproduced endlessly, in all coastal media, sometimes exactly, sometimes with a recognizable hand of an artist, and occasionally with innovation. Following, I consider the true depth of repetition embedded in the very visual language employed to create such crest animal and supernatural beings.

Copying, repeating, and reproducing imagery, motifs, and symbols go hand-in-hand with the repetition of oral narratives, and recreations of ceremonial dances. This section considers the relationship between printmaking today and the long history of repeating stories to ensure their maintenance and relevance. Historic modes of reproduction have ensured cultural survival for artists and their communities, partly by keeping the art and knowledge alive within the culture, and also by sharing culture through art with the colonializing society. As Chris Paul eloquently expounds:

I don't think an artist has a choice. I think it's something in their DNA, whether it's Roy Vickers, Warhol, Mark Preston, Susan Point. It's like the echo in a code or in life. Real, good art replicates life, right? If you look at the knot in something you'll find a perfect knot and you'll look at it long enough to find the crescents and the t-shapes. Some guy might have

started it that way and then it became, not exactly a religion, but a key point within a culture and then there's no stopping it. It's like the whole thing with Bill Reid and the clam. That's the oldest story in the world, right? But beyond it being the oldest story in the world, it wasn't a great story until he told it. As artists, we're looking for intrigue. When I went up to the piece. I'd never seen it before. I never saw museums as a place to go and spend all my day, but I lived it with my uncle Charles and a few other artists... When I saw that clam and that concept the story was no longer something that was local to Native people. It became a story that belonged to the world. That's what really good artists do.⁶⁷

Paul is talking about the Haida origin story of Raven finding mankind in a clamshell while walking on the beach one day. It is a story that most people on the Northwest Coast today grow up learning, in part because Bill Reid's rendition in sculpture participated in the larger "revival" of Northwest Coast arts that brought these cultural histories into public spaces. Reid sculpted his monumental piece at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, completed in 1980, after creating two smaller works, in gold and onyx. Prints continue to augment the perpetuation of this story; then and today artists, return narrative, sometimes riffing on Reid's design and sometimes telling their own (figures 17, 18).

The other aspect of Paul's comment connects repetition from Northwest Coast artists to tales as old as time, both in history and visual language. His mention of crescents and t-shapes are elements of coastal visual languages that appear on objects dating back throughout the object record, and their connections to the reproduction of knowledge cannot be undervalued. On the coast oral histories are intimately entwined with objects imbued with knowledge. Communities use the retelling of stories to record history, to convey privileges, to maintain family lineages, and to preserve knowledge about the land, the water, and their resources. Stories can be retold in formal settings:

⁶⁷ Chris Paul, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Victoria, February 10, 2016.

perhaps when a name is passed down a generation, when a crest is bestowed upon a child, or during a ceremony celebrating the moment boys become men, or girls become women. Stories are also retold during everyday moments to ensure that a family knows their connections to a certain river or beach, to observe that when salmon berries are abundant so too will be the salmon that year, or to remark that a weaving pattern comes from the close observation of dragonflies. Tsimshian elders Lindsey Martin, Susan Marsden, and William White consider the deep relationship between histories and crests:

The origins of our crests are recounted in our *adawx*, oral narratives that record important events and periods of Tsimshian history. *Adawx* describe the migrations of Tsimshian people and the establishment of our communities. They recount conflicts and alliances with neighboring nations and explain the origins of our clans. In every generation, *adawx* are reaffirmed in feasts... Our *adawx*, then, are not merely remembered events retold from time to time on ceremonial occasions. They record and perpetuate the very fabric of our society. Our crests are manifestations of our lineages' history and rootedness in place.⁶⁸

Objects both sacred and mundane have absorbed this connection between important stories and symbols. Crests offer a central starting point to consider how prints fold themselves into these larger social narratives. Crests are first family lineages. They identify a person for their family, their community, and their neighbors. Crests can also be made physical: killer whale, eagle, and frog are just a few crests that are repeated ad infinitum within the nations they represent. They can be seen on frontlets, bentwood boxes, totem poles (also known as crest poles), painted upon woven hats, or beaded onto blankets. An artist commissioned for the celebration of a certain crest-related event might reproduce a crest upon all manner of objects.

⁶⁸ Robert Joseph, *Listening to Our Ancestors: The Art of Native Life along the North Pacific Coast* (Washington, DC: The National Geographic Society; Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 2005).

Crests are one aspect of a much larger system that conveys authority for Northwest Coast communities. This system, described by anthropologists as the potlatch complex, grounds the importance of seriality for coastal communities through a variety of cyclical observations: feast cycles, naming rights, and seasonal harvesting, gathering, and distribution. To delve into this system would be to anthropologize the history of Northwest Coast prints. Nevertheless, I contend that the cultural importance of this system of governance, religion, and economy exemplifies a worldview that centers on repetition. Following, I relate these modes of repetition to the print medium. I isolate specific visual languages that have rooted themselves in the repetition of centuries old formal elements. This has ensured the continuation of cultural ideologies within a new arts tradition.

Repetition within Vernacular Aesthetics

The following section applies the concept of the vernacular, as it concerns languages of place and the concept of common language, to the repeating aesthetics of contemporary Northwest Coast Native prints. Northwest Coast prints, from their earliest moments, established a common bond of medium between the Northwest Coast art world and the larger North American world's perception of art. Almost contrarily, they helped define and refine the many visual languages of coastal communities. Through six decades of prints the politics of places have been revealed as Indigenous nations used the medium to establish aesthetic boundaries around their cultural patrimony. Their successes created an entirely new art market that privileged cultural specificity intimately tied to geography. I argue that prints, more so than other Northwest Coast media, have

come to define the aesthetics of Kwakwaka'wakw, Nuu-chah-nulth, and Coast Salish communities.⁶⁹

Imagined Communities author Benedict Anderson defined the concept of nationhood as relational to the emergence of print culture. In his 1983 text, Anderson perceives the relationship between the emergence of capitalism, printing in European vernaculars, and newly defined nation-states. The inherent reproducibility of the print medium allowed for mass distribution, and when printers began to print in common, or vernacular languages, discourses that would have otherwise been isolated to one language-group now became commonly understood, and broadly accessible. Those communities who spoke regional dialects began to define themselves in relation to certain shared linguistic traits, and Anderson argues that nation-states became defined through “national print-languages.”⁷⁰ Of course, there is nothing imagined about the very real emergence of the nations that continue to define Western Europe today. The vernacular is predicated on the relationship between language and geography. It is indigenous and native, as opposed to literary or learned, and inherent in its indigeneity is the bond of common understanding.

Northwest Coast aesthetics have been in place for centuries, and their roots reach to a time immemorial. The term *aesthetic* has its own European antecedents and it has been argued that such colonial language can never fully define Indigenous concepts.⁷¹ However, it establishes a lingua franca for our learned community. Like the vernacular,

⁶⁹ I further suggest that Haida aesthetics are most defined through sculptural media, and many other Northwest Coast communities, such as the Heiltsuk, Nisga'a, and Chinookan, have not (re)claimed a distinctive aesthetic through contemporary art.

⁷⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991), 37-46.

⁷¹ Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies*, 58-77.

aesthetics creates a commonality between a concept and a culture. The many peoples of the Northwest Coast produce cultural objects with inter-related iconographies. These many peoples have long histories of using particular visual languages to relate their laws, their histories, and their ways of understanding the world. The art print is one of the newest mediums employed to relay this visual vocabulary. With the arrival of the print a new era of Northwest Coast aesthetics emerged, when coastal artists consciously decided to assume the simultaneous identities of artist (as differentiated from craftsman or artisan) and Native.⁷²

In 1965, just one year after Henry Speck's silkscreens became the first Northwest Coast Native art prints, a new text gave this visual history a name. Bill Holm's *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* inventoried 392 historic objects from museum collections across North America, and employed art historical traditions of connoisseurship and formalism to analyze the visual language at play. In this now iconic work, Holm coined the term *formline* to describe the calligraphic lines that define the graphics of the Northern peoples of the Pacific Northwest, including the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Bella Coola. The text broke down the components of this historic graphic form into discrete elements: the line, the ovoid, the u-form (formline, solid, split, tertiary), dashing, and hatching (figure 19 a, b). These elements, ever united by fluid, dynamic formlines, are both infinitely mutable and simultaneously specifically structured, much like the fundamentals of a language. The text, along with the term formline, proliferated throughout the region; artists referenced the printed images as a kind of handbook, and academics used the art-centric language to reinvigorate the study

⁷² Young, "We Poets, Philosophers, Serigraphers: Locating the Northwest Coast Indian Artist Guild within Indigenous Tradition."

of Northwest Coast material culture. In the fiftieth anniversary edition of the text, Holm reflects:

Probably the first thing I would have changed is the title, adding the word *northern* before *Northwest Coast*. Although the geographic limits of the tradition are stated a number of times in the text, many artists and some others using it have often skipped the words in favor of the pictures. The result has been that many people have assumed the art tradition described was pancoastal.⁷³

Here Holm obliquely refers to the ubiquitous employment of the term formline, and to the geographically specific visual language of nineteenth century Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Heiltsuk, Nuxalk, and Kwakwaka'wakw graphic, material culture. What remains absent, and what I wish to address, is the persistent perception of abstraction. In discourses on Northwest art, which so often center on formline, we continually talk about the relationship between abstraction and design. Such works can mislead the lay viewer to believe that Northwest Coast communities never worked or had interest in figural and representational forms. Through the history of prints, we can see how Holm's work has been absorbed into popular, academic, and Indigenous consciousness. For example, all students at 'Ksan used the text as a teaching aid. In his 1985 print exhibition Leslie Dawn noted,

Holm's text also altered the critical discourse on native graphic work, which was also just emerging. From this point the dialogue was generally involved with pure formal analysis and eschewed contemporary contextual connotation although references to art in historic periods abounded. So fine was its analysis of the rules of formline design that a new era of connoisseurship was introduced. Standardization of the structure could lead to acute observations of small deviations such as the utilization of a 'thin secondary line in place of a major formline' or the substitution of 'tertiary crosshatching for a primary element.' This new awareness

⁷³ Bill Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form*, 2015 (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2015), xxi.

totally transformed the level of public knowledge and significantly refined what was acceptable as authentic within the context of serigraph designs.⁷⁴

The critical influence of this text became an established lingua franca for dealers, artists, and scholars. Print artists of the 1960s and 70s employed Holm's texts alongside research into historic objects to create graphic designs that could be read as part of an historic tradition. This bold, graphic aesthetic in historic and print media cultivated a newly imagined community.⁷⁵ At the same time, artists from certain nations set about distinguishing themselves from Northern communities through their (re)clamation of aesthetics that located them as distinct, both geographically and culturally.

The "Haida" red and black, so often synonymous with formline, is the most recognizable style of the Northwest Coast because it has been the most written about - the most popularized.⁷⁶ Salvage anthropology idealized Northern coastal nations' objects (while denigrating objects from Southern and Interior nations) and spread objects from primarily Northern nations to museums throughout North America and Europe. Then, advertisements for world fairs and tourism to the Pacific Northwest, totem pole reproductions in films, and scholarly texts by Boas, Gunther, Inverarity and others allowed an impression of Northern arts to become implanted into the popular North American, and arguably global, consciousness. The graphics, whether authentic or imitation, have bold black outlines of abstracted animal figures, often with secondary lines in red. The real language of the style, however, has always been highly defined through precise, fluid combinations of ovoids, u-forms, and formlines that delineate

⁷⁴ Leslie Allan Dawn and Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, *The Northwest Coast Native Print* (Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1984), 12.

⁷⁵ The other defining element of vernacular, for Anderson and coastal artists, was the emergence of capitalism. After decades of disenfranchisement, and in the civil rights era, coastal artists strategically entered the market to generate authority and visibility.

⁷⁶ Watson, "Two Bears," 210. Gallery owner Elizabeth Steinbrueck also notes that it is the most easily pronounced; Steinbrueck, interview.

secondary and tertiary spaces, and ultimately combine to create representations of formal abstractions of humans, beings, and animals. The scholarly focus on formal analysis of formline carries, for my purposes, the parallel back to vernacular languages, suggesting that bold, graphic lines be considered the root language.

This valorizing of Northern formline design brought cache to certain communities, and to certain kinds of arts production. Erasures form the counterpart to the construction of Northwest Coast formline. Boas and Holm participated in the creation of two forms of Eurocentricism through their writings on aesthetics. They perceived Northern nations' aesthetics as more "pure" and "authentic" and they focused on men's work over women's. However, Coastal iconographies are much more deeply interwoven. Weaving and basketry produced geometric interests for all nations. Likewise, all nations explored representational and figural forms, and Southern communities specifically excelled in figural works. As Holm aptly noted himself, his analysis created an overly rigid, formal employment of distinctive forms and lines. Upon certain objects, like bentwood boxes and Chilkat blankets, Northern artists deployed a closely inter-related visual system that allowed exchange from nation to nation. Mid-coast communities had similarly bold, graphic arts, but deployed their lines and forms differently, which would distinguish them from their neighbors in moments of exchange.⁷⁷ The Kwakwaka'wakw, for example, were known for their baroque ornamentation and freer form, often within overtly figural representation. Nuu-chah-nulth aesthetics depended on the object. Masks and woven works favored linear planes with strong repeating graphics, while poles, screens, and other works favored figural

⁷⁷ For broad discussions on historic two-dimensional and sculptural coastal aesthetics see Macnair, Hoover, and Neary, *The Legacy*.

representation with ornamentation of forms. Scholarly writing, exemplified by the works of Boas and Holm, subconsciously established a hierarchy whereby Northern communities created purely form-driven graphics, while Southern communities seemed unable to master the “rules” of design. The legacy of this anthropological hierarchy can be found in Blackman and Hall’s casual observation, “Coast Salish art has usually been considered peripheral if related at all to the art styles of the more northerly Northwest Coast groups, and perhaps as a result, several Salish artists are producing serigraphs in other styles.”⁷⁸ Historically, the Coast Salish were predominantly interested in overtly figural representation in their sculptural works, which they might ornament with repeating forms and geometries.⁷⁹ Even as I state generalities about historic design traditions, I offer examples from the historic record that confound simple categorization (figures 20, 21). I suggest that nineteenth and twentieth-century ethnographic constructs that created an aesthetic hierarchy intentionally used formal abstraction as their ultimate marker of achievement in order to other Indigenous artworks from the representational achievements of Europe.⁸⁰

As discussed at length in the chapter, the market for contemporary Northwest Coast art developed alongside the history of Northwest Coast prints. Within this market artists used the medium to distinguish themselves as a part of the region while also from their particular nation. The Kwakwaka’wakw were the first and the most persistently

⁷⁸ Hall and Blackman, “Contemporary Northwest Coast Art: Tradition and Innovation in Serigraphy,” 56.

⁷⁹ Many scholars who write about Northwest Coast art from the point of aesthetics choose to separate two-dimensional and three-dimensional work: Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, 2015; Macnair, Hoover, and Neary, *The Legacy*; McLennan and Duffek, *The Transforming Image*. However, I consider that the generalities of historic styles bridge imposed binaries.

⁸⁰ This led to destruction rather than collection of objects from Southern coastal communities. It is also worth noting that ethnographers from this time created constructs of cultural evolutions that displaced the peoples who occupied the territories of colonial interest, namely Victoria, Vancouver and Seattle. Today, the Duwamish of Seattle remain unrecognized by the federal government.

continuous community to demand recognition for their particular visual patrimony. Communities on the coast suffer fiercely from colonization. The Haida had their population reduced from around 15,000 at contact to 600 by the end of the nineteenth century. The physical and psychological devastation of the Coast Salish, who inhabit the territories of Vancouver, Victoria, and Seattle, remains uncoun­ted. The Kwakwaka'wakw, inhabiting geographically remote communities, fiercely negotiated the continuance of their cultural heritage. While the Nuxalk, the Heiltsuk, and the Tsimshian (among others), inhabited equally remote places, the Kwakwaka'wakw worked specifically with ethnographers to ensure the continuation of their practices, despite Canada's legal prohibitions from 1885 to 1951.

As discussed in Chapter One, the Kwakwaka'wakw often tout their unbroken line of famed artists throughout the potlatch ban: Charlie James, Bob Harris, George Hunt, Willie Seaweed, Mungo Martin, Ellen Neel, Henry Speck, Doug Cranmer, and the genealogy continues today with Lou-ann Neel, Calvin, Tom and Richard Hunt, and Rande Cook, to name a few. To have such a continuum of named artists is indeed remarkable. This unbroken line gave early rise to a decidedly identifiable Kwakwaka'wakw graphic style that predates this print history. Artists from the first half of the twentieth century worked for anthropologists, and whenever able for tourists. They quickly adapted to new material and media, and were specifically noted for their employment of commercial paints. Forest greens, yellows, and oranges quickly appeared in Kwakwaka'wakw artists' works. Ethnographers denounced these choices as inauthentic, while the artists themselves kept employing them. Graphic artists today continue this tradition. Henry Speck, the first "fine art" screen printer, deployed neon

greens and purples, brilliant yellows, oranges and reds (figures 28, 29). Salish painter

Lawrence Paul Yuxeluptun has said:

When [Speck] drew hair onto the surface, he went over the form line, making what was a stylized two-dimensional image into a pictorially three-dimensional one. I remember seeing his small catalogue in my father's library: it was new, on paper and in color. He used new inks, new materials—it was modern. His influence on me was colour, because then there was more black and white. Colour was his signature. He had a certain style that other artists would try to copy.⁸¹

Speck's color choices directly invoked the brilliant greens of Bob Harris and the yellows and oranges of James and Martin. These vibrant, dense colors can still be seen in Richard Hunt's and Rande Cook's works (figure 65). Over-workings of line can be found in Tony Hunt's works, like *Transformation Mural* (1976); these breakings of the formline oppose a rigid conception of the "rules" of form. Bold ornamentation grounds the aesthetic style of the Kwakwaka'wakw, whether in color or line. Overwhelming repetitions of lines, hatches, and u-forms often fill the entirety of the design space. Repetition of specifically Kwakwaka'wakw crests and stories are likewise foundational, such as Sisuitl, Kmokwa, Dzunukwa, and Kulus.

Kwakwaka'wakw artists also used their graphic styles to claim specific cultural patrimony. I suggest that their efforts are chiefly responsible for the difference between the markets in the United States and Canada. Ellen Neel first claimed socio-cultural space in the dominant narratives for Kwakwaka'wakw works as arts rather than curios or objects of cultural information. The generations that followed her further carved a distinct landscape for Kwakwaka'wakw and Northwest Coast arts. Chief Tony Hunt mobilized to make prints because the Hudson's Bay Company had begun to sell poorly executed Northwest Coast style prints on cheap rice paper. Through print dissemination

⁸¹ Marcia Crosby, "Making Indian Art Modern," Accessed 4 August 2016.

and strategic marketing at his newly opened gallery, Arts of the Raven, Hunt attacked the Bay, and their artist, Charles Gruel, for appropriating something owned by Northwest Coast communities. Kwakwaka'wakw artists especially have a history of reprimanding British Columbia galleries for showing non-Native artists, and for skewering artists who represent imagery to which they have no cultural claim.⁸² Their leadership has resulted in artist control over imagery, production, and marketing in British Columbia.

Along with their hard lines regarding cultural patrimony, Kwakwaka'wakw artists are well known for their apprenticeships. Many non-Kwakwaka'wakw artists trained with the artists listed above and learned formline alongside the importance of cultural histories. In my interviews these artists repeated moments of learning about what was appropriate to represent, and what kinds of permissions were required for representations of crests, and genealogically and culturally descended stories and histories. Early carving apprenticeships were formative in the establishment of a contemporary art market for Northwest Coast arts. While Tony Hunt carved under his father, Henry Hunt, at the Royal Provincial Museum, he also began screen-printing. It was then that a young Ron Hamilton, who visited and carved with the Hunts at the time, took particular interest in the newly emerging medium.

In the 1970s, at the very beginning of this history, Ron Hamilton and other Nuu-chah-nulth artists used prints to rewrite their visual vernacular into the contemporary

⁸² Bert Nelson, "The Artist and the Market," *The Indian as Artist* (Vancouver: Canadian Broadcasting Company, July 28, 1965), BC Archives; Hall, Blackman, and Rickard, *Northwest Coast Indian Graphics*; Andrew Duffy, "Native-Art Branding Scheme Targets Knock-off Market," *Times Colonist*, October 8, 2014, <http://www.timescolonist.com/business/native-art-branding-scheme-targets-knock-off-market-1.1419979>; Judith Lavoie, "Possible Changes to B.C. Law Reveal Divisions in First Nations," *Times Colonist*, February 2, 2013, <http://www.timescolonist.com/news/local/possible-changes-to-b-c-law-reveal-divisions-in-first-nations-1.65454>.

visibility of Northwest Coast art. Ron Hamilton (then Hupqwachew, now Ki-ke-in), Joe David, Art Thompson, Patrick Amos, Tim Paul, and Frank Charlie emerged as young, West Coast artists in the 1970s.⁸³ All in their twenties, as new to adulthood as they were to art, some artists carved, some engraved, and they all made prints. The aesthetic developed by these Nuu-chah-nulth artists is now unmistakable. They called themselves West Coast artists, which gave them a cool, non-ethnic, but geographically specific identity. Their silkscreens decidedly invoked the formline graphic style of the coast, which rooted them broadly, for an uninitiated audience, in “Northwest Coast Native” design. Yet, they borrowed from each other, and from pieces in the historic record, enough to create something distinctive.

This newness, this very hip, contemporary graphic deployed bold 1970s colors - rainbows, mustard yellows, and bubble gum pinks. Their works embraced a postmodern sensibility, deconstructing forms into parts that combine into a whole. They used structural geometries to partially frame and focus the central narrative of the design (figures 7, 22). Thompson might create a crescendo of lime green circles to represent a rolling tide, or Tim Paul might fragment elements of a house post to jumble the depth perception while centering an equally disembodied Thunderbird dancer. Indeed, Robert Venturi’s description of the emerging age, in *Complexity and Contradiction*, almost speaks directly to the works of these young Nuu-chah-nulth men. Of the composition of architectures of this age, he writes:

Elements which are hybrid rather than ‘pure’, compromising rather than ‘clear’, distorted rather than ‘straightforward’, ambiguous rather than

⁸³ As so often happens, early colonial encounters lead to a lasting misnaming of the Nuu-chah-nulth. Until the 1970s they were known as the Nootka people. In the 1960s and 70s, communities began to refer to themselves as West Coast. Today, the fourteen communities on the West Coast of Vancouver Island have reclaimed the appellation Nuu-chah-nulth.

articulated', perverse as well as 'impersonal', conventional rather than 'designed,' accommodating rather than 'excluding' redundant rather than simple, vestigial as well as innovating, inconsistent and equivocal rather than direct and clear.⁸⁴

The artists would not have been aware of Venturi's summarization of the era's style, but rather their translations of the Nuuchahnulth world were simultaneously and intentionally popular and immediately relatable. Riffing off each other, these artists each employed architectural geometries to define the space of the paper, and to hint at coastal Nuuchahnulth landscapes, architectures, and objects. The versed viewer can recognize how artists sourced forms and lines from Northern style, while pulling idiosyncrasies from their own aesthetic history, like the small cross mark in the hand of the human figure, and the circles that partly frame Joe David's *Eats-quin* (1977; figure 23). For everyone else, these prints held direct appeal and were immediately popular, so much so that Makah artist Greg Colfax began to employ these new signature design elements, paralleling the historic cultural relationship between the Makah and the Nuuchahnulth.⁸⁵

In this moment, another group also developed a recognizable aesthetic located to place, but not to a specific culture. This style has since been relegated to a moment in time. From 1968 into the 2000s the Kitanmaax School of Northwest Coast Indian Art trained Indigenous artists in Northwest Coast arts. The school, colloquially referred to as 'Ksan, was on Gitksan territory and worked collaboratively with the newly established 'Ksan Museum and Historical Village. (While the school has closed, the museum and

⁸⁴ Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), 22.

⁸⁵ For an example of the popularity of Nuuchahnulth prints in the 1970s, 35% of the silkscreens reproduced in *Northwest Coast Indian Graphics* were Nuuchahnulth, 24% were Kwakwaka'wakw, and 16% were Haida. Artists of from all other Northwest Coast nations, most of whom trained at 'Ksan, contributed 19.5, and 6.5% of the artists were non-Native.

village remain accessible to the public.) Educators were brought in from throughout the Pacific Northwest and many early students returned as instructors. Doreen Jensen, who helped form the school, screen-printed a wall hanging for 'Ksan's opening at the same moment Robert Davidson printed his first cards.⁸⁶ As silkscreens began circulating Doreen Jensen taught night classes in silk screen printing, and then passed the class off to a local non-Native, Ron Burleigh, who knew the craft.

Jensen recalls that Ken Mowatt's wife took her course, and taught Mowatt (Gitxsan) at home. Vernon Stephens (Tsimshian), Ron Sebastian (Gitxsan/Wet'suwet'en), Art Sterritt (Tsimshian), and Freda Diesing (Haida) also learned to screen print at 'Ksan. By the end of the 1970s the 'Ksan style emerged, along with a catalogue of prints, *'Ksan: First Annual Collection* (1978), produced by Bill Ellis at Canadian Native Prints. The style is characterized by thin, angular formlines, and a red and black palette. Abstractions of such formlines separate and surround primary actors within a scene and were often used to create a sense of movement. These forms might invoke wind, water, or transformations (figures 23, 26). At this time Mowatt produced a serigraph series on the legend of Weget in the 'Ksan style, while Stephens and Sebastian, among others, began circulating their prints through Canadian Native Prints and other urban galleries. Some 'Ksan artists, like Diesing, did not work in the 'Ksan style, while others, like Roy Henry Vickers, moved in and out of it (figures 25). While some notable artists came out of 'Ksan, the print style dwindled through the 1980s, and is no longer employed by artists trained at the school.

It would seem 'Ksan artists felt greater allegiance to culturally grounded aesthetics. As Mowatt, Diesing, and others carried on to develop individual styles that

⁸⁶ "Doreen Jensen" in Hall and Blackman, "A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs."

were more culturally specific, so too did Coast Salish artists - some of whom attended 'Ksan and some of whom apprenticed with Northern artists. The Coast Salish, whose territories span the Canadian-US border, speak fourteen languages as diverse as Spanish and German, and whose historic cultural objects were most severely decimated by urban settler development, used the print medium to build unity, and to command space within the Northwest Coast art world that was distinct from Northern nations' aesthetics. The very concept of Coast Salish has been an imposed term, created by academics to bind disparate peoples. The term's ubiquitous employment has been harnessed both rhetorically and aesthetically to grant authority to the peoples it claims. Susan Point has said,

I have used printmaking to create images of educational value, giving historical insight into the roots of my culture, the environment and current social issues... Overall, I hope that through my artwork I have used a visual language to help carry the torch that was lit by my ancestors.⁸⁷

Today's Coast Salish artists work with a distinctive visual language to make themselves visible through aesthetics that can be easily read by larger cultures, nations, and economies. This language, which has been developed over three generations, is both legible as "Northwest Coast Native art," and as distinctively Coast Salish to regional and educated audiences. Between the 1960s and 1980s a handful of Coast Salish artists working in the print medium employed formline aesthetics. Once the silkscreen had fully cemented itself as an object with cultural value, a new generation of contemporary Coast Salish artists entering the Northwest Coast art market concertedly worked to distinguish their works as separate from formline design (figures 27, 28). Galleries were hesitant to

⁸⁷ Point and Wyatt, *Susan Point*, 3.

market these new graphics because they did not conform to the strictures of formline.⁸⁸

Yet, like Tony Hunt and Robert Davidson before them, this second generation of artists turned to museum archives for guidance and inspiration and pushed for the continuation and recognition of their arts tradition.

Working from a much thinner archive of material than other coastal communities, Coast Salish artists quickly found value in reproducibility. They focused on certain objects, such as spindle whorls, basketry and rattles, which had been most often reproduced in texts, and identified formal characteristics of historic Salish design that they could link to the larger vocabulary of coastal aesthetics. As a literature about contemporary Coast Salish art has emerged, such forms have often been isolated as distinctively “Salish” and new language has been coined to describe it. Notably, scholars often speak of the crescent, circle, and trigon.⁸⁹ I argue, that because of the tremendously successful institutionalization of the discourse on formline, scholars and dealers alike strategically employ this formalist language to describe Coast Salish arts and hence to *define* Coast Salish art (figure 29). If we carry the parallel back to vernacular languages bold, graphic lines could be considered the root language. In their graphics, northern communities chose to create a rigid, formal employment of distinctive forms and lines. In sculptural works, the Salish sometimes employed circles, crescents, and trigons to ornament parts of representational figures, while simple geometries reigned in their

⁸⁸ Barbara Brotherton, *S'abadeb = The gifts: Pacific Coast Salish art and artists* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum in association with University of Washington Press, 2008), 120. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/225872625.html>; Macnair, Hoover, and Neary, *The Legacy*, 110; Hall and Blackman, “A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs.”

⁸⁹ Brotherton, *S'abadeb = The gifts*, 120; Steve Brown, in *Contemporary Coast Salish Art*, ed. Rebecca Blanchard and Nancy Davenport (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005); Macnair, Hoover, and Neary, *The Legacy*, 110; Shaun Peterson, “Coast Salish Design: An Anticipated Southern Analysis,” in *In the Spirit of the Ancestors: Contemporary Northwest Coast Art at the Burke Museum*, ed. Robin Kathleen Wright and Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 13–21.

basketry and weaving. Also, like the establishment of a vernacular language, Coast Salish artists repeat these elements to ally themselves with the visual and textual rhetoric for Northwest Coast arts.

The overwhelming interest in drawing parallels to formline has resulted in a gap in the discourse. Coast Salish artists revel in the representational elements of historic Salish works to push contemporary design. The archive of sculptural objects illustrates figural forms of humans and animals: minks on house posts and in miniature, top hatted men smoking pipes on combs, and wonderfully human faces almost everywhere. Their most defining characteristics are not necessarily their abstract forms but their very real and recognizable figures. Susan Point and Charles Elliot, among others, began their careers in Coast Salish aesthetics with overtly representational pieces that defied the formline abstraction. Point has remarked:

One of the aspects of traditional Coast Salish art that has especially intrigued me is what distinguished Salish imagery from other powerful Indigenous art of the Northwest Coast. Unlike other Native nations of the Northwest Coast Salish motifs of animal forms, mythical creatures and human figures are in proportionate scale (i.e. head and body in proportion to each other). For me this naturalist approach to image-making is less restrictive and allows for a more open approach than one based on more rigid discipline...⁹⁰

Point and Elliot's figures became ornamented rather than articulated by form (figure 30). For the first time in the medium, design moved beyond pure graphic forms on plain backgrounds into figural forms, sometimes within full landscapes.⁹¹ Once Point and Elliot (and northern artist Roy Henry Vickers must also be acknowledged here)

⁹⁰ Thom and Point, *Susan Point*, 86.

⁹¹ There are a few exceptions: Charlie James and Mungo Martin were known to occasionally include watercolor landscapes in their drawings on paper, and some mid-century artists worked within European painting traditions. The 'Ksan style also sometimes included landscape elements, and predated Point and Elliot's works by three years.

established that such works were salable, the possibilities for Indigenous graphics expanded.

Along with a revision of what constituted Northwest Coast design, Coast Salish artists radically expanded the “acceptable” color palette and its employment. Most notably, Susan Point insisted upon a broad color spectrum that illuminated the possibilities of the silkscreen medium. Red and black had become synonymous with “Haida” graphics, and Northwest Coast design in general. The Nuuchahnulth insisted upon Rickett’s blue, and Kwakwaka’wakw artists included bold yellows and oranges. Some artists depicted rainbows. These colors, when experimented with in the 1970s, were aggressively bright and bold. Point used the silkscreen process itself to blend color into design. One color melded into the next through a refined pulling technique. Rather than the intense colors of the 1970s, Point deployed a gendered palette filled with rosy pinks, lilacs, and sea foam greens. I contend this revisioning of color, combined with Point’s reclamation of women’s work and women’s tools, insisted upon women’s inclusion in contemporary practice.

Both Point’s blending technique and her broad palette would become signature features of Coast Salish aesthetics, and would redefine the conversation about what constituted Northwest Coast design. Coast Salish artists Doug LaFortune, Charles Elliot, Stan Greene, Floyd Joseph, Marvin Oliver, and Jane Marston worked throughout the 1980s and 1990s, some focused on Coast Salish aesthetics while others worked in Northern formline, and some moved fluidly between the two. In the early 2000s a new generation of artists entered the market. Their aesthetic choices were so strongly influenced by Susan Point’s oeuvre that together they codified a contemporary cultural

style. Now secure in a recognizably cultural aesthetic, these young artists, many of whose parents defined contemporary practice, broadly deploy the aesthetic tools from their arsenal: elemental geometries, a completely free palette, sometimes landscapes that fill the page, and sometimes minimalist forms. It seems worth repeating here that the Coast Salish actually comprise many different nations, their territories span two countries, and they speak at least fourteen different languages. Adopting a common visual language has created authority in unity. Scholar of the Coast Salish Wayne Suttles has written:

... it took so long for writers on Northwest Coast art to recognize a Coast Salish style [because of] a tendency to view “tribal culture” as a homogenous, clearly bounded entity. The evidence today points to a more complex picture, with art influenced by localized practices and a fluid movement of ideas and styles.⁹²

It is undoubtedly true that contemporary Coast Salish art has insisted upon an expanded interpretation of Northwest Coast aesthetics that continues to evolve. Yet, it remains equally true that a conception of united community has emerged from a shared visual language written only in the last thirty-five years. This youngest generation of artists operates with an established vernacular. Maynard Johnny Jr. has causally observed that in 1994, when he first began working in prints, people remarked how his pieces looked like Susan Point’s. At that moment Point’s visibility indicated the growing recognition of Coast Salish style. With family from both Coast Salish and Kwakwaka’wakw nations, Johnny is able to move fluidly between the aesthetic traditions of both his Coast Salish and Kwakwaka’wakw heritages. Likewise, an artist like Andy Everson creates works that embody a complex identity. To a learned audience certain elements of design and

⁹² Wayne Suttles, “The Recognition of Coast Salish Art,” in *S’abadeb = The gifts: Pacific Coast Salish art and artists*, ed. Barbara Brotherton (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum; University of Washington Press, 2008), 65, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/225872625.html>.

color choices may be parsed as signifiers that belong to one nation or another.

Meanwhile, to the popular observer on BC Ferries or within the halls of the University of Victoria, Coast Salish prints demarcate regional Indigeneity.

This visual language, cultivated by Coast Salish artists, was honed and disseminated through the print medium. More than sculpture or weaving, the silkscreen embedded the concept of Coast Salish style into larger regional consciousness through its reproducibility, just as the medium had for the Nuuchahnulth and the 'Ksan school in earlier decades. Cultural specificities of design may quickly become abstracted when removed from the coast. In place, they serve to define communities graphically and geographically. Through silkscreens, Nuuchahnulth and Coast Salish communities became visible and distinct from a legacy of academic and popular generalization that either subsumed or dismissed their aesthetic traditions. The power of the vernacular further illuminates the temporality of the 'Ksan style; disconnected from geography, the style could not maintain relevance.

Chapter 3

THE NORTHWEST COAST NATIVE PRINT MARKET

“We had a friend who called us on a rainy day in winter and asked us if we wanted to see an exhibit at one of the local colleges in the city of Brockport, and it was done by Margaret Blackman and Ed Hall, and they were very well known anthropologists. They study the Haida particularly. We went. It wasn’t masks, it was mostly graphics and we were blown away by the sophistication of and by the art of it - more than that - by the cosmological and historio[graphic] references. So we began collecting... We studied it, we studied the books, we got to know Margaret and Ed. We went out to the Pacific Northwest... and we started meeting the gallery owners, and talking to the gallery owners.”

- Joan Chodosh, introductory remarks, *View from Here: Northwest Coast Native Arts from the Richard and Joan Chodosh Collection*, Ralph T. Coe Foundation, 2016

The Northwest Coast Native art market is central to any discussion of the history of Northwest Coast prints. The market’s origins in artist-run galleries, like Ellen Neel’s Totem Arts Studio and Tony Hunt’s Arts of the Raven, parallel artists’ use of the print medium to reach broad audiences. The print’s complete integration into the market was so enthusiastically embraced by artists and dealers alike that silkscreen production now cannot be quantified. The medium functions with distinct purposes. Prints supplant painting as the main two-dimensional art form; sculpture remains most revered within the coastal arts canon. They are geared specifically towards non-Native, non-specialized consumers. Prints communicate Indigenous values directly to patrons through the textual marketing narratives that typically accompany each sale. And while other forms in the coastal canon follow predictable increases in market value over time and as artists gain prominence, prints remain affordable. Even artists who have achieved eminence maintain relatively accessible pricing for their prints.

The Northwest Coast art market emerged and remains distinct from the larger art market in the Pacific Northwest.⁹³ Specifically in British Columbia, artists cultivated a space distinct from the typical network of commercial and public galleries. I consider the medium in relation to the developing market for contemporary Native arts, and the relationships this market has to its various patrons. I recount this print history from first-hand interviews with artists, patrons, and printers.

Three printers have produced the majority of original prints, perhaps as many as 8,000 editions. Vincent Rickard at Pacific Editions printed in Victoria from 1967 until 2008. Paul Nicolson first began printing at the University of Washington in 1981, and began printing with Marvin Oliver in 1982. In 2002, he took over Mardonna McKillip's downtown Seattle gallery, the Legacy, which Nicolson has recently relocated to his Bellevue studio where he continues to print for artists today. Energetic young printer Eric Bourquin of Seacoast Prints began working with British Columbian artists in 1994 and has taken over the majority of printing for British Columbian artists since Rickard's retirement. Several other printers have also contributed to the medium. Robert Davidson, Susan Point, and Roy Henry Vickers have, at times, each contracted printers for their own works. Michael Ee at Screencraft in Vancouver also worked with artists in the 1980s and 90s. Andy MacDougall has dabbled in Northwest Coast screen-printing over the years. In 2015, he began working with the Wachiay Friendship Centre to mentor

⁹³ I do not have the space to fully investigate the particularities that distinguish the Northwest Coast Native market from the larger art world. Significant points are included. The difference between Washington and British Columbian markets is another topic I cannot fully explore. British Columbian artists are much more able to exert authority over their market, blocking out non-Native artists, and demanding recognition from civic institutions. They tend to have more support from community and government. The Washington market is significantly smaller, has many non-Natives working in coastal styles, and retains more remnants from the curio market. The border also creates a decided boundary. Both sides exert protectionist policies. Because British Columbian artists have been generally more successful, their art is more likely to be found in Washington. The Southeast Alaskan market for fine arts is only now developing.

Indigenous screen printers. These master printers are integral to the continuing development of Northwest Coast prints.

Gallery owners, likewise, have played a critical role in the history of prints. In the 1960s and 70s individuals at museum gift shops and tourist shops began to shift the conception of their stores from places for crafts to places for arts. Ellen Neel, who was the first to claim the word *art* for her works and who ran her own studio and gallery space in Vancouver, spearheaded the perceptual change. Native and non-Native dealers took notice. Doug Cranmer, Alfred Scow, and Richard Bird opened The Talking Stick, in 1962 in Vancouver, specifically to “allow Native artists to maintain more control of their arts production and retain more of the profit from their sales.”⁹⁴ Tony Hunt Sr., with his non-Native partner John Livingston, opened Arts of the Raven in Victoria. Bill Ellis, owner of Canadian Native Prints, in Vancouver, specifically promoted Indigenous fine art prints. Joan Baumford, Bud Minsk, and Leona Lattimer also opened shops in this era.⁹⁵ In these shifting years, the primary concern for gallery owners was to educate the public about the long tradition of coastal aesthetics. Prints became the most direct and accessible educational tool of the era. The successes of shop owners established a new wave of fine art galleries in the 1980s and 90s now dedicated to a highly specialized market, including: the Legacy, Stonington Gallery, Alcheringa Gallery, Inuit Gallery, and Spirit Wrestler Gallery.⁹⁶ Prints remain a critical entry-point for this market.

Northwest Coast artists appear throughout this chapter illustrating how they developed and maintain the market. There is a binding relationship between prints and

⁹⁴ Jennifer Kramer, *Kesu: The Art and Life of Doug Cranmer* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2012), 32.

⁹⁵ Early shops included Quest, Tempo, and the Longhouse Gallery in Vancouver. Other significant dealers include Edith Ross, who worked at the Provincial Museum in Victoria, and Lia Grundle, who worked as a dealer on behalf of certain artists.

⁹⁶ Galleries that opened in the 2000s include Coastal Peoples, Fazakas Gallery, and Steinbrueck Gallery.

the larger market that coastal artists have worked hard to maintain. I consider the facets of the print that appeal to Indigenous artists particularly, and how they have employed the medium to connect with patrons and coastal visitors. As with dealers, artists' primary interests in the medium are its ability to engage and educate a wide-ranging clientele.

This chapter is broken into four sections that loosely move through the history of the medium. The first section on the origins of the market illustrates how the market began to distinguish itself as separate from the curio trade through the employment of prints, and how the print medium became intentionally tied to the economics of the larger market. The section on the print boom discusses the regulating factors that moved the medium from poster art to fine art, and how those regulations continue to inform constructs of authenticity and quality. The section on the features of the market relays the relationship between prints, Indigenous worldviews of economics, and market forces. Finally, I briefly examine current shifts in the market and speculate on causes and ramifications for artists and dealers.

Origins of the Northwest Coast Art Market

In the middle of the twentieth century a vibrant tourist market for Northwest Coast Native arts matured from several simultaneous directions. After the war, federal, provincial and state governments in British Columbia and Washington set out to develop a tourist market.⁹⁷ At the same time, these governments took paternalistic measures to generate economies for regional Indigenous communities. In many instances, this meant bringing corporations into remote areas to extract resources. New waves of assimilation

⁹⁷ Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004).

policy closed schools and hospitals in remote villages to encourage Native communities to move to urban centers. There they were directed towards blue-collar labor. Several artists of this era relocated from their villages to Victoria, Vancouver, and Seattle.

In British Columbia these artists worked with the then Provincial Museum in Victoria and Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. Kwakwaka'wakw artists Mungo Martin, Ellen Neel, Henry Speck, and Tony Hunt were particularly known for the entrepreneurial enterprises they began while tenured as artists-in-residence at these museums. As noted in Chapter One, Ellen Neel, Tony Hunt and Doug Cranmer, opened shops in these urban centers to promote their familial and cultural arts. These early shops were already competing with other local tourist shops, which had begun to outsource a stereotyped Northwest Coast "native" aesthetic from producers in Asia. Ellen Neel's impassioned speech in 1948 strategically invoked art world terms in her call for recognition of contemporary and future production. She envisioned "the golden age of totem art" as a collaborative exchange of ideas between Native innovators and non-Natives in urban spaces.⁹⁸ Within fifteen years, Neel and her contemporaries had successfully instilled their presence in public spaces in Vancouver and Victoria, and laid claim to authenticity within the tourist market. They began to consider how Northwest Coast arts might grow.

By the mid-1960s Vancouver and Seattle had grown into regional hubs, and both had been branded by government agencies, including regional museums, as centers of Native culture. Artists had firmly established their presence in urban landscapes, both within museum contexts and through their own enterprises. Several inter-related happenings of this era reflected and re-defined the development of Indigenous arts of the

⁹⁸ Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers*, 50.

Pacific Northwest. At the beginning of the decade, Henry Speck began an artists' collective in Alert Bay, Doug Cranmer opened the Talking Stick in Vancouver, Tony Hunt opened Arts of the Raven in Victoria, and Don Lelooska Smith opened his place in Seattle. In 1965 Holm released *Indian Arts: An Analysis of Form*. That same year the Canadian Broadcasting Company produced a series of six radio programs, *The Indian As Artist*, in which Norman Newton interviewed prominent regional scholars and artists.

The third program was dedicated to the artist and the market. Newton introduced the conversation by mentioning the rise in stylized 'Indian' objects imported from Asia, and proceeded to interview Don Smith, Doug Cranmer, and Ramona Morris. Of the current state of the US market, Smith said:

The government has an agency, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, that helps to promote Indian arts and crafts and craftsmen, and helps them to learn to manage their own small business. [The agency] will guide them in setting up crafts unions; [they] help to acquaint the public with the quality side of Indian arts and crafts. There are lots of Indian artists. I imagine the majority of them are part of crafts unions or guilds. There are quite a few independent craftsmen like myself. For years a lot of the people, like myself, manufactured the small items for the tourist trade, the little dolls and tomahawks and such. Then, the Hong Kong and Japanese stuff began to pour into the country and lots of the tourists are more interested in price than the authentic origin of something. I think the time has come now for the majority of the craftsmen – well, in fact, all of them - to switch to the quality things, which can't be mass-produced abroad. I think that's where the real market, and the real *future* of Indian crafts lies.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Nelson, "The Artist and the Market." Don Smith, himself Cherokee, adds a layer of complexity to understanding who has the authority to produce Northwest Coast style objects, and how that authority, or authenticity, shifts depending on time and geography. Larry Rosso (Carrier) and Val Malesku (Cree) live(d) in British Columbia and create(d) works in the Northwest Coast style. Glen Rabena, a Pilipino artist, went to 'Ksan and worked in the 'Ksan style. For a short time he passed as Indigenous, but through his education learned about coastal protocols. In 1987, he was became an adopted Haida through Robert and Reg Davidson. John Livingston's position as an adopted member of the Kwakwaka'wakw, through his wife, Maxine Matilpi, also interrupts the complexities of identity and artistic authority on the Northwest Coast. He has worked alongside Kwakwaka'wakw master carvers since he was a teenager, and has taught many young Indigenous artists. Prints by these artists are not included in this dissertation but bear further consideration. The so-called "Seattle tribe" of white artists is not explored in this text.

Key terms from this speech frame the structure of the market for Northwest Coast Native art for the next thirty years: arts, crafts, tourism, authenticity, and quality. Because anthropologists showed the most consistent attention to Indigenous arts for the first half of the century, discourses on authenticity and crafts as decorative arts had already become entrenched.¹⁰⁰ Governmental construction of a post-war tourist market created enough space for some fulltime Indigenous artists. In this mid-1960s moment, the artists themselves gained enough authority to begin organizing how their arts should be consumed by the larger public.

Henry Speck's 1964 exhibition at the New Design Gallery in Vancouver was the first exhibition of Northwest Coast Native prints on paper. The context in which these screen prints were shown would be unique for decades to come. Alvin Balkind, the owner of the gallery, was a key galvanizer of the Vancouver avant-garde.¹⁰¹ He opened the gallery in 1954, which quickly became a center for visual arts, concerts, films, and arts lectures. By 1964, Balkind was curator at the University of British Columbia Fine Arts Gallery, and he had also become interested in the visual culture of the peoples of the Pacific Northwest.¹⁰² Speck, who was already a significant figure in commercial Northwest Coast arts, held a solo exhibition of painted works alongside large, glossy, bright silkscreens. For this one moment, a Northwest Coast First Nations artist was shown in the context of contemporary Canadian art without relation to anthropology, or

¹⁰⁰ McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art*, 142–58; Alice Ravenhill, *A Corner Stone of Canadian Culture: An Outline of the Arts and Crafts of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia* (Victoria: Don McDiarmid, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1945).

¹⁰¹ "Alvin Balkind," *Ruins in Process: Vancouver in the Sixties*, accessed April 3, 2017, <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/people/8>.

¹⁰² Balkind was introduced to Speck through art dealer Gyula Mayer. In the late 1950s Mayer worked with Kwakwaka'wakw artists, including Speck, and is said to have given "paper, paint and brushes," with a promise to buy all their works; Robert MacDonald, "At the Galleries," *Los Angeles Times*, December 26, 1986, articles.latimes.com/1986-12-26/entertainment/ca-399_1_sunset-gallery.

tourism, and without subjugation to the entity that would become known as the Northwest Coast Native art market.

A short article in the *Vancouver Sun* describes Speck's "enthusiastic" reception by Vancouver's elite, including the British Columbia MP Jack Davis.¹⁰³ It also employs rhetoric that marks the tensions of the emerging Northwest Coast Native art market. Both the author, Moira Farrow, and Speck clearly define his works as "arts," as opposed to crafts, trinkets, or bric-a-brac. The topics of copying and originality are hashed out within the discourse of European art history. Speck's works were finally considered "original," whereas early works, it seems important for the author to point out, were copied illustrations from store catalogues. Farrow keenly comments on Speck's use of vibrant color - which is an important point to be returned to - the subject matter as "mythological," and "tribal," and also observes that Speck is an artistic leader in his community, composing Kwakwaka'wakw dances, and teaching his family to carve and paint. The tension of the article lies in the crafting of a concept of originality alongside a narrative of community life that is tied to a mythic, tribal past. Dealers, anthropologists, and the artists themselves would continue to develop this delicate relationship for the next four decades.

At this time, Speck was not the only Northwest Coast Native painter. Most coastal artists were already painters, albeit upon carvings rather than canvas or paper. George Clutesi and Judith Morgan were notable for their European-influenced two-dimensional works. Meanwhile, the very active Kwakwaka'wakw community included Mungo Martin, Ben Dick, Lloyd Wadhams, and Tony Hunt, among others. These artists

¹⁰³ "What the Heck Says Mr. Speck: The Chief Gives a Tootle for the Talents of Kwakiutl," *Ruins in Process: Vancouver in the Sixties*, March 24, 1961, <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/archive/161>.

were pioneering a two-dimensional graphic style that continues to inform what is perceived as Northwest Coast Native graphics. Speck and Hunt particularly were interested in redefining their works beyond the tourist curio. These two artists, not coincidentally, were also the first to make prints.

The principle elements of this two-dimensional style are a single figure, centered in free space, in formline design. While certain scholars and connoisseur collectors might quibble whether Kwakwaka'wakw graphics can be described as "true" formline, my discussion considers the stylization of the calligraphic line intrinsically related to what we perceive as Northwest Coast Native graphics.¹⁰⁴ In later decades the terminology becomes both a designation for authenticity and a generalization to describe the overall style. Incidentally, the term coined by Bill Holm entered the discourse the same year as Speck's exhibition. Meanwhile, across the Salish Sea, in Victoria, Tony Hunt reacted to the sale of poorly executed, mass-produced Northwest Coast style prints being sold at the Hudson's Bay Company. He first worked with the Victoria Ladies Society, a newer iteration of the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society, to produce a series of prints for the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria.

Speck's and Hunt's silkscreens characterized a new graphic style. Earlier Northwest Coast drawings and paintings sometimes overlaid a landscape with Northwest Coast graphics (figures 31, 32), some depicted coastal genre scenes, while most recreated Northwest Coast figures for anthropological, narrative purposes. The New Design screen prints presented a unified style, featuring individual figures centered on the paper with distinctively Kwakwaka'wakw design, accented by vibrant, popping colors. Brilliant

¹⁰⁴ Bill Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form*, 2015, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/soas-ebooks/detail.action?docID=4635829>; Macnair, Hoover, and Neary, *The Legacy*, 27–42.

yellows, greens, and oranges had been featured on Kwakwaka'wakw carvings from the moment artists had access to commercial paints. Martin, Hunt, Speck, Dick and others seamlessly employed these colors when painting or drawing on paper. Yet, it was the silkscreens and the accompanying catalogue which seem to have cemented this iconography into a popular understanding of what constituted Northwest Coast Native and First Nations art in two dimensions. Painter Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun recalls,

Henry Speck broke the formline. He drew hair over the line, and made what was a stylized two-dimensional image into a pictorially three-dimensional one. I remember seeing his small catalogue from 1964 in my father's library: it was new, on paper and in colour. He used new inks, new materials – it was modern. Colour was his signature; he had a certain style that other artists would try to copy. His influence on me was colour, because back then there was more black and white.¹⁰⁵

Yuxweluptun's perception of Northwest Coast graphics as limited to black and red formline comes from the next decades, which codified a market for Northwest Coast prints. The new market's relationship to regional anthropologists quickly began to define formline and design rooted in the historic Haida style as red, black, and decidedly flat. Curator Scott Watson notes, correctly, that the "Haidacentric," institutional discourse permeates discussions of Northwest Coast art.¹⁰⁶ However, even as the market was being codified and the concept of formline became "textbook," Northwest Coast artists from other nations innovated graphic styles to distinguish their nation's style. The Northwest Coast Native print, although routinely defined in relation to anthropological perceptions

¹⁰⁵ Marcia Crosby, "Museums, Mentors, Merchants; Aboriginal Art in the 60s: Fine and Popular," *Ruins in Process: Vancouver in the Sixties*, accessed April 3, 2017, <http://aboriginalart.vancouverartinthesixties.com/mentors-and-merchants#theme-nav>.

¹⁰⁶ Although Watson, like Yuxweluptun, seems to locate this discourse to the 1960s and earlier, I contend the 'Haidacentric' understanding of Northwest Coast design is only just being overturned; Scott Watson, "Two Bears," in *Bill Reid and Beyond: Expanding on Modern Native Art*, ed. Charlotte Townsend-Gault and Karen Duffek (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004), 210, <http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/416963>.

of historic graphic “norms,” simultaneously pushed back at externally defined boundaries.

The Print Boom

In the 1970s the market for Northwest Coast fine art established itself alongside the print medium. Prints abounded in this era and the entire decade has since been dubbed *the print boom*. Among a new generation of young artists prints became ubiquitous. As the decade developed, designs and printing techniques were refined. Dealers began marketing prints *as* Indigenous art. By the end of the decade this new art world held a mutually agreed upon concept of exactly what constituted a proper, or authentic, Native Northwest Coast print.

At the outset of this era the Vancouver Art Gallery’s exhibition *Arts of the Raven* (1968), and the Provincial Museum of British Columbia’s exhibition *The Legacy* (1971/1984) displayed primarily historic objects. Yet these institutional shows define the circumstances for the “revival” of contemporary Northwest Coast Native art.¹⁰⁷ These major museum exhibitions touted historic Northwest Coast objects as equal to European arts, and exhibited contemporary works alongside historic pieces. The comparison between historic and contemporary examples created a relationship between the new and the old, and delineated discourses on authenticity. An absence of exhibitions – both commercial and public – with direct comparisons to European objects isolated contemporary Northwest Coast works to a category of their own.

¹⁰⁷ The terms “revival” and “renaissance” have been employed to define this era and then critiqued; Karen Duffek and Charlotte Townsend-Gault, *Bill Reid and beyond: Expanding on Modern Native Art* (Vancouver [B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004), 133–74, <http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/416963>. Like the designation “print boom,” this terminology was applied to newly visible, flourishing Indigenous culture.

Institutional representation of contemporary Indigenous artworks paralleled a shift in the art market. With an arena for tourist objects well established, new galleries promoted contemporary Native and First Nations artists.¹⁰⁸ These spaces began promoting carvings and metal work as fine arts, and transitioning themselves from “shops” to “galleries.” I suggest prints became the hallmark of these new galleries; signed, numbered, framed, and hanging on walls, prints presented a visual marker of ‘fine art’ for non-Native audiences. John Livingston recalls the early days of Arts of the Raven, his and Tony Hunt’s gallery in Victoria:

The higher the carving prices went the stronger the demand for prints. Our mandate in Arts of the Raven - obviously, we would have liked nothing better than to sell nothing but \$10,000 pieces and have a real, high-end gallery, but it couldn’t work in those days, so our mandate was to offer something of quality whether it was \$5 or \$1,500 or \$2,000. As carving prices started to rise the gap got wider between the reproduction stuff and the hand carved stuff. That’s why there was this huge flood of junky totem poles and shoe polish plaques. The market was hungry to take home something that was hand carved, but they wouldn’t pay the money. We said, ‘look, you cannot buy a quality carving for \$100. It’s not possible. But you can, for \$100, buy a really classy design, as a limited edition print that’s going to hold value.’¹⁰⁹

Although Neel’s Totem Arts Studios and Cranmer’s Talking Stick closed, new galleries sprang up to replace them. Along with Tony Hunt’s gallery, non-Natives Vincent Rickard, Peggy Martin, Edith Ross, Mardona McKillip, Leona Lattimer, Stuart Cummings, Joan Bomford, Lia Grundle, Hal Kreuger, and Bob Mintz all ran galleries in the 1970s that promoted contemporary Northwest Coast Native and First Nations art in Seattle, Victoria, and Vancouver. These spaces shifted identities as ‘shops’ to ‘galleries,’ simultaneous to their framing and promoting prints as Northwest Coast Native fine arts.

¹⁰⁸ Incidentally, in British Columbia this Native market paralleled the larger fine art market. Seattle already had a small, dedicated art scene centering around Mark Tobey and the Northwest School. It was only in the 1960s and 70s that British Columbians began to promote their own artists rather than looking East.

¹⁰⁹ John Livingston, audio recording, February 24, 2015.

Structures for prints developed rapidly with printers at the center of the new flurry of activity. Printer Vincent Rickard, in Victoria, began working with Tony Hunt in 1965, by the late 1960s he was working with Ron Hamilton, and by the early 1970s he maintained a fulltime business as a master printer. Seattle printer Paul Nicolson worked as a student at the University of Victoria in the campus poster shop when Marvin Oliver came to him because the university's poster shop had better printing facilities than the art department. At the Gitanmaxx School of Northwest Coast Indian Art, commonly referred to as 'Ksan, Robert Davidson screen-printed his first cards in 1968, while Doreen Jensen screen printed banners and wall hangings for several of the first artists who taught at the school. Not well versed in the medium herself, Jensen sought out a local man, Gillesan, to teach a silkscreening course.¹¹⁰ Jensen recalls Freda Diesing, Jane Mowatt, Dora Kenny and Vernon Stevens were in the class, while other students were skeptical of a non-Native medium.¹¹¹ Women took on the collaborative roll of printer for the early 'Ksan prints. Jane Mowatt printed for her husband, Ken Mowatt, Jensen for Vernon Stevens, and Kenny for Ron Sebastian.

Early and middle 1970s prints are characterized by explorations in material, content, and form, and a honing of techniques as galleries at the time established their salability. From the mid-1970s several forces combined to solidify prints as a new medium for Northwest Coast artists. Several galleries began promoting artists and artworks through a version of the European art system: they promoted individual artists, they used the secondary market to organize demand, and they developed a clientele through strategic education. Bill Ellis, owner of Canadian Native Prints, used the auction

¹¹⁰ Robert Davidson recalls a woman named McGillicuddy who helped print his first cards at 'Ksan. Robert Davidson, interview with Indian Rael Young. Audio recording, Vancouver, February 20, 2015.

¹¹¹ Doreen Jensen in Hall and Blackman, "A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs."

market to speculate, and to inflate print demand for certain artists, notably Bill Reid. Ellis, who in the early 70s sold reproductions of Canadian art through a catalogue enterprise, shifted his business model to selling only Indigenous fine art prints by the end of the decade. Vincent Rickard, Ellis and others ensured that each print was accompanied by an artist's statement and biography. Gallery owners began to develop a patronage of connoisseur collectors who became interested in an authenticity of historic graphic forms reflected in the new medium. The most notable of these collectors were anthropologists Edwin Hall and Margaret Blackman, whose collecting practices led to a contract with the Museum of Man to investigate the workings of this new market.¹¹² Anthropologist George MacDonald from the National Museum of Man also established a very large collection, and through the 1970s curators at the Provincial Museum and the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia collected the prints because they were affordable.¹¹³ The model in this early period, for dealers, was intended to rival the Inuit print market. Collectors were encouraged to purchase a breadth of work, with attention to formal qualities. Peter Lattimer, who continues his grandmother's gallery, recalls of Leona:

I know that my grandmother sold a tremendous number of prints as investments. I don't know how often I hear the story of a collector coming in who knew my grandmother in the 70s and 80s saying, 'I have a

¹¹² Blackman has written that Hall's collecting practices drove their collection while she herself professes not to be a "collector." She affirms her "vital interest in contemporary Northwest Coast art." Margaret B. Blackman, "Behind the Screens," in *In the Spirit of the Ancestors: Contemporary Northwest Coast Art at the Burke Museum*, ed. Robin Kathleen Wright, Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse, and Shaun Peterson, 2013, 23. The Blackman and Hall archive, "A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs," and print collection was donated to the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture at the University of Washington in 1998. Robin Wright curated *Graphic Culture: NWC Prints from the Blackman-Hall Collection* to commemorate the importance of the donation.

¹¹³ Karen Duffek was still a graduate student at UBC in the 1970s but in the 1980s would bring her interests in the contemporary market into her position at MOA. See also Peter Macnair in Hall and Blackman, "A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs"; Blackman, "Behind the Screens"; George MacDonald, audio recording, September 29, 2014.

piece of cardboard under my bed with forty or fifty prints in it. Your grandmother made me buy one every time I came in and she told me I'd be very happy one day.' And it's true. They have prints that have higher value to them now, if we can sell them.¹¹⁴

What drove these buyers remains somewhat obscure. They tend to be locals who developed long-term relationships with specific galleries. Some gravitated towards Northwest Coast prints because of their interests in arts, some because of the visibility of the "revival." Dealers and auctioneers continue to encounter sellers who have collected en masse, rather than for personal preference, or interest in individual artists. The prints tend to be in excellent condition, having never been framed or hung.

However, gallery owners and artists alike continue to recognize the importance of the tourist market. Visitors to the coast often wish to take something iconic home to recall their travels. The romanticism circulating around Indigenous cultures creates an opportunity for artists and dealers to educate these visitors about contemporary Indigenous communities. Rickard remembers the origins of his collaboration with Edwin Hall and Margaret Blackman: "We continually found ourselves being educators because people would walk in and say, 'What is this?' So I did a twenty-page brochure with just the bare basics, which ended up being the first few pages of the book."¹¹⁵ The steadily growing tourist market ensured prints were more desirable than ever. Through these murky paths of exchange Northwest Coast prints have found their way into personal and public collections throughout the globe.

The market also became more defined as the artists came into their own. Most artists of the print boom were in their early twenties, young men (and a handful of women) at the beginning of their careers. Their professional training, if any, had been

¹¹⁴ Peter Lattimer, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Victoria, June 26, 2014.

¹¹⁵ Vincent Rickard, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Victoria, July 20, 2015.

with other Northwest Coast artists rather than at art schools.¹¹⁶ A few artists learned to silkscreen in high school or college. Artists' explorations in material and sales led to a standardizing of practices. Dialogues about quality in content and substance began between artists and galleries, which also reshaped price structures. Notable topics addressed were: regional specificity of designs, quality of technique and material, quality of graphic style, and a standardization of edition numbers. Paul Nicolson recalls a story of British Columbia artists visiting Seattle told to him by Peter Hilgefjord, who worked at Mardonna McKillip's gallery, the Legacy Ltd.:

At that point there were not that many different people doing it. And it was this, kind of, small community. There are some great stories. The guy who was actually the helper for Mardonna at the gallery was an art school student at UW and he came to the gallery some years ago and told us this story about Robert Davidson and Art Thompson showing up with these prints in the very early 70s. He said they were actually pretty nice prints, but the paper, it was literally brown paper bag paper. Horrible stuff. He said, 'I got 'em in my car, and we drove up to Daniel Smith,' which at that time was in Fremont. 'I went in and I showed them Arches paper,' and I said, '*This* is what you want to do.' And I even bought them their first 500 sheet ream of paper.' And they took it back, and that's what those Guild prints [were on]. So that was basically when some of the artists got into the idea of more quality paper, more quality printing.¹¹⁷

Paper was only one of the facets of printmaking that artists were teaching themselves about in this era. The buzzword, 'quality,' became a standardizing tool. Quality came to mean a work printed by a professional screen printer, on weighted paper, with a limited edition number, termed a 'serigraph' rather than a silkscreen or screen print, and an accompanying artist's narrative and biography. Artists, in conversation with each other, dealers, and printers, began to unify their efforts.

¹¹⁶ This era saw the first generation of artists attending art schools. Robert Davidson attended Emily Carr in 1967. Joe David learned graphic design at Texas State University in San Marcos, Texas. However, these opportunities were still rare for Indigenous artists.

¹¹⁷ Paul, interview.

In quick succession several texts emerged which signified the print's definitive arrival into the market for Northwest Coast Native arts. In 1977 the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild formed, and produced a catalogue and an exhibition of screen prints that traveled across Canada.¹¹⁸ The second catalogue summarized the Guild's objectives, which reflect the medium's standardization:

- (a) To establish, promote, develop, foster and maintain the national and international recognition of the art of the Indians of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia.
- (b) To encourage and aid the Indians of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia in producing art of better quality and higher standards.
- (c) To act as a social organization for Indians of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia, interested in or practicing their art, in order that ideas and information may be freely exchanged and distributed.
- (d) To educate the general public in the history of the art and culture of the Indians of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia.¹¹⁹

Starting with a one-day show at the Vancouver Art Gallery, the 1977 exhibition traveled across Canada, primarily through commercial galleries. The next year they followed with the same model. The signature feature of the Guild catalogue was the combination of image with text by the artist about the design. This model would be repeated in nearly all subsequent publications on prints, although the attribution of the text to the artist was not always clear. In 1978 students at 'Ksan released a collection of prints. Both the Guild and 'Ksan projects were underpinned by a combination of artists' initiative, dealers' marketing investments, and governmental funding through Canadian Indian Marketing Services (figure 33). In 1979, an offshoot of the Guild held an exhibition at the Thompson Gallery in Toronto with a catalogue mimicking the Guild. Also that year, Hilary Stewart released her biography of the thirty-three year old artist, *Robert Davidson*:

¹¹⁸ Young, "We Poets, Philosophers, Serigraphers: Locating the Northwest Coast Indian Artist Guild within Indigenous Tradition."

¹¹⁹ Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, *Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, 1978 Graphics Collection* (Ottawa: Canadian Indian Marketing Service, 1978).

Haida Printmaker. Government policy changed at the end of the 1970s closing Canadian Indian Marketing Services, and the funding for 'Ksan and other cultural projects evaporated. However, the relationship between artists and dealers was strong enough to maintain the print market. In 1981, Blackman, Hall, and Rickard released their text. Then, in the early 1980s, a few small exhibitions of prints were hosted at public institutions, which were accompanied by pamphlets or small catalogues. This cursory writing-in of the medium satisfied interested academic parties. However, the history of the medium as an entity unto itself had only just taken shape.

Features of the Northwest Coast Art Market

The latter part of the twentieth century saw the firm establishment of a sophisticated market for contemporary Northwest Coast arts in the major coastal cities as separate from the local fine art market, which had been (and remains) slow to develop in the Pacific Northwest. The histories of anthropology and tourism defined the market's parameters as it codified into a capitalist system. Karen Duffek's *A Guide to Buying Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art* (1983), published through the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, offers a summary of the market and its structures. The text first addresses authenticity in relation to tradition, then where to buy, and what to pay. It goes on to categorize Northwest arts: serigraphs, woodcarvings, basketry, jewelry, argillite, and (specifically Salish) weaving. Painting remains notably absent. Likewise, artists themselves do not feature prominently, although all images are credited. Each section conceptualizes authenticity and tradition for the buyer. While the text parlays between anthropologists and, presumably, those new to the market, it also

reveals an important facet of the market itself. The cultivation of this space was never meant to address the art world. The stated goal, as defined by artists and dealers alike, was to educate the world-at-large about regional Indigenous arts and culture. Prints play a definitive role in global visibility for coastal communities.

Artworks in the market are often reductively dubbed “traditional” but more specifically are rooted in the historic visual languages from the communities from which they come.¹²⁰ In recent decades the term ‘tradition’ has been impugned as pigeonholing. However, the creation of the market, even when spurred by anthropological beliefs, established a relationship between historic and contemporary aesthetics and practices that significantly helped Indigenous artists affirm their longstanding arts traditions for the world-at-large. The concept and rhetoric of *tradition* embedded itself into the fabric of contemporary Northwest Coast Native art. Duffek’s categories fairly encompass the kinds of artworks one might find, in the 1980s or today, at any Northwest Coast art gallery. Woodcarving, weaving, and engraving are ancient arts practices. Metal engraved jewelry arrived with contact, combining European materials and technologies with coastal aesthetics and cultural values. Screen-printing and glass arts are the last century’s newest media. For my purposes, the concept of tradition defines a canon of Northwest Coast media mutually subscribed to by practitioners and patrons. From the time Ellen Neel first applied the term *art* to her objects, coastal artists worked to develop, in Neel’s phrasing, an “appreciation” for their visual languages and to inspire non-

¹²⁰ A larger discourse - yet unwritten - is needed to address the gendering of the construction of the market that focuses on certain kinds of visibility and excludes others. I contend that the very categorizing of artworks and the pressure to organize around discernable visual languages privileges man-made arts and subverts women’s contributions to Northwest Coast arts.

Natives to bridge a connection between those visual languages and the living people they represented.

A parsing of Duffek's buyers' guide further illuminates the new audience for Northwest Coast arts. It implies that formal qualities – line, proportion, balance – define what makes a “good” piece. As Judith Ostrowitz has pointed out, this era of Northwest Coast study reduced the objects to a “preoccupation with form,” over the ethnographic interests that had motivated previous generations of scholars.¹²¹ Scholars and art world clientele, however, were not the market's intended audience. An excerpt from Duffek's section on serigraphy illuminates the newness of the medium and addresses all audiences beyond the art world. According to Duffek, qualities to look for in prints include:

- The design is well printed (no blurry edges, no accidentally overlapping colours, even colour application).
- The quality of the paper is good (preferably rag or acid-free paper).
- The edition is limited and the print is signed and numbered in pencil by the artist. Some distributors, but not all, include a certificate of authenticity with each print, stating that the screens have been destroyed.
- The print itself is in good condition and has not been mishandled and damaged. Make sure there are no tears, worn corners, fingerprints, or creases. Examine the print outside of a plastic envelope, especially if it has been in a print bin...
- The design appeals to you and reflects a good understanding of the principles of Northwest Coast two-dimensional design.¹²²

Anyone purchasing prints within the art world would already understand these markers. Likewise, an art buying community would have an understanding of formalism, if not a definitive understanding of the formal principles that govern formline. Duffek's text assumed those outside the art world, namely anthropologists and tourists, required the formalist schooling.

¹²¹ Ostrowitz, *Privileging the Past*, 445–48.

¹²² Karen Duffek, “The Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market” (University of British Columbia, 1985), 8.

Education has remained a primary concern for artists within the market. From Martin's efforts to instill the meanings of his songs and dance steps in passersby, to Neel's more direct pleas for education, to the Guild's educational mandate, coastal artists view a primary function of their work as educating non-Natives about their specific cultures, histories, and presence. The task of educating has been shared between artists and dealers. Prints play an important role as easily identifiable artworks for target audiences. A marketing strategy developed almost simultaneously by Bill Ellis, Roy Henry Vickers, and Vincent Rickard insured that each print was sold with a textual narrative that expounded upon the cultural connections of the imagery. Dealers relished these textual narratives. Most gallery owners I spoke with felt a part of their vocation was educating newcomers to Northwest Coast arts. Prints remain something affordable and comprehensive, especially when accompanied by the words of the artist. Elaine Monds of Alcheringa says:

We do so much educating. We have to gage what price point the client is likely to be able to afford. Young people we'd start with Dylan [Thomas] because his work is affordable, and they like the fact that his work is so modern. And then of course you get the real collectors who come in and tell you right away they'd like a Susan Point or Robert Davidson... Every now and then I'll pull out one of Calvin [Hunt]'s prints, because Calvin is a great designer, we have some nice prints of his, and they're so ridiculously inexpensive (figure 34).¹²³

Elizabeth Steinbrueck, whose gallery on the Seattle waterfront is one of the newest additions dedicated to coastal arts, notes:

We discuss at length the graphics that are the pleasing colors, balance, movement and fluidity of Northwest Coast prints. We talk about the artist and where they are from, and that is part of the education. And then we talk about stories and help them see the image that they are looking at, which is not always apparent.¹²⁴

¹²³ Elaine Monds, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Victoria, April 5, 2013.

¹²⁴ Elizabeth Steinbrueck, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Seattle, April 17, 2014.

Melanie Zabaduck of the Inuit Gallery, recalling when she took over the gallery in the 1990s, likewise confirms:

We also, because of our location, we would also meet a lot of people in the summer who were visiting Gastown. We would see a lot of people from other parts of the world who maybe had never seen Northwest Coast art before. We do a lot of talking about the art form and where it comes from; we do a lot of storytelling, a lot of talking about the culture and the mythology. Those people were happy to have something they could take home that was high quality but that was not super expensive. We had that tourist market buying those lower priced prints. We believe in being open with people, and sharing with people, and not, sort of, looking down our noses at people because someone is technically a tourist.¹²⁵

Vincent Rickard, as a printer and a gallery owner, recalls how the medium has been ideal for educating:

Screen-printing made an ideal medium to experiment with. [Artists] could get more complex in their storytelling than they could in carving a house front. [Rickard looks at Ron Hamilton's *Whaler's Dream*] This is a guy dreaming about whaling, which would have been very difficult [to convey in another form.] There wasn't the venue for [Ron Hamilton] to express somebody dreaming about whaling in the old culture. [Points to transformation mask] There's a transformation mask with elements transforming, which they couldn't really have done graphically before. They could have done a painting on a house front, for example, but they didn't. So there was a lot of stuff that wouldn't have been done in old cultural art that was done in screen-printing (figure 25).¹²⁶

For a community whose voices have been historically suppressed, communication becomes paramount. Coastal artists use the print medium to generate dialogue with the larger world. With the development of the print market, artists negotiated a means to speak directly to their patrons – this new type of buyer who was neither from the art world, nor the academy. The original intention was to add incentive to a print purchase by legitimating the art form within the context of traditional coastal arts practices. Bill

¹²⁵ Melanie Zavediuk, a interview with India Rael Young. Telephone call, Seattle, February 6, 2015.

¹²⁶ Rickard, interview.

Reid, Ron Hamilton, and Ken Mowatt, among others, created print series and accompanying texts to narrate cultural histories. However, most artists' statements conveyed cultural knowledge rather than a specific story. For nearly forty years, Rickard and Vickers documented their print production with a biography and narrative to accompany each work. This simple technique of combining cultural graphics with narratives has allowed artists to speak directly to their patrons.

Roy Henry Vickers remembers:

Another thing, from the early days, that struck me was that I'm creating images to try and teach people about Northwest Coast Indian art. And, the only people who are interested in what I'm doing are people already interested in Northwest Coast Indian art, so how do I reach someone who hasn't got a clue? How do I inspire someone who doesn't know anything about it, and get them to look at it? I started asking myself that, over and over... I know that our story is important. Each person's story is important. So if I'm creating images to teach people – and that's why I started with fine art prints is to reach a broader audience, to teach them about the Haida, the Tsimshian, and the Kwaguilth, and all the sub-parts of all of those nations, and the fact that they're all different nations – so if I'm going to do that then I should really write down what I'm doing.¹²⁷

Goolka (1973) and *The Westcoasters* (1982), figures 36 and 37, are works that illustrate Nuu-chah-nulth lifestyles and iconographies at a time when Vickers was making his home and this living upon their territory, first as a fisherman, then as a novice gallery owner. They also hint at Vickers' developing interest in Japanese Edo period woodblock aesthetics, which he has continued throughout his career. This design style has certainly proved appealing to outside audiences. Vickers' drive to educate and to engage new audiences is echoed by the dealers above, and by successive generations of Northwest Coast artists. When Rickard retired in 2008 creating a text to accompany each print fell by the wayside for some galleries; the goals of establishing and maintaining a

¹²⁷ Roy Henry Vickers, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Victoria, November 9, 2014.

knowledgeable market had long since been established. Nevertheless, a new generation of artists carries the practice forward. Andy Everson creates an elaborate marketing package, which, along with a narrative for each work and his biography, directs patrons to his website. lessLIE has completely enfolded visual and textual practices; each of his works unites his prose with Salish design. Kelli Clifton employs prints and digital reproductions specifically to communicate with larger audiences about her activist interests. Prints remain a coastal medium because they allow artists to communicate most directly with the larger world.

I suggest the textual component of the print market helps extend Indigenous worldviews into the contemporary art market and into the social fabric of the Pacific Northwest generally. The twin conceptions of responsibility and reciprocity maintain a unique continuance through the print market. Narratives that accompany print sales allow artists to pass along specific histories and kinds of knowledge. The owners of a dance mask may have heard a story about the artwork's employment within cultural contexts from the dealer, but its purpose can never be fulfilled. However, a print's primary purpose is to relay a distinct sense of community and continuity. A print might travel anywhere in the world, and with it comes the knowledge that it represents a living artist who continues to practice an artistic style rooted in the geography where the artwork was collected. Without even knowing it, perhaps, a print patron fulfills their responsibility to maintain the knowledge shared by the artist when they themselves share their knowledge of the print's visual language, and cultural connections. I more fully explore the relationship between prints and the texts that accompany them in the next chapter.

The other critical feature of the sale of prints illuminates how Indigenous worldviews govern the market. Northwest Coast prints remain largely affordable. During the 1970s and 80s, dealers intended that the market should match the Inuit print market, and the overall medium should steadily grow in worth as it became more highly commodified. However, artists' interests in their own market resisted this non-Native market structure. They wished to use prints as an ever-accessible medium. Calvin Hunt's prints remain truly, "ridiculously inexpensive" because he sees their value in their multiplicity and accessibility.¹²⁸ Margaret Blackman made an observation when she was speaking with Edith Ross, manager at the Provincial Museum Gift Shop in 1978; she noted that Tony Hunt Sr. carried the idea of the multiple beyond the medium of the print:

Tony Hunt has carried it to the extreme, where he does a label for someone and then gets permission to make a print of it; he makes a print of it, then he gets permission, or he may at the same time ask permission to do a card out of it, and then sometimes he will do it in the form of a stained glass window and a copper plaque.¹²⁹

Hunt resisted the concept of the "original" and the "unique," and set an example for his own generation and those who have followed him. Repeating a design as a print, then a card, and then in sculpture built a relationship between objects and carried on a long history of coastal reproduction. He and most Northwest Coast artists use fine art prints to reach audiences that cannot afford carvings. In 1978, Tony Hunt's prints would have sold for somewhere between \$20 and \$40 CDN. Even today, a print produced by a distinguished and masterful coastal artist, could be sold for as little as \$50. The majority of prints range from \$150 to \$300.

¹²⁸ Monds, interview.

¹²⁹ "Edith Ross," in Hall and Blackman, "A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs."

Only certain artists have used traditional market structures to increase the value of their prints. High prices for prints by Point, Davidson, or Vickers reflect the artists' commitment to the strategic marketing of their works. These artists also work in other media where they command truly astonishing prices for their sculpture and architecture. They were there at the beginning to establish the market's parameters. They have worked to have their pieces valued as comparable to their non-Native counterparts. Over time, through careful negotiations, they have built huge careers. Yet, two prevailing features make their arts practices distinct. Excepting Davidson, these artists rarely paint on canvas. When they do, even for Davidson, the artwork often functions as a sort of monotype - the first design of something that will be reproduced as a limited edition, and maybe then a sculpture. Also, each of these artists has been careful to use the print medium to ensure that their works are accessible to people beyond the art world. They each continue to produce limited or large editions at lower price points so that the middle class might still collect their work.

During the 1980s, with the firm establishment of the market, both graphics and education became secondary interests to scholars. The overtly commercial market shifted scholarly engagement. Once prints achieved a permanent space within the Northwest Coast art world they became irrelevant to the pedants. Scholars of the latter part of the twentieth century, still primarily anthropologists, turned their attentions to interpretations of universalities and more adventurous new media.¹³⁰ Meanwhile, the market for prints continued and strengthened, establishing a new generation of Northwest Coast artists. An

¹³⁰ Several authors in the Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Jennifer Kramer, and Ƙi-ƙe-in, *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas*, 2013, 620–25.

affordable price point ensured that prints circulated throughout the continent and the world.

Millennial Market Shifts

The place of the print within Northwest Coast arts communities cannot be overstated, yet it has never been quantified. Since the 1980s prints have provided a multimillion-dollar business. Many artists referred to prints as their “bread and butter” medium that ensures them a living wage. As Doreen Jensen has remarked: “First Nations artists took the contemporary practice of traditional Northwest Coast art out of hiding and began a dialogue with non-Native culture.”¹³¹ I argue that the space for this dialogue has been sculpted through the market for prints. Today, prints mark regional, Indigenous identity in the same way totems and monumental sculptures designate civic spaces. They are found on ferries, in regional business offices, and adorn the hallways of universities, municipal buildings, and museums.

Print production reached its pinnacle during the 1990s when the market was most generous to dealers and artists. Galleries had successfully cultivated a strong base of connoisseur collectors, most of whom collected en masse, and some who purchased encyclopedic collections of certain artists.¹³² General wealth in both Canada and the United States encouraged travel and newly disposable income sustained more artists than ever before. Printers and dealers alike confirm the flurry of print activity.¹³³ And yet, an inability to keep up with the flood of the market and the rise in prices for certain well-

¹³¹ Karen Duffek, “Value Added: The NWC Art Market since 1965,” in *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas*, ed. Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Jennifer Kramer, and K̓i-ḱe-in (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 592.

¹³² Elizabeth Godley, “Indian Artists Now Command Top Prices,” *Vancouver Sun*, July 16, 1988.

¹³³ Rickard, interview; Lattimer, interview; Zavediuk, interview; Monds, interview.

established artists caused a first generation of connoisseurs to stop collecting. In this era, Blackman and Hall donated their collection to the Burke Museum. George MacDonald gifted the majority of his to Carleton University Art Gallery. Institutions themselves lost interest in prints and museums noticeably stopped collecting during this decade.¹³⁴ From the early 1990s onward they relied on donations or stopped collecting Northwest Coast prints completely. This void in public collections gives the false appearance that Northwest Coast prints ceased to be produced. The gap in the record of production has been nearly impossible to puzzle together. Digital archives and gallery websites were only tentatively being established. Vincent Rickard kept a fairly meticulous archive, but other printers did not. Regardless, a new visibility for Indigenous peoples, renewed government interest, and booming economies allowed the 1990s print market to expand. Buyers continued to purchase enthusiastically, even while their demographics began to shift.

The cross-border financial collapse of the early 2000s greatly affected dealers and artists alike. Without museums, and a significantly smaller numbers of collectors and visitors, the early millennial market was severely constrained. Several dealers noted that a good percentage of artists left the print market for other careers.¹³⁵ Dealers also remarked upon a change in their cliental. Apart from Simon Ottenberg and Christiane and George Smyth, whose collecting mandates are to amass all Coast Salish works, most

¹³⁴ Martha Black suggested that her institution underwent a funding crunch and there were little funds for purchases. Martha Black, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Victoria, April 8, 2014.

¹³⁵ Monds, interview; Lattimer, interview; Paul Nicholson, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Victoria, March 24, 2014.

clients today buy to appeal to their personal tastes.¹³⁶ Melanie Zabaduk notes that along with educating about artists and their communities she speaks to the buyers' sensibilities:

In the last 10 years, or so, I have felt that things have changed. The type of buyer has changed quite a bit. I look at the buyers from the 1990s and the buyers from the 2010s and I see quite a different group of people. There is a whole emergence of people who value the aesthetics of the graphics. Often people are just not collecting as much to build a collection, they are collecting to have the pieces they want on their walls. Design has a big part to play in their choices. It used to be a joke, you know, never buy art to match your couch. Well, a lot of people are very careful these days, and very design conscious. A lot of the people buying Northwest Coast prints like the fact that there are more contemporary versions of formline designs. Colors play a big part in that - artists like Rande Cook who incorporates *how* many colors in each piece? - and they're beautiful.¹³⁷

Design styles, which I explore in detail in the next chapter, have always been marked by larger aesthetic trends of any given era coupled with artists' socio-political interests in art-making. Prints of the 2000s have been marked by a liberation of the formline, an incursion of Northwest Coast artists whose cultures have different formal qualities, and a less binding relationship between text and image. These visual shifts parallel the collector's demographic. Although it might be tempting to suggest that a new patronage structure directs these market changes, I believe it is too soon to make that judgment. A new generation of artists has learned from their predecessors how to communicate their values through innovations in media and design, which equally account for changes in aesthetics as well as new methods for how prints are produced and shared.

The beginning of the Internet age allowed the newest generation of artists more mobility and freedom than ever before. Several young artists have turned to digital design, printing, and distribution. Digital printing and distribution can eliminate

¹³⁶ Doug MacTavish is the only current collector who continues to collect encyclopedically, while a few artists like Robert Davidson and Susan Point have collectors that buy one of each of their prints.

¹³⁷ Zavediuk, interview.

middlemen and their costs, which seems to appeal to a certain group of new artists. Tech savvy designers, such as Shaun Peterson, Alano Edzerza, and Jeffrey Veregge, have created sophisticated web platforms from which they market and sell directly to clients. Digital design is also slowly shifting aesthetic parameters.

Artists working with digital printing have experienced some pushback from dealers and some of the older generation of artists. This resistance closely mirrors original conversations about the establishment of the screen print as a specifically Northwest Coast art form in the 1970s. Discussions of quality and authenticity abound. The term *giclée* has come into use to help validate digital printing, in much the same way the term serigraphy has been used within the print market.¹³⁸ In the mainstream art world dealers and artists alike feel comfortable using the term *digital print* without fuss. It seems a history of requiring validation and authentication drives primarily Northwest Coast dealers, and some artists, to employ the term *giclée* as a strategy to continue the valuation of digital prints as fine art. To date, some galleries will not carry digital prints. Artists and galleries typically price these works lower than silkscreens, with dealers often arguing that the production is mechanical rather than physical and that the materials are necessarily of lower quality. The medium's potential to build new modes for communication between Northwest Coast artists and new audiences seems to be its greatest strength, which in certain instances of online dissemination defies the market completely.

¹³⁸ Daniel Grant, "Ink-Jet Art Runs Gamut from Low Brow to High Class," *Baltimore Sun*, January 25, 1999, http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1999-01-25/entertainment/9901250193_1_giclee-ink-jet-prints-jet-printer; Monique Westra, "Digital Artmaking: Exploring the Artfulness of Giclée," *Galleries West*, December 31, 2002, <http://www.gallerieswest.ca/reviews/digital-artmaking%3A-exploring-the-artfulness-of-gicl%C3%A9e/>; "FAQ," *Andy Everson: Northwest Coast Artist*, accessed June 14, 2017, <http://www.andyeverson.com/faq.html>.

Digital prints, and certainly digital design, as the newest forms of Northwest Coast media, are here to stay. How precisely the giclée will be incorporated into the larger market remains unknown. In the following chapter I explore how digital technologies have influenced millennial design, and in the Conclusion I explore how this new era has brought transformation to the very history of Northwest Coast prints.

Chapter 4

Way-making and the Stories Told by Prints

Way-making, as it relates to this chapter, centers on the way-makers - those artists who initially made space for the print as an Indigenous art object. Certain artists have been foundational to the institutionalization of prints as a Northwest Coast tradition. I share brief biographies of some of the most renowned Northwest Coast artists who not coincidentally are also the most prolific print artists. These artists, Robert Davidson, Roy Henry Vickers, Marvin Oliver, and Susan Point, made vibrant and visible careers in Northwest Coast arts while they simultaneously defined and refined the parameters of their market. These artists are not only models for other Northwest Coast artists, but their personal histories inform the other two themes explored in this chapter, place-making and storytelling. As Davidson has said, when he began working there was no Northwest Coast art world.¹³⁹ He created work from a vacuum alongside Vickers, Oliver, and Point. He also began a practice of gifting prints to commemorate important life events, which many other coastal artists have followed. His style of formline, which he refers to as the Haida alphabet, has been vital to the recognition of Northwest Coast prints as fine art. Susan Point's insistence upon the inclusion of Coast Salish design radically reconfigured the boundaries of Northwest coast prints. Vickers' use of storytelling exemplifies how his personal place-making perpetuates deep histories that bind objects and oral histories. This section considers how these way-makers have used various tactics to promote and define the Northwest Coast art world through their print works. Their innovations erected scaffolds of methodology and purpose for the next generation of print artists to build upon.

¹³⁹ Davidson, interview.

The story of the Salish print illustrates how artists have strategically used the print medium to cultivate a place for their communities underneath the umbrella of Northwest Coast style. For a significant part of the twentieth century only artists and highly specialized scholars were able to distinguish coastal communities through their art objects. Print artists from several nations have concertedly worked together to cultivate more broadly recognizable aesthetics. Through their unifying of style and design they have carved a space within the coastal collective-consciousness that exceeds the boundaries of their nation's geography. Many locals have learned to recognize Salish, Nuu-chah-nulth, or Kwakwaka'wakw style through the prints they have encountered in public spaces or at the home of a friend who shares a story about where their print originated. This collective place-making remains a vital purpose for coastal printmaking. This place-making is embedded in the ways the above-mentioned artists have institutionalized the medium.

The final section of this chapter explores how prints have become Indigenized through their methods of storytelling. I suggest that prints perform as cultural objects when they convey Indigenous identities and worldviews. Not all coastal prints function in this way. In many instances of exchange or encounter the performative aspect of a print can be lost. However, coastal artists have crafted a very specific space for prints as conveyers of cultural knowledge. They often use prints to illustrate social and political philosophies by creating opportunities to tell stories about themselves, their communities, and their histories. I specifically consider two aspects of storytelling: the instances when artists write narratives to accompany their prints, and when artists create prints to record community events. Within the commercial market the performance of storytelling

happens when artist-generated texts accompany prints into the private sphere, where those narratives become activated when they are retold. Artists also create designs to capture new moments for storytelling when they create a design about a current event, whether that be communal or global.

Way-Makers: Robert Davidson, Marvin Oliver, Roy Henry Vickers, and Susan Point

Hundreds of artists on the coast have worked in the print medium. I have chosen to illuminate the biographies of the four artists who have produced most prolifically, almost from the medium's origins on the coast, to relay larger strategies for way-making, place-making, and storytelling. Robert Davidson, Marvin Oliver, Roy Henry Vickers, and Susan Point are arguably the foremost artists on the coast today, and, for each, the print has always been central to their practice. Their timelines as artists align quite closely, with Davidson and Vickers emerging first, then Oliver, then Point. In many ways their interests, methods, and audiences align, and still they each use prints for their own purposes. Oliver and Point, for example, both explicitly tie their print production to their public works. Oliver and Vickers both own their own galleries in rural communities that promote their arts broadly, their prints especially. Davidson and Vickers were instrumental in cultivating a collector's market for prints. And both Davidson and Point often use prints as exploratory sketches to develop new creative directions.

When I spoke with Davidson he recalled a pivotal moment in his career. In 1979, at the Museum of Anthropology at UBC, Davidson had an exhibition of prints in conjunction with the release of Hilary Stewart's book, *Robert Davidson: Haida*

Printmaker. In working with Marjorie Halpin, Davidson defined his trajectory as a series of stages, the final of which, at age 33, he had only just achieved.

It was then that I chose to categorize the four levels I recognized I had gone through. The first level was *apprentice* - and that's learning the alphabet. Then second level was *journeyman*. I thought I was creating but really I wasn't. Instead of the original raven I was copying I was doing that [makes hand gesture that suggests an inversion of a design]. So the next level was *master*. I didn't really feel I created something [of my own] until 1972. Oh, I was so high at that moment. But those moments were few and far between. The last category was *artist*. In that artist category I only chose seven pieces of the 75 prints [from the book].¹⁴⁰

Davidson's journey from apprentice, through journeyman, master, and artist coincides with the larger history of the revival of Northwest Coast Native art. Likewise, the stages of his career parallel important benchmarks for the evolution of Northwest Coast prints. His early years of mimicking exemplify the learning process for so many coastal artists, who look to what they see around them. His investment in the Haida "alphabet" comes from his early connections to Bill Holm and Bill Reid as they established a vocabulary around formline. Finally, his innovations of form often signify larger shifts in aesthetic interests.

Davidson's cultural and artistic biographies weave together from his earliest life lessons. He first learned to carve from his father and grandfather. They instilled in him a built relationship between objects made and ways to live. Now a multimedia artist and cultural leader, Davidson has seamlessly incorporated his craft into cultural life ways: in his home community of Masset he raised the first totem pole in living memory in 1969, for thirty-seven years he and his brother Reg Davidson have lead a Haida dance group, the Rainbow Creek Dancers, whom he outfits with his own painted drums, he takes in apprentices, and uses his own prints and other works to lead educational courses in Haida

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

histories.¹⁴¹ These uses for objects embody Haida ideology. When Davidson works in new media, or acknowledges himself as artist, or sells his artworks, he expands the ways in which Haida objects operate.

When a 19 year-old Davidson printed his first silkscreens he was Bill Reid's apprentice and also a carving instructor at 'Ksan. These first two silkscreened cards were copied from an historic button blanket and the design of a seabear that appeared on the cover of Bruce Inverarity's *Art of the Northwest Coast Indians* (1950) (figures 38, 39). These moments of direct mimicking helped teach Davidson, as such mimicking teaches so many coastal artists. For the next six years Davidson would continue printing his own works. Learning by doing, from historic objects and from exchanges with fellow artists, Davidson's prints quickly became his signature work. His role in the history of the revival helped foreground the primacy of prints as cultural objects.

As Davidson moved through the early stages of his career he carefully developed his own style as he first copied then deviated from Haida design. One delightful imagining from the journeyman came from one of his Christmas cards. Throughout the 70s Davidson made cards and prints to mark special occasions, including births, deaths, and moves. For his 1973 card Davidson printed on a long, thin strip of tan paper that he carefully then bent on three sides, and signed his greetings on the other side. The "card" could then be folded into a box shape that models both the design and process of a bentwood box. Another signature print exploration can be seen in *Parnell Memorial: Eagle and Raven* (1978), which features a faint white t-form illustrated ever-so faintly in figure 40. The print was commissioned by the Parnell family, as part of the Haida

¹⁴¹ Robert Davidson, *Discovering Haida Art: A Personal Journey* (Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2015).

practice of hiring artists to create works for gifting at memorial potlatches. The opposing figures of Eagle and Raven create asymmetrical balance on a horizontal axis - a rare expression in prints - and the imbalance of the vertical axis is offset by the white-on-white t-form. This subtle color play had been first explored in Davidson's Guild print, *Reflections* (1977), and would become a staple of his 1980s and 90s arsenal.

Also throughout the 1970s Davidson networked with fellow artists to build a community of urban Indians who brought recognition and visibility to their home communities through their artworks. Alongside curators, commercial galleries, and these artists, Davidson spearheaded public education about contemporary coastal arts. Even though Davidson never released prints with Bill Ellis, Stewart's *Haida Printmaker* resulted from an exploratory inquiry with Canadian Native Prints. Davidson also helped initiate discussions with fellow artists to bring about the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild. The Guild established prints as a connoisseur's medium, and raised the stature of prints throughout the coast. From that time Davidson began an annual print release, and over the years a handful of patrons committed to purchasing a print from each edition. Like the Guild pieces, the exhibition at MOA and the catalogue grounded prints in the fabric of Northwest Coast Native arts - for artists and collectors alike.

During our conversation I posited a theory on the differences between Alaska's, Washington's and British Columbia's markets. I suggested that Alaskan and Washington markets were more limited because of a lack of external support. Davidson rightly reminded me:

I came from a vacuum. I was motivated by curiosity. It was the only means of income for me. I had one job outside of art - for 2 days. I really believe it had to do with how my Dad brought me up: work ethic. And my grandfather, my grandfather said, 'Even if you don't have any artists, keep

working.’ And my Dad said, ‘I’m not always going to be there to look after you. You have to learn how to look after yourself.’¹⁴²

When Davidson began producing in the mid-1960s there was no real market for Northwest Coast arts - there were curios or ethnographic objects. His hard work and leadership helped manifest a true and sustaining space for Northwest Coast Native and First Nations arts, and for prints in particular.

Roy Henry Vickers was a compatriot of Davidson’s, also in the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, and another young man who helped define an emerging art market. Vickers learned screen-printing from Phillip Barker at Oak Bay High School in Victoria, and continued his artistic development at ‘Ksan. Attending in the school’s peak years from 1972 to 1974, Vickers learned from instructors and peers, including Bill Holm, Robert Davidson, Freda Diesing, Ken Mowatt, and Dempsey Bob. At one origin site of an emerging history, Vickers came to intimately know the techniques and aesthetics of several tribal nations. He would deftly work in “traditional” formline, and also participate in the creation of ‘Ksan’s own aesthetic (figures 24, 26, 41, and 42). Vickers’ memories of the Guild reveal both the experimentation of the print medium and the pressures placed upon the first generation of Northwest Coast Native *artists* to call themselves and each other as such:

Oh, if you could be a fly on the wall, and sit in that room when we all come together. It was a scary place... Well because, you’re bringing all your creativity into a space where every person that you respect is there, and they’re going to tell you exactly what they think about what you’re doing.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Davidson, interview.

¹⁴³ Vickers, interview.

Others have said of the Guild that its successes would always be tempered by the fact that it was the first collective of its kind for regional Indigenous artists.¹⁴⁴ Still, several of the artists, and the print medium itself, carried on to make their indelible marks on the history of Northwest Coast arts.

Vickers' works for the Guild hint at the tensions surrounding the emergence of a new medium within a long history of Northwest Coast arts. The two pieces from 1977, when Vickers was president, reference 'Ksan aesthetics, with thin formlines and historic coastal objects. Likewise, his single 1978 contribution, *Chilkat Blackfish*, subtly revisions the storied round-weave textile (figure 43). In his introduction to the 1977 catalogue, Vickers stressed the importance of quality of design and material, knowledge of cultural specificity, and the emergence of the silkscreen as a "fine art."¹⁴⁵ When the Guild disbanded, many of its members returned to working in sculptural media, only dabbling in prints from time to time, while Vickers made the medium his mainstay. With heritage from Tsimshian, Haida, Heiltsuk, Bella Bella and English Vickers moved away from culturally specific representations and let formline design and object histories fall to the background as he established his own, iconic aesthetic and arts practice.

He was one of the first artists to learn computer design, and this new tool began to define his signature style in the 1980s: west coast landscape and seascapes with blocks of color used to define the depth of the horizon. Vickers often foregrounds a silhouetted figure against a rising or setting sun, or an element of weather, like rain or snow. Figures

¹⁴⁴ One previous collective had been organized by Henry Speck. Carvers often apprenticed young artists which resulted in collectives of sorts. Also, 'Ksan taught artists from all coastal nations. However, this was the first inter-tribal collective to organize themselves in an effort to reach mainstream art audiences. Rickard, interview; Young, "We Poets, Philosophers, Serigraphers: Locating the Northwest Coast Indian Artist Guild within Indigenous Tradition."

¹⁴⁵ Roy Henry Vickers, "Introduction," in *Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, 1977 Graphics Collection* (Ottawa: Canadian Indian Marketing Services, 1977).

might be a person fishing, doing yoga, or playing basketball, or whales, birds, or totem poles. Many of these landscape prints make no overt reference to Indigeneity, which might partially account for their broad appeal and popularity. Others use subtle color overlays to nestle a formline figure into the sun, moon, or perhaps rising smoke (figure 44).

Today, Vickers may be the best-known Northwest Coast print artist apart from perhaps Bill Reid.¹⁴⁶ His path to becoming the most recognized artist defies typical art world mechanisms in favor of his vibrant and prolific print production. Vickers has only exhibited in public institutions a handful of times over his nearly fifty-year career. He sells the majority of his works through his gallery, Eagle Aerie, in Tofino, BC. In the remote town of 1,876 surfers, ex-patriot hippies, and the Tla-o-qui-aht Nation, Vickers releases limited edition prints, lithograph reproductions of his prints, and also sells his print-based books, paintings and carvings. The sustainability of a high-end fine art gallery in such a location defies logic. Yet, the popular appeal of Vickers' aesthetic and his gift for storytelling - in text and in person - have solidified an international audience (figure 45).

As so many artists do, Vickers recalls the slag of walking from gallery to gallery in Victoria and Vancouver to sell a handful of prints to each.¹⁴⁷ He remembers the objectification of working with certain galleries that eventually drove him to opening his own space away from the perceived centers:

¹⁴⁶ This assertion comes from informal experiences speaking with people outside art history and Indigenous studies about my dissertation. It is truly remarkable how many Canadians know the name Roy Henry Vickers from his gallery in Tofino and his children's books.

¹⁴⁷ Joe David, interview with India Rael Young. Transcription, Port Townsend, October 13, 2010; Vickers, interview.

[Working with Canadian Native Prints] removed me from the gallery manager and gallery owner that was buying my prints, and it put another person between me and those people, and I didn't like that. I'd [prefer to] sit down and I'd tell the story, and I'd talk about what I'm doing next, and had a really good visit with people. I went back to selling my own prints to people because I liked visiting and telling stories, and giving myself to the person who was going to represent me. And when I did that, after a couple of years they were just anxious to get my prints, give me my money, and send me on my way. After a few editions of prints I was really discouraged because nobody wanted to hear the stories any more... I thought, 'ok, I'm not going to rely on other galleries. I'm either going to have shows like this [a commercial exhibition at the Georgian Hotel in Vancouver] or I'm going to have my own gallery.' That was in 1983. It took three years to open that little gallery. Because it was above the restaurant, looking down, and so I called it Eagle Aerie - the nest of an eagle.¹⁴⁸

Nearly twenty-five years later, the gallery has become a focal point for the Tofino community. In 1986, Vickers bought the property next to the restaurant and erected a replica long house. He smilingly remembers that when he was building it the townspeople wondered at this building with no windows. Vickers, who now lives in another remote British Columbian community of Hazelton, maintains the gallery as the sole representative of his works.¹⁴⁹ He visits several times a year and hosts storytelling - as opposed to painting or carving - demonstrations. Now, when Vickers travels through British Columbia to city-centers and to village communities, he brings his art and his stories together to educate audiences directly about the peoples of the Northwest Coast as an artist-author.

Vickers has published eleven books. The three main tomes he has authored, *Solstice* (1988), *Copperman* (2003), and *Storyteller* (2013), all function as retrospective catalogues of Vickers' prints. Elaborating on the models of the late 1970s, these works pair each reproduction with a refined written narrative. Vickers also partners with a

¹⁴⁸ Vickers, interview.

¹⁴⁹ His works occasionally appear at other galleries on commission from the original purchasers.

friend and children's book author, Robert Budd, to illustrate Tsimshian stories.¹⁵⁰ The embedded relationship between story and image, ever presented in his publications, echoes throughout Vickers' practice. At the gallery and on his website textual narratives appear next to each two-dimensional work. These little narratives are always dated, and relate to the first creation of an image. Vickers notes that he creates an image first then writes the narrative afterwards to more fully flesh out the happenings within the image.¹⁵¹ Almost all of the stories have a personal element that embeds Vickers' biography within Indigenous histories or worldviews - a trait shared with most coastal artists' statements, and explored later in this chapter. The books are largely published by small regional presses, and yet often reach national benchmarks in sales.¹⁵² Images and stories can be accessed for free online on the Eagle Aerie Gallery website. And still the demand for Vickers' artworks appears insatiable. Never feeling compelled to cultivate rarity and exclusivity, because Vickers controls his own sales, he has been able to infinitely distribute lithograph reproductions while nurturing the value of his limited edition prints.

Marvin Oliver has also built a career apart. His path as an artist followed a standard course. He earned his MFA at the University of Washington in the 1970s. He went on to teach at his alma mater, and at the University of Alaska Southeast, Ketchikan. He is best known for his public installations in Seattle, and his prolific and distinctive prints. Oliver's career is only marked by differences when its trajectory is compared to

¹⁵⁰ Despite his popular recognition, neither art historians nor anthropologists have given attention to Vickers or his works since the 1980s. See Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, *Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, 1977 Graphics Collection*; Roy Henry Vickers, *Beginnings: An Exhibition of the Silkscreen Prints and Carvings of Roy Henry Vickers* (Vancouver: U.B.C. Museum of Anthropology, 1977). Driving his own bibliographic record, along with his texts on prints, and his children's book, Vickers has represented himself in educational audiobooks, and in a documentary, *Roy Henry Vickers*. In the documentary Vickers strongly relies on his two-dimensional works to carry the narrative; Roy Henry Vickers, Raymond Yakeleya, and Bill Stewart, *Roy Henry Vickers* (Edmonton: Earth Magic Media, 2006).

¹⁵¹ Vickers, interview.

¹⁵² Vickers email correspondence with India Rael Young.

contemporaries from across the border. The differences between the development of spaces for Indigenous arts in British Columbia and Washington led to opportunities and limitations for the Salish and Isleta Pueblo artist. For example, no First Nations artist has taught formline or traditional wood carving at a major British Columbia university.¹⁵³ Oliver has taught both courses through the Department of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington since 1974. Oliver releases one print a year. Since 1992 Oliver has created a print to gift to his students at the University of Washington. He puts the rest of the prints into the market through Seattle galleries and his own gallery, Alaska Eagle Arts, in Ketchikan. Oliver's work has never been carried in British Columbia because the market there is so protectionist.

While most artists north of the border learned from and with other First Nations artists, Oliver learned to design and carve in the historic northern style with predominantly non-Native artists, notably Bill Holm, Duane Pasco, Steven Brown, and Scott Jensen.¹⁵⁴ The Washington market has always been tolerant of non-Native artists where the British Columbian market has not. Learning from men who built academic and arts careers on "traditional" northern arts, Oliver carved himself a small space apart through his print work and later through his work in sculptural media.

Oliver first began printing while earning his arts degree at the University of Washington. Both he and Paul Nicholson recall the day he turned up at the university's poster shop, where Nicholson was working at the time, because it had better screen-

¹⁵³ Both the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria have had Northwest Coast visiting artists teach in their studio departments, but those artists did not teach Northwest Coast design or carving to the students. In 2010, Emily Carr University and Northwest Community College combined forces to open the Freda Diesing School of Northwest Coast Art in Terrace, BC, to continue 'Ksan's history of teaching Northwest Coast Indigenous students.

¹⁵⁴ Holm and Pasco also taught and worked with several British Columbian artists at 'Ksan.

printing facilities than the studio department. They struck a bond that would develop into life-long careers for both. Like Vickers and Davidson, Oliver began by translating formline design into the silkscreen medium, and went on to develop a distinct style. His signature in the medium is embossed formline design, often as mirror to, or hidden view of, a figural animal (figures 46, 47). He is also recognizable for rounded formline and electric secondary and tertiary colors (figure 48). Although Oliver is Quinault and Isleta Pueblo, and has always worked on Coast Salish territory, his graphic style typically reflects his training in the northern style. At times, primarily in glass and sculpture, Salish and Pueblo elements enter into the design. Oliver observes:

“I found the Northwest style fascinating, in that it had much more elements and things that I could play with, as opposed to Salish.” I observed, “It was also more dominant.” And Oliver continued, “Dominant. More fun to pull and tug imagery. But with glass, the Salish works much better. I can play with it much more... I didn’t find Salish, because it wasn’t a really traditional element, other than decorative, for patterns, on carvings.”¹⁵⁵

Working within a different market, he chose to move towards a combination of realism and formline in his graphic work.

In his sculptural work, Oliver has moved away from northern traditions. Rather than producing totems, masks, or even three-dimensionally abstracted formlines - like Robert Davidson might - Oliver creates monumental figural forms: killer whales, whale fins, and welcome figures. Reproducing two-dimensional renditions of these sculptural forms as silkscreens, Oliver (and also Susan Point) has created a model for generating geographic and sociologic space for Coast Salish arts. For example, the steel and glass sculpture, *Mystic Journey* (2005), at the Seattle Children’s Hospital, brings a clan animal, Killerwhale, into a community space (figure 52). The first print imagining, *Eagle in the*

¹⁵⁵ Marvin Oliver, interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, Seattle, May 7, 2014.

Mist (1992), predates the sculpture by more than ten years (figure 49). Oliver, who has created hundreds of killerwhales, has returned to this specific aesthetic rendering twice more in print (figures 50, 51). Continued revisiting of the object and design reaches deep into coastal worldviews on reproduction, and how reproducing imagery perpetuates cultural memory. In direct counterpoint to European methodologies, Oliver succeeds in out-producing dominant visual representation with his own cultural knowledge, which claims both physical and psychological public spaces.

Susan Point came onto the scene less than a decade after Oliver. In her first years as an artist she began to learn formline design but quickly moved towards recovering specifically Coast Salish visual knowledge. Today, she is considered the matriarch of Coast Salish artists. Her practice radically and simultaneously reclaimed contemporaneity and aesthetics for Coast Salish arts. Like Oliver, Point often works in the public realm, creating sculptural works for municipalities, universities, and other kinds of public space on Coast Salish territory.¹⁵⁶ Nearly all her public works reappear in multiple forms, and notably in print. About her earliest prints she has said:

My early works are very important to me, as during those years I was discovering the stories and legends that had been passed on orally by my Salish ancestors. The prints all have their own story and, in some cases, multiple stories.¹⁵⁷

Man with Thunderbirds (1981) was one of her very first silkscreens, the design for which she sourced directly from an historic spindle whorl at the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture at the University of Washington (figure 56). The spindle whorl was a tool, used in southern Northwest Coast communities, by women to spin wool for their

¹⁵⁶ Northwest Coast Native public works exemplify the ways Indigenous artists negotiate socio-cultural conventions for their own purposes.

¹⁵⁷ Susan Point and Gary Wyatt, *Susan Point: Works on Paper* (Vancouver: Figure 1 Publishing, 2014), 2.

weaving (figures 53, 54). Point effectively co-opted all aspects of the tool, its images, and its histories to assert a space for the Coast Salish and Indigenous women's arts. Her printed spindle whorls number in the hundreds.¹⁵⁸ In 1998, Point recreated a spindle whorl design as the gates of the main water pump station for King County, in Seattle (figures 57, 58). The inscription of this image upon the Salish territory water station claims not only the station, but all the waters that flow through it; these gates open themselves to civic works, to neighborhood passersby, and to those who have seen this image reproduced and disseminated in Point's various endeavors.

Point's and Oliver's choices to work in the print medium strategically claim cultural space. Their arts practices fit into a larger artistic movement generated by Northwest Coast artists interested in re-visioning how they and their communities were and are perceived. Using the print medium, these artists wrestled contemporary arts practices away from anthropological and institutional antecedents. The relationship between public sculpture and silkscreens exports a specific regional identity.¹⁵⁹ Tying printed works to something geographically specific allows a popular perception to become common knowledge.

Claiming space has been a motivation for Point since she began her art career in 1981. Through her print practice she made space for Coast Salish aesthetics, for women artists, and for non-traditional media. Already twenty-nine when she decided to become an artist, Point chose not to formally attend school or apprentice with any one artist, but to seek out mentors in any given medium. She began educating herself by pulling prints, copied from historic Salish objects, on her kitchen table. Prints had only just become

¹⁵⁸ Thom and Point, *Susan Point*.

¹⁵⁹ Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse, "Susan Point: Primacy and Perspective," in *Susan Point: Spindle Whorl*, ed. Ian Thom and Susan Point (London: Black Dog Press, 2017), 63–70.

established as a Northwest Coast Indigenous arts tradition, but contemporary Salish art remained unrecognized. As noted above, other Salish artists alongside Point began to more consciously bring Salish aesthetics into their arts practices. Point chose the print medium as the primary medium for her cultural reclamation. Of prints she says:

Firstly, prints are my life! I have made many works of art other than prints, and I am baffled when I see what I have done. That being said, what I consider to be my real body of work is my limited-edition prints. All the work I have realized, in one form or another, is connected to a common foundation: making prints. The works I have made from wood, stone, bronze, copper, aluminum, bone, horn, ceramic, steel, polymer, concrete, cast iron, silver, gold and canvas, for me, are equally as important as my works on paper.¹⁶⁰

Point has been one of the only artists to move beyond screen-printing into other print media.¹⁶¹ She has used all forms of printmaking, from various intaglio practices like chine-collé and aquatint to wood block and linocut.¹⁶² She takes the time to understand the printing process, and often works to illuminate the special properties of each process through her imagery and design choices. In her earliest silkscreens, Point drew attention to the physical process of pulling color by creating blended images (figure 60).¹⁶³ Also from this moment, Point used colors formerly unseen in Northwest Coast arts. A new palette of soft violets, roses, and seafoams were distinctly feminine and strongly contrasted the blacks, red, and saturated blues, and yellows typically used during the

¹⁶⁰ Point and Wyatt, *Susan Point*, 1.

¹⁶¹ In the late 1970s Lyle Wilson specialized in print media at Emily Carr College of Art and Design. Three decades later John Brent Bennett attended Emily Carr, earning his BFA in 2003. In 2006, Bennett completed his MFA in printmaking, at Concordia University. Roy Henry Vickers reproduces his limited edition silkscreens as lithographs. Angela Marston has begun to explore etching and engraving.

¹⁶² In 1989, Point began working with Peter Braune, who had recently opened a print studio on Granville Island. At New Leaf Press Point printed her first wood block prints; Elizabeth Godley, “Loving Master Presses on with Ancient Craft,” *Vancouver Sun*, August 19, 1989, sec. LEISURE. She would go on to learn many printing techniques through collaborations with master printers, including glass plate printing at Pilchuck Glass School.

¹⁶³ Roy Henry Vickers has also become known for color blends that tend to illustrate the dusk or dawn of a landscape.

medium's emergence (figure 59). Since Ellen Neel the market had recognized few women artists, and Point's print choices strategically asserted her practice as representative of coastal women's arts. Themes of women's work and women's tools also run through her print archive, most notably the spindle whorl. Her claims upon weaving tools and woven designs helped make women's practices visible, and allowed more women artists to follow, including her daughter, Kelly Cannell (figure 61).

Today - in consort with many still unrecognized Indigenous artists - Marvin Oliver, Susan Point, Robert Davidson, and Roy Henry Vickers have re-inscribed the collective visibility for what constitutes Native, First Nations, Northwest Coast through their print practices. The artists above exemplify certain practices specific to the history of Northwest Coast prints, but their production only hints at the body of works that support the spaces they have helped create. Shaun Peterson, Thomas Cannell, and Chris Paul are now able to build relationships between their Salish public installations and their silkscreens. Andy Everson and Alano Edzerza, among others, owe a great debt to Vickers' publishing methodology. The collective body of prints from the Hunt dynasty merits its own investigation, most notably works from Tony Hunt Sr., Richard Hunt, Calvin Hunt, and Tom Hunt. The multitude of Northwest Coast artists, whether they dabble in the medium or are lifelong printmakers, participate in the themes shaped by these four artists. Davidson, Point, Vickers, and Oliver have insisted upon the expansion of what constitutes culturally appropriate media, have used the medium to drive cultural practice and innovation, and to bring visibility to their communities and art histories.

Telling Stories as Practice and Pedagogy

Northwest Coast Native artists today are fond of saying, “Our language has no word for art.”¹⁶⁴ They continue on to talk about how art used to be everywhere, embedded in all made objects, and participant in everyday ways. They can point to the wealth of continuing cultural practices that employ highly stylized objects. Halibut hooks, the handles of adzes, spindle whorls, fishing weirs, and berry baskets combine function with form.¹⁶⁵ These kinds of pieces might be construed as decorative arts until compared to works made for political and spiritual spaces. For example, frontlets, button and Chilkat blankets, dance screens, and raven’s rattles are fashioned in the same ways and decorated with the same aesthetic principles as everyday objects. Yet, these pieces relay specific kinds of knowledge or history within highly structured social contexts. Some of these objects contain or perpetuate specific histories or knowledge. To make use of any such object activates a performative assertion of a particular authority and such objects function in consort to reinscribe community ways of knowing and being. On the Northwest Coast, objects carry meaning and are active participants in social constructs and contracts.

Prints, as they originated on the coast, communicate more than cultural interests in reproduction and perpetuation. They occupy a unique space as cultural conveyer, or translator. Apparently strictly an art form, coastal artists have conceptualized how prints can be made to work for and with cultural worldviews. My research suggests that prints originated distinctly on the Northwest Coast to communicate through an arts medium

¹⁶⁴ Peter Morin, Martine Jeanne Reid, and Mike Robinson, *Carrying on “Irregardless”: Humour in Contemporary Northwest Coast Art* (Vancouver: Bill Reid Gallery of Northwest Coast Art, 2012), 5; Davidson, interview; Rande Cook, October 15, 2015; Lyle Wilson, audio recording, May 18, 2014. This statement also has antecedents in the discourses of social evolution and the othering of Indigenous arts within canonical art historical discourse.

¹⁶⁵ Bill Holm and Bill Reid, *Indian Art of the Northwest Coast: A Dialogue on Craftsmanship and Aesthetics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978).

legible to broad audiences. As artists worked to legitimate prints within the emerging world of Northwest Coast fine arts, they began to produce narrative texts to accompany their prints into the market. To date, the handful of accounts written specifically about silkscreens all pair imagery with explanatory narratives. This visual/textual relationship directly replicates the relationship between performative cultural objects and the histories and protocols they relay.

In the few other texts that mention prints scholars nearly always note prints gifted at potlatches to indicate the validity of prints within traditional use frameworks.¹⁶⁶ Through my observations in conversations with artists, I want to push that relationship further to suggest that as artists came to see prints as part of traditional arts practices they understood that prints performed a specific function, which was to communicate coastal values about heritage, history, spirituality, and politics to non-Native audiences. That intentionality can be seen in the textual stories that often are shared at a print's point of sale, and when artists, dealers, and others use prints as illustrations of specific stories. To be clear, rarely are artists interested in relating cultural legends. When coastal artists speak about the roles prints play in their practices certain key words reoccur, namely "education" and "cultural knowledge." Artists occasionally use the medium as a cultural object, gifting prints at feasts or creating a piece to commemorate a familial or community life event. Most often, however, artists use their prints to convey cultural knowledge to the broader public. The stories they tell about their prints tend to, first, be educational about the survivance of coastal peoples. Secondly, they relay cultural specificity about an artist, biographical happenings, and subtle or overt political positions.

¹⁶⁶ McLennan and Duffek, *The Transforming Image*, 260; Aldona Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 262.

This section explores the visual/textual relationship to illuminate how the print performs a traditional purpose - storytelling - to translate cultural ways of knowing for outside audiences.

I know that our story is important. Each person's story is important. So if I'm creating images to teach people – and that's why I started with fine art prints is to reach a broader audience, to teach them about the Haida, the Tsimshian, and the Kwaguilth, and all the sub-parts of all of those nations, and the fact that they're all different nations – so if I'm going to do that then I should really write down what I'm doing. -Roy Henry Vickers

I have used printmaking to create images of educational value, giving historical insight into the roots of my culture, the environment and current social issues. With each theme, my primary objective has always been to create an image that challenges the viewer to use their own imagination, with the hope that they see more than what is obvious. -Susan Point

I do [my storytelling] through the print. When I made a presentation in front of a review panel in Masset against Enbridge, I used my art to illustrate the value of the environment - our environment for human kind, not just for the Haida. The stories came with the images. For example, it's also a teaching tool. Right now I'm going to the high school in Masset to talk about cultural history because we have this huge gap, where the next generation has no inkling of our historical past. I'm using my art to make that point. I'm going up next week and I'll be talking about supernatural beings. At home, Southeast Wind is the most powerful wind on Haida Gwaii - probably on the North Coast. He's so powerful that in our stories Southeast Wind has ten brothers. That's how powerful he is. I use [my print] so I can talk about Southeast Wind.¹⁶⁷

To perceive how prints reflect coastal values about aesthetic objects one needs only look at the uniquely British Columbian marketing strategy that arose around prints as they entered the canon of coastal arts. Already, the market for Northwest Coast Native arts has been established as separate from the larger art world, and prints as a particular conveyance of that market. These galleries sell masks, bentwood boxes, weavings, decorative sculpture, and jewelry; artist statements or textual narratives accompany prints alone. Likewise, publications on prints - both academic and commercial - almost all

¹⁶⁷ Davidson, interview.

reproduce narrative texts specific to each graphic work (figure 62 a, b). This is in contrast to how prints are shown in non-Native gallery spaces and to works in other media within Native galleries and exhibitions. The white walls and typically minimalist textual information of a mainstream gallery cultivate the feeling of exclusivity and individuality of each work. As Kiowa art historian Aaron Fry has been known to point out, within these spaces an audience is supposed “to simply look and know.”¹⁶⁸ His summation implies that audiences who visit both commercial and public art galleries understand the culture of the art world, and feel confident in *reading* the imagery and objects. The establishment of the market for Northwest Coast arts displaced typical art viewers by a perceived exoticism of Indigenous works. Within Native galleries explicitly cultural items, such as bentwood boxes and dances masks, can easily be explained through their cultural contexts, and frequently are explained to non-Native patrons in just such a manner. In commercial galleries this happens when a viewer engages an employee. In public exhibitions or exhibition catalogues this typically happens through a retelling of historic uses for such an object. These conveyances of knowledge are rooted in anthropology; rarely is the specific experience of the artist invoked. Prints, however, as the first explicitly non-Native medium to enter the gallery space, needed to relay authenticity.¹⁶⁹ Print gallery owners Bill Ellis and Vincent Rickard first encouraged artists to write down the stories of the imagery in print to manufacture an anthropological, or authentic, connection. Immediately, artists took this opportunity to

¹⁶⁸ Fry often makes this observation to his students in his art history courses at the University of New Mexico.

¹⁶⁹ This statement is specific to the history of the Northwest Coast fine art market. There is no “authentic” Northwest Coast media as Northwest Coast artists have continually been expanding their arts. A few examples include jewelry techniques and metals, and weaving techniques and styles transformed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Artistic evolutions and cultural exchanges predate contact. Anthropological constructs have created and perpetuated concepts of stasis and authenticity.

convey cultural survivance through their graphic works, and the habit has continued through the decades.

In their stories and narratives artists relay much more than “mythic” narratives, or cultural histories. Most often artists choose to relay intentionality for the creation of a specific work that connects to their specific cultural experiences and worldviews. The following section of artworks and stories highlights print artists who have primarily chosen to work outside museum/gallery structures in favor of the art market, and the ways they tell stories of survivance, artistic intentions, and contemporary Indigenous issues.

In learning about the strategies of oral histories in the Yukon, Julie Cruickshank observed that the women she worked with told cultural historiographies to help explain specific occurrences in their lives. These life-events were geographically and culturally implicated, like the development of the Alaska Highway because of World War II. It at first seemed to Cruickshank the transmissions of oral histories merely perpetuated a cultural story, but she then recognized that these women revisited cultural stories at specific moments to contextualize the events of their lives.

The narratives they tell about those years provide compelling evidence of how ancient narratives provide scaffolding from which to interpret inexplicable events so that families can nevertheless carry on... These stories demonstrate how global forces driving human history are always experienced in locally significant ways. Familiar narratives provide ways to engage with historical events and expand our understanding of the social work that stories do.¹⁷⁰

I suggest that when artists choose to portray a specific cultural narrative the text and the image together participate in this “social work” of Indigenous storytelling. These

¹⁷⁰ Cruickshank, “Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography: Perspectives from the Yukon Territory, Canada,” in *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 2002), 11.

fragments of oral histories often create a specific connection between the artist and the deep historiography of his or her culture. Alternatively, they may illuminate how a specific cultural story can be connected to broader social narratives to which patrons can relate. These two strategies perpetuate survivance by maintaining the value of cultural cosmologies and by encouraging non-Natives to perceive the same values.

Stan Greene, one of the first artists to employ Salish design styles in printed form, began to experiment with color and design in the mid 1980s in such prints as *Thukia and the Chipmunk*. The circular design harkens back to the spindle whorl, which by 1986 had already become significant to Salish prints. The Salish forms delightfully model Thukia's face, her wild hair, and the newly formed stripes on Chipmunk's back. In his story, Greene immediately draws the patron into his worldview by announcing that Thukia is a kind of Sasquatch and that there are many legends about such hairy people, Salish and otherwise. He then tells a very specifically Sto:lo story that hints at land rights and the fluidity between humans, animals, and supernatural beings (figure 63):

Thukia is the female Sasquatch. There are many legends of these hairy people. This is the story of the Chipmunk. There was a little girl and in the summer she would go and pick the salmon berries. Her mother warned her not to go into Thukia's patch. The little girl did not listen. She was sitting there eating berries in the patch that Thukia had claimed. This made Thukia angry. She ran and chased the little girl. The little chipmunk screamed and ran away. But the next day she was back again. Thukia came out and chased the little girl, the chipmunk screamed. Thukia reached out to grab the girl; she missed, but scratched the fur on the back of the chipmunk girl. She ran and ran and made it home. That is why the Chipmunks have the stripes on the back.¹⁷¹

Mark Henderson passed away in 2016 having produced over 100 silkscreens in his life-long career. He learned Kwakwaka'waka design principles from his father and

¹⁷¹ Stan Greene and Vincent Rickard, *Thukia and the Chipmunk* artist statement (Victoria: Pacific Editions, 1986).

from some of the legendary artists of his youth, including Henry Speck, Willie Seaweed, and Mungo Martin. Henderson is one of many artists who worked almost exclusively in the commercial market; the contributions he made to the history of contemporary Northwest Coast Native art have never been fully recognized or explored. He reinvented at least five renditions of Tsonoqua; each work tells a variation of this supernatural history (figure 64). Tsonoqua (spelled variously and hereafter as Dzunukwa) is one of the Kwakwaka'wakw wild, giant people of the woods. Bookwus is another supernatural figure of the wilderness. Some Kwakwaka'wakw print artists, like Beau Dick, have also referred to them both as Sasquatch in their artist statements in order to gain recognition from outside audiences. The Dzunukwa were a family of giants who lived in the mountains and who created a specific lineage within the Kwakwaka'wakw; as a personage, Dzunukwa is most often represented as a woman. Wild Woman comes to life in masked performances at certain community feasts where her and her family's stories are told. She is quite an iconic figure, with pendulous breasts, a black face, round, red, voluptuous lips, and signature wiry, wild hair. In Henderson's silkscreen versions sometimes Dzunukwa is shown with symbols of her wealth, like the Sisiutl, and sometimes she is with a child. He chose to never tell one of the more popular stories of Dzunukwa, that she was want to steal village children. Instead, he remembers her as a holder of "wealth, good fortune, and importance," and "the controller of the magic water of life":

Tsonoqua (Wild Woman of the woods) was a giant woman who lived more in the mountains and deep forest. She was also in Human form and very clumsy. Her house contained a lot of wealth. There are several legends of Tsonoqua. This painting shows her carrying a little one in her Basket. It was said that villagers went into the woods to look for

Tsonoqua and her little one, and tried to make the little one cry. For if they did they would become wealthy, but they never succeeded.¹⁷²

Sometimes his texts tell that Henderson came from Blunden Harbour and sometimes they mention his living in Campbell River. The Kwakwaka'wakw of Blunden Harbour were forced to leave their village through relocation policies of the twentieth century. Many moved to Campbell River to reestablish themselves as a community. The significance of these Dzunukwa stories and why he chose to share certain aspects at certain times in his life can be allied to Cruickshank's understanding of transformative narratives that help interpret specific life-events. For example, we might imagine that Henderson chose to never portray Dzunukwa stealing children in light of his generation's experience with removal and residential schools. Rande Cook, from the next generation of Kwakwaka'wakw artists, also chooses to imagine Dzunukwa in print (figure 65). Like the generation before him, he pushes the aesthetics of his community into the era in which he is producing. The formlines are dynamic and not confined within a figural form. The colors subdue the brilliant yellows and greens signature to the Kwakwaka'wakw. Both in image, and in the text written by Victoria's 2012 Poet Laureate Linda Rogers, Dzunukwa transforms from something foreign and exotic into a familiar feminist interrogation:

Dzunukwa You expect an old woman, way past her stale date, dragging her wrinkled breasts on the sidewalk, curdling her milk; but I'm as new as the weeds that grow through the cracks in the pavement, the young loons singing on artificial lakes; and I will, yes, I do keep coming back from my time in the woods. HUUUUUUUUUUUU. I come with the animals chased from the forest. I come with my hunger, my thirst for justice. I come with my old friends, my new- every-year body painted in designer colours, Frog spit on my breast, Susiutl slung over my shoulders, Star on my forehead, and always my blood singing through. Uh- hooooo. You can't resist my lips by Revlon, mouth wide open, ready to swallow side- walks,

¹⁷² Mark Henderson and Vincent Rickard, Tsonoqua artist statement (Victoria: Pacific Editions, 1986).

streetlamps, hydroponic children growing tame in the garden you think
you own.¹⁷³

She is not otherworldly, not a child snatcher, and not terrifyingly unkempt. The image avoids signature features, like red lips and wild hair. She only becomes recognizable as a supernatural figure through the work's title. Rogers saw the print and felt compelled to tell Dzunukwa's story. She collaborated with Cook to learn about the supernatural woman's origins and his intentions before she produced this prose. Rogers hints at the stories that might be known within Kwakwaka'wakw communities, but elaborates on all the ways Dzunukwa is ever-alive, woman, and powerfully connected to the world around us. The combination of poetry and imagery are not about telling a specific Kwakwaka'wakw cultural story. They perform the social work of telling a specific cultural story to provide the scaffolding for renewal and understanding for both Kwakwaka'wakw and non-Indigenous audiences.

Indeed, comparatively few prints are intended to relay specific cultural stories. I venture to say that most prints capture a moment from the artist's life, and through their aesthetics and storytelling, prints then relay culturally specific worldviews. Because autobiographical work has been normalized in art history it becomes difficult to imagine why the personal remains radical for Indigenous arts. However, Indigenous artists tend to bridge the cultural and the personal as a subliminal political positioning of their work and themselves. Such works encourage audiences to see Indigenous artists as living and present in juxtaposition to the history of salvage anthropology and its museological ramifications, which have constructed Indigenous peoples as belonging to a fixed and imagined past.

¹⁷³ Poet Linda Rogers in collaboration with Rande Cook, "Dzunukwa," *Cedar Hill Long House Art Publishing*.

Francis Dick's feminine figural imagining of woman, *Raelene* (1999), relays a personal encounter as Indigenous (figure 66). Her shape is ornamented with personable, fleshy toned formlines. Eagle, wolf, and hummingbird figures radiate from the woman creating a harmony of color and proportion. Dick's screen prints tend towards portraiture, and often focus on women and women's histories. One of a handful of women rising to prominence in her era, she concertedly worked to include women's narratives in the larger body of Northwest Coast art. In the 1990s she created a series of works, including *Raelene*, that build a tension between darkness and light and convey a narrative of self-exploration. Andrea Walsh has written that this body of work "deserves critical consideration because of its particular narrative quality and autobiographical focus... The narratives that accompany [the works] are at once personal and political, individual and cultural."¹⁷⁴ Dick's storytelling about *Raelene* personalizes her relationship with the subject, and invites the viewer to move through simultaneous personal and cultural experiences when they "read" the work:

I notice you from afar, always standing outside my periphery, the most amazing beauty, so quickly I would turn away. Your eyes most haunting, calling me, so familiar from lifetimes ago. Who are you? And why do I remember you... The calling is closer and the whispers clearer, I am so drawn to you. And when we meet, without thought I listen, watch and inhale your place where you breathe from, and I am so indescribably moved inside myself from a place that has not ever been touched. Only through the highest honour that I know, I knew that I had to paint the way I feel, my love, my fascination, my appreciation, my gratitude that you are you and I was able to listen. The image in this print is symbolic of beauty, quiet strength and upraised endurance. Also symbolized by the eagle, the hummingbird and the flower is the ability to be in relationship with all creatures of the world. Hence they are depicted closely to and in balance with the woman. The wolf is symbolic of Kawadelekala, from whom I am descended, and it is wrapped around the image of quiet strength. In the

¹⁷⁴ Andrea Walsh, *Honouring Place, Honouring Self: The Art of Francis Dick in Retrospective* (Victoria: Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery, University of Victoria, 2000), 4.

top corners is the full moon and the crescent moon existing in simultaneous balance.¹⁷⁵

The figural woman and this very personal and real narrative encounter force the viewer to see beyond the abstraction of form into the personhood of the artist and the subject.

Don Yeomans' prints exemplify the iconic Northwest Coast style. From the first glance they characterize coastal survivance. Works like *Raven in the 20th Century* (1979) require the viewer to look and read closely to see how he revisions Northwest Coast formline to convey contemporary narratives. *Infinite Journey* employs the classic Haida red, typically the secondary formline, as the primary line (figure 67). Black fills the background and negative spaces to evoke the curvatures of the whales' backs and to hint at the waves of the ocean and the darkness of the story behind the print. Only when reading Yeomans' accompanying narrative does one learn the biographical underpinnings for the image.

I once read a tragic newspaper story about a young couple who perished in a boating mishap and it reminded me of an old Haida Belief. It is said that the souls of drowning victims become killer whales in the afterlife. The image of the two souls traveling together, beyond this life, is the subject of this print. The pattern in the water is stylized *hu*, pronounced 'hue.' It is an ancient name for god and is the sound that I first become familiar with during a near death experience as a child.¹⁷⁶

Through his storytelling viewers connect their own experiences of oceans and tragedy to Haida worldviews and language. Yeomans' narrative offers another example that connects the Northwest Coast aesthetic to simultaneously personal and cultural experiences and understanding.

¹⁷⁵ Francis Dick, artist statement from *Honouring Place, Honouring Self*, 12.

¹⁷⁶ Don Yeomans, artist statement, Spirit Wrestler (website). [www.spiritwrestler.com /catalog /index.php?cPath=48&products_id=603](http://www.spiritwrestler.com/catalog/index.php?cPath=48&products_id=603).

To my knowledge, nearly every artist who works in the print medium has created at least one image that depicts salmon. The salmon, like its life cycle, returns time and again. The six Northwest Coast species support all coastal ecosystems and play vital roles in the cultural worldviews of regional Indigenous peoples. Salmon feed every coastal community from Alaska to Oregon. Their life cycles determine winter and summer villages. In some communities salmon runs can determine concepts of stewardship over streams and rivers. When artists represent salmon in print they often express the animal's integral importance to coastal communities as part of a larger conversation about the current conversations about Indigenous sovereignty over salmon fishing rights and concerns about salmon sustainability. Susan Point has made at least ten prints that specifically engage these themes. One example, *Vanishing Salmon* (N.D.), uses her signature pulled-fade to suggest the salmon's disappearance. In 1986, Robert Davidson gifted his print, *Every Year the Salmon Come Back* (1983), to Robert Cockburn for his participation in a Vancouver benefit concert in support of the Haida's Lyell Island land claims (figure 71). At the on-stage presentation Davidson used the metaphor of the cycle of life as an example of the Haida heritage, history, and sovereignty that were at stake.¹⁷⁷ This storytelling moment exemplifies how prints help relay cultural worldviews. The hundreds of salmon prints in circulation, sometimes overtly and most often subtly, reinforce Indigenous ties to place and perspective.

Floyd Joseph's *Salmon Cycle* (1986), and Nytom's *Hahoulthe - Chief's Domain* (2004), furnish examples of the common ways artists relate salmon imagery (figures 68, 69). Joseph personifies salmon in his text, making their plight more relatable while sharing his culture's deeper connection to the natural world.

¹⁷⁷ Todd Wong, "Cockburn Helps Haidas," *The Ubysey*, February 25, 1986.

Since I carry the name 'Tyee', I find it important to express my concern for the continued existence of the salmon. This spindle design is upside down to indicate the low ebb of the salmon which is part of the continuing cycle. Legendary stories tell of how the Squamish people were starving, so they asked the Salmon People to send some salmon into their waters as a source of food. The Salmon People agreed under the condition that they people would return the bones back to the water so that the Salmon People could regenerate. When this respect is not upheld, as is the case today, the numbers of the Salmon People diminish.¹⁷⁸

He also locates his representation of salmon within a cultural embodiment of life cycles, the spindle whorl. Finally, he connects his story to his community, the Squamish, and to their waterway, the Tyee. Nytom, like Yeomans, uses his text to teach some of his language that conveys broader worldviews. He relays the words *hahoulthe* and *hawih* to educate viewers about Nuu-chah-nulth stewardship and sovereignty.

Salmon were the second most important food group next to sea mammals. This print represents the six different species of salmon in the territories of the First Nations People. Every river belongs to a head man or chief, *hawilh*. It was his tribe's responsibility to take care of his territory, *hahoulthe*. The customs of the Nuu-chah-nulth people demanded that the members of the tribe pay tribute, *oumas*, to the chief. This gave them access to his resources in his territory. The word *hahoulthe* means all that is under the cover or blanket of a chief's domain. This print represents a *hawilh*'s territory, his *hahoulthe*.¹⁷⁹

Implicit in his relationship between the blanket design and text is the relationship between sea and land that salmon themselves embody as they move between inlands and oceans. Joseph writes openly about his concerns around salmon sustainability, while Nytom allows the freedom to make connections on their own. Both, however, subtly suggest that salmon are more than a resource; they are life forces that inform culturally specific ways of reading the West Coast. The cultural stories pull audiences into viewing the world more closely and they create more meaningful connections between patrons

¹⁷⁸ Floyd Joseph, *Salmon Cycle* artist statement (Victoria: Pacific Editions, 1984).

¹⁷⁹ Nytom, *Hahoulthe* artist statement, source unknown.

and artists. The gentle education of Nytom's work, which is the kind most often expressed through the text/image relationship, allows viewers and patrons an inclusive authority that makes Indigenous communities and worldviews not only more knowable, but more relatable.

Artists, however, also use the print medium to generate visibility for current cultural stories. Often in these instances no specific text accompanies the imagery. The relationship to education and storytelling is built through the exchange and circulation of the artwork. Like the cultural objects used on traditional occasions these prints are made to participate with and later to retell specific historical events. Their dissemination perpetuates the histories they record. Davidson's print exchange with Cockburn was only a small part of the many overlapping print histories that circulated to raise awareness of Indigenous sovereignty in the mid-1980s. During this time, several coastal nations were at odds with corporations and provincial and federal governments over resource and land claims. Bill Reid - more memorable for ceasing work on his sculpture at the Canadian Embassy in Washington DC in solidarity with the Haida at home - created the lithograph *Three Haida Whales* (1865) to raise funds for the Skidegate Band Council who successfully evicted logging companies and preserved what is now Gwaii Haanas National Park (figure 70). Sold for \$100 through Leona Lattimer, then at the Centennial Museum Gift Shop, these prints continue to recall the collective efforts of Davidson, Cockburn, and the Haida Nation that reclaimed territory. At the same time the Nuuchahnulth activated similarly over shared concerns about logging and land. Joe David, like Reid, used monumentality to make a memorable experience. He raised two massive welcome figures on Victoria Parliament lawns during a logging protest for his home

territories on Meares Island. He also silkscreen tee-shirts and the print *The Crown of Title*, the sale of which likewise funded the protests and ultimate protections of Nuuchahnulth lands (figure 15). The imagery and the title of David's piece pun on conflicting concepts of sovereignty and ownership. Only Nuuchahnulth chiefs would wear the hat depicted in the image. As Nytom tells above, a *hawilth* (chief) and his people have a responsibility to take care of his *hahoulthe* (territory) and that in turn gives his people the rights to the resources of the land. David affirms the historic and continued stewardship of his nation through terms understood by both coastal and government bodies.

Today, people who attended those protests continue to wear David's shirts. The objects offer opportunities to tell a story about a happening that initiated meaningful political change. Over the years David has continued his practice of political printmaking with other shirts and silkscreens, most recently working with Anna Hoover to raise awareness of the environmental concerns about Pebble Mine in Hoover's Indigenous territory in Southwestern Alaska.¹⁸⁰ His and others' imagery create lasting memories for coastal communities, Indigenous and otherwise, that evoke retellings of significant political happenings. 'Wii Muk' Willixw, not a particularly well-known artist, wrote a book in 1992 that paired Northwest Coast formline illustrations with the political happenings that they represented. This little text, *Heartbeat of the Earth: A First Nations Artist Records Injustice and Resistance*, with a forward from Buffy Saint-Marie, told stories of resistance from Zapatistas to Innu fighter pilots. The unifying formline designs connected worldly plights to those of coastal communities. When Tania Willard curated a small show of Indigenous print works from the Kamloops Art Gallery collection she

¹⁸⁰ Hoover, "Sounding the Alarm Fashion STATEMENT: Native Artists Against Pebble Mine."

rediscovered *Seizure on Luulak's Land* (figure 72). Willard immediately recalled the image from political pamphlets and ephemera from the 1990s. Her exhibition and catalogue essay allowed this otherwise obscure artist to continue his storytelling. 'Wii Muk'Willixw's narrative relays a personal and community effort to protect Gitksan lands:

Gitksan hereditary Chief Luulak was concerned about logging on her territory, located near the Gitksan reserve of Gitwangak. She called for a meeting of many chiefs in Gitwangak. Chief Gwiis Skyen (Stanley Williams) provided leadership and, along with the strong support of many chiefs, came up with a plan to take all the equipment off Luulak's territory, or burn it. This was a lawful plan, since anything on one's territory is considered to be family property to be disposed of as the family chiefs wish.

When we got on site, we decided to first seize the front-end loader. An eagle chief hot-wired it – you can see him driving it away. The body of the vehicle is depicted as a frog because Luulak is a Frog Chief, and the seizure was made on her behalf. The skulls in the wheels represent Luulak – the Gitksan word for ghost.

A supporter of our plan who had recently bought an old police car at an auction accompanied the front-end loader along Highway 16. This delayed any suspicion about irregular activities going on. Eventually there was 'real' police attention from the local police detachments from nearby towns – Smithers, Hazelton, Price Rupert and Terrace. We gave them our Gitksan names, which technically fulfilled our legal obligations to them, but which they had great difficulty in spelling! The Eagle chief was later charged with theft of over one thousand dollars, but the charges were eventually thrown out.

Perhaps the difficulty was in deciding who the real thieves were?¹⁸¹

The hereditary Eagle and Frog crests in the design anthropomorphize the Eagle and Frog Chief activists. The wheels of the bulldozer are represented as Human skulls, or Gitksan ghosts. They suggest the place of the ancestors and also the ominous intentions of the

¹⁸¹ Wii Muk'Willixw (Art Wilson), *Heartbeat of the Earth: A First Nations Artist Records Injustice and Resistance* (Gabriola, BC: New Society Publishers, 1996), no page numbers.

logging company as participant in a history of resource extraction from Indigenous lands that leaves only shadows and absence from once abundant and flourishing environs.¹⁸²

In recent years Andy Everson has used skull imagery for similar purposes. He was one of several artists who created a print to address his apprehensions about Enbridge plans to construct a pipeline through several British Columbian Indigenous territories and waterways (figure 74). The image has a foreboding quality that employs signature coastal red and black to illustrate how concerns about the pipeline are shared amongst Indigenous nations directly impacted by the pipeline as well as their neighbors. A prolific printmaker, Everson has followed the model of Vickers and Oliver, using broad dissemination of print work to build his visibility as an artist. He is one of a few from the younger generation of artists who ensures that each of his prints is accompanied by a textual narrative. He has also been an innovator for digital design and dissemination. This silkscreen became one of Everson's first to be shared broadly on the Internet because of the political message it carries. The next year he designed a companion political print that went viral as a digital image, which in 2016 he released as a silkscreen edition. On his commercial website where one can purchase *Idle No More!* he writes (figure 75 a, b):

¹⁸² Will Muk'Willixw was not the first Gitksan to bind artworks to texts in an effort to relay ownership and title over Indigenous territories to outsiders. In 1958, the hereditary chiefs of the Gitksan community of Gitanyow agreed to allow their community's totem poles to be taken to the Provincial Museum of British Columbia, in the care of Wilson Duff, under the conditions that replica poles be made and erected in Gitanyow, and that a text be published that recorded the aforementioned agreement, along with the concepts of history and legislations that the poles contain. One excerpt from that text reads: "One of the strictest laws is that no hunting-ground can ever be cut in half and given to anyone. No one is allowed to make any such hunting-ground smaller or larger, even if they own or have power over it. This also applies to all fishing grounds and all natural resources in and under the ground. This law is so severe and powerful that no one from another clan or without clan rights can come to hunt, fish, mine, cut timber, or do any other things on these lands without the consent of the head chief and his council. These laws are the constitutional laws, going back many thousands of years and are in full force to-day and forever." Wilson Duff, ed. *Histories, Territories and Laws of the Kitwancool* (Victoria: Don McDiarmid, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1960), 36.

Motivated by the prospect of several awful omnibus bills being pushed through Canadian parliament, the Idle No More movement was created as a way to demonstrate that Indigenous peoples would no longer stand idly by. Beginning in December of 2012, the movement spread like wildfire. Flash mobs were held in malls and solidarity rallies were organized outside MP's offices across the country. Soon, demonstrations were held in the United States, Europe and beyond. While begun and maintained primarily by Indigenous peoples, settler supporters offered a significant amount of support to the movement in many regions.

Going to my first rally on December 29, I needed a poster to bring along. Knowing that the fist and feather with its image of strength and spirituality was quickly becoming the symbol of the movement, I thought it would be fitting if I created one in the formline style indicative of the west coast. I quickly drew up this image at my dining room table and then put it on my Facebook page and it suddenly went viral. Soon, this image appeared on poster boards, buttons, t-shirts, stickers and banners. My feeling was that I wanted this image to go out into the world and find a life of its own. It did.

I decided to finally put the image to paper to commemorate the significance that this movement had on worldwide Indigenous peoples. While it has certainly gotten a lot more quiet on the Idle No More front in recent years, the image of the fist and feather is as poignant as ever.¹⁸³

Here he expresses solidarity with the national movement of the same name. The print features a black circular outline and red background, much like *No Pipelines!* The central element is a raised fist holding a formline feather. The design combines raised fist imagery that had already begun to circulate as a signifier of the movement with the immediately identifiable Northwest Coast formline and color scheme. Everson, who professes not to have an “activist mindset” has made several prints to draw attention to issues that matter to Indigenous communities. Most often he creates works that more subtly convey Indigenous worldviews through a combination of text and imagery.

Northwest Coast communities have long histories of storytelling through objects.

These cultural practices combine aesthetics and objecthood with the performance of

¹⁸³ Andy Everson, artist statement, Artwork by Andy Everson (website). www.andyeverson.com/2014/idle_no_more.html.

remembering and retelling. The majority of objects in the Northwest Coast art world either participate in this practice as objects of cultural significance, or they continue decorative traditions that employ coastal aesthetics. Prints - unlike jewelry, glass engraving, or other post-contact arts - entered the arts scene as conveyers of cultural knowledge and survivance through the stories they carry. This intentionality behind coastal prints sets them apart from their mainstream art world counterparts.

Conclusion

PRINTS IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

A professor of mine once lectured: if people are writing about a social trend, it tends to signify that the moment has passed. When I began my dissertation, after two years of writing on the Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, it felt as though there had been no interest in Northwest Coast prints for thirty-years. Since then, a new wave of awareness has bubbled through the curatorial field. Several print exhibitions have focused on Indigenous artists and most of those have included Northwest Coast works. The recent commentary and summation in which this dissertation participates suggests, to me, not an end of an historical moment exactly, but palpable shifts in productions, dissemination, and even aesthetics.

The generation that created the Northwest Coast Native art world, from artists to printers to dealers, has begun to retire. Some of this first generation, like Bill Reid, Doug Cranmer, Bill Ellis and Bob Minsk, were already older and passed away at the end of the twentieth century. Others have passed as I have written, including legends Norman Tait and Mark Henderson. Artists like Tait, Henderson, Phil Janze, Art Thompson, and many others, who operated primarily within the market, have received very little scholarly recognition. The majority of their works, and not an insignificant number of their prints, are held only in private collections. While Vincent Rickard has left a significant portion of his oeuvre to the University of Victoria, no other printers or dealers have established a cohesive legacy as they move into retirement. Because the shift from shop to gallery happened after artists garnered a market for fine arts, many of the galleries that cultivated the first Northwest Coast fine arts are only approaching retirement age now. A handful of those galleries seems prepared to transition into a new era, with younger staff

negotiating twenty-first century arts, artists, and collectors. For other galleries the future awaits uncertain.

With the twenty-first century a new generation with new technologies, interests, and social frameworks has emerged to alter the Northwest Coast Native art world. This generation benefits from the aesthetics, mechanisms, and spaces established over the second half of the last century. Kwakwaka'wakw, Nuuchahnulth, and Haida aesthetics have become easily recognizable and reproducible. Silkscreens as fine art are firmly embedded in Northwest Coast arts tradition. Galleries have developed routines and languages to build artists' careers. However, the new century has also created new spaces for Indigenous arts and artists. Significantly more Indigenous artists attend art school. More public art institutions dedicate exhibitions to contemporary Indigenous arts. In the realm of prints, digital technologies have transformed production and dissemination of works. The newest generation of Northwest Coast print artists has begun to alter the routines of the Northwest Coast art world as they incorporate social changes and opportunities.

My conclusion briefly explores some of the changes already underway to suggest the arrival of a new moment, and potentially a future print history. I illuminate how the new generation has moved into the Northwest Coast Native art world as an established entity that they must either work with or work to change. This generation's points of access and modes of engagement have begun to destabilize the system by bringing new aesthetics, modes of creation, and methods of dissemination. The shifts in reproduction and dissemination of prints, driven primarily by new technologies, remain too recent to fully interpret. Just as my research has established the primary modalities for the first

generation of Northwest Coast Indigenous print artists, future scholars of the market, prints, and emerging media must consider a broad picture of historical systems at play.

Legacies: a new generation

Consider the establishment of an art market for Northwest Coast contemporary prints the work of a lifetime. Those whom I have been writing about made it their life's work to establish an arts space for themselves and their work; I have argued that prints were critical to the realization of that space. The next generation of artists is literally the inheritors of this life's work. To organize this print history into two generations or before and after the century mark is to radically over-simplify the gradual development of the market. Artists from the mid-century created structures for artists who developed the print history, who in turn left models for a new generation. I suggest that the generational shift can be traced directly to Susan Point. Her practice bridges the millennium and roots itself in exploration of media and aesthetics. Her (indirect) leadership has set an example for how innovations may be enfolded into systems. Today, a new generation of artists has taken up the medium, and, like all youths, they struggle within perceived confines to continue legacies and to write their own stories.

Point's model for expanding the parameters of what constitutes Northwest Coast Native art centers on signifiers of Indigeneity. As she innovates in terms of color, aesthetics, or media, she tends to employ one marker of the Northwest Coast. When it might appear that a piece is wholly new, and not connected to any signifiers, the mode and space for dissemination - the commercial gallery system - becomes the hallmark of belonging. The piece, *Of This Land* (1998), offers an example (figure 76). The deer

would be considered non-traditional to represent. However, because she has arranged them around a central small circle, she links them to spindle whorls - a form which she herself brought into the print canon a decade earlier (figures 56, 60). The colors red, black, and green themselves are signifiers of the coast, while their mode of employ denotes the hand of the artist.

Point's innovations and advocacy for a Coast Salish style have led to an entire generation of artists who now work in a recognizable style, including lessLIE, Maynard Johnny Jr., Shaun Peterson, Dylan Thomas, and Point's children Kelly and Thomas Cannell. Indeed, a striking number of young artists are the children of those who established the Northwest Coast print world; John, Luke, and Angela Marston, and Andrea Wilbur-Sigu also learned from their parents and are part of the generation to establish a Coast Salish aesthetic. Where in the previous century artists needed to be multi-disciplinary and trained in what would constitute more *traditional* media, like carving or jewelry, Thomas, lessLIE and others have been able to create careers based solely on their design. Indeed, these artists began to paint on canvas after coming to two-dimensional work through the print medium.

The Cannells both work with Point in her studio on the Musqueam Reserve outside Vancouver. Learning from their mother they work in various media, including silkscreen. Often, they collaborate with Point on major commissions like the manhole covers jointly designed by Point and Kelly Cannell for the city of Vancouver, which have been recreated in the print *Memory* (2005). This piece, replete with the signifiers of Coast Salish design, trigons, ovals, and crescents, also includes the gradation signature of

Point. Generally, the Cannells' style and production are firmly rooted in the Salish aesthetic pioneered by their mother and the Northwest Coast art traditions of the market.

Both daughters from families of artists, Marika Swan and Angela Marston are carving their own path. Both daughters of artist parents, from one parent they learned about the Northwest Coast art world as it came into formation and from the other they learned about outside arts traditions. Angela is the daughter of Salish artist Jane Marston, a contemporary of Susan Point. Both her parents were carvers and her two brothers have also become so. Angela began her practice with weaving - sometimes to add components to her brother's carvings - and immersed herself in the holistic process of collecting, preparing, and producing woven works that reinforce Salish methodologies for land conservation, medicinal practices, and arts production. Her first prints, like *Grandmother* (2011), employ Salish aesthetics and the silkscreen process to illustrate her connections to family and the land (figure 77). Recently, Marston took a printmaking course at Vancouver Island University and has since begun working in a completely new style and medium. Her engravings use a variety of intaglio techniques. They move between representative and abstracted imagery, with pieces like *Star Crossed Lovers* (2014) only hinting at Salish design (figure 78). Some works melt her weavings into print-based collages. These works bear few recognizable ties to what might be called the majority or the tradition of Northwest Coast prints, yet they embody an artist's connections to her culture and community. And because they circulate in the same art world they are necessarily constructed as Northwest Coast Native artworks.

When I spoke with Marika Swan I asked candidly about whether she has felt pressure to create in the now recognizable Nuuchah-nulth style. Raised partly in her

home territory of the Tla-o-qui-aht in Tofino, and being the daughter of preeminent Nuu-chah-nulth artist Joe David, familial and community principles were ever present in her childhood. She says:

I think there is an odd construct - the sense in the market and the community of what Nuu-chah-nulth or Tla-o-qui-aht art 'is' is very subjective. There is a sense that what has been created in our lifetime that's how we've always created or that this is Nuu-chah-nulth work, or this is Nuu-chah-nulth artwork, when really it's so recent. I have a sense of that timeline because my Dad will share that with me and I have a sense of the scope of his career and where the artwork was at when he started. But, coming into it at my age, a lot of people are recreating that style because it has set a standard and I definitely resist that a bit. I'm consciously making an effort to anchor my work more in what I believe our traditional values are and our traditional teachings are. Then I use my own creativity and contemporary style to express that rather than recreating the silkscreen style with the formlines. They're beautiful, but it's just not my style...¹⁸⁴

Swan learned printmaking from her contemporary, Tania Willard, while she was living in Vancouver and working with the Indigenous youth organization Redwire.¹⁸⁵ Swan was drawn to print processes that employ a carver's skills; she works mostly in woodcut and linocut. With her father, Swan has printed at El Nopal Press in Los Angeles, to further explore these alternative print media. Like Marston, her prints have few - if any - connections to Northwest Coast design styles. Coming from two family art histories,

¹⁸⁴ Marika Swan, audio recording, May 25, 2016.

¹⁸⁵ A Secwepemc artist and curator, Willard has been critical of (the concept of) the Northwest Coast art world because it excludes non-coastal communities and constrains artists to work in specific styles and media. Her practice participates in certain hegemonic art structures while simultaneously unraveling their intersectionality. In 2013, she curated an exhibition of Canadian Indigenous prints at the Kamloops Art Gallery, *Unlimited Editions*, which led to her initiation of an artists' collective, the New BC Indian Arts and Welfare Society. Their intentionality is to subvert the origins of the mid-century reform group, the BCIAWS, who set "standards" for Northwest Coast Native arts, and incidentally published the first Northwest Coast silkscreen designs, albeit imitations by a non-Native, in a text on the social benefits of Native art. See Willard, *Unlimited Edition*. While her prints merit considerable attention, because Willard does not operate within the Northwest Coast art market and does not employ Northwest Coast iconographies I have not included her body of work in this dissertation.

Swan merges the representational, environmental, and communal. And still, her imagery directly represents her community's knowledge, heritage, and territory (figure 54).

Swan's processes for the dissemination of her work bridge emerging and standardized market structures. In making her prints, Swan operates outside the boundaries of the Northwest Coast silkscreen tradition, but works closely with other regional and international printers and studios, like Malaspina Printmakers in Vancouver. Unlike Rickard and Nicolson, these printers need not be versed in the intricacies of Northwest Coast design in order to produce a print. Swan, however, disseminates her prints through commercial Northwest Coast Native galleries and includes edifying artist statements that connect the imagery to her Indigenous identity, community, and territory. These works may be original prints or digital reproductions of original prints that she re-releases, sometimes with palette modifications, as new limited editions. She further sells her works on her own website, where she elaborates in her storytelling to create a full (digital) picture of her life as an artist and arts administrator.

Swan and Marston are not the first two artists to move beyond the silkscreen. Joe David has dabbled in various print media since the 1990s. Bill Reid produced a few lithographs, while Roy Henry Vickers has made an art of the re-release as lithograph. Lyle Wilson and Susan Point both hold bachelor of fine arts degrees in printmaking and their works often revel in the meta-aesthetics of a given medium. These instances of an artist working in lithography, or an artist visiting a print studio to do some engraving tend to be insular experiences. However, in recent years a new medium has gained meaningful tractions. The millennium has given way to the digital print, which many coastal artists have proven eager to explore.

Digital Making and Sharing

As expressed in Chapter One, the role of the print has been continually problematized in the art world for its ties to mechanization. Art dealers and print historians have created specific language around the print in order to divide the print process from semblances of technology and to align print media with the hand of the artist. Each wave of print popularity contended with technology and repetition as issues of the medium. The idea that Pop artists employed repetition and mechanization as satirical commentary about the art world indicates the degree to which these qualities of the print have been lambasted. So too has it been with the digital print.¹⁸⁶

With significant advancements in computer and printer technology at the end of the twentieth century some Northwest Coast artists began to employ these digital tools to create artworks. An earlier generation of artists and printers had already tackled the localizing language that connected the silkscreen to cultural values and aesthetics and to the art world through the print jargon established by dealers, collectors, and institutions. Printers employed technological prowess with photo-emulsions but such means of reproduction were carefully hidden from the buyer. Likewise, some artists use computer design programs as tools for their silkscreens. Most notably Roy Henry Vickers proudly advocated early on for the value of computer technology as a drawing tool.¹⁸⁷ It was the millennial generation who began to explore how such technologies might inform their arts practice.

¹⁸⁶ See Association of Print Scholars Forum discussions “Elliot’s question,” and “What is a print,” <https://printscholars.org/forums/>. Accessed December 4, 2016.

¹⁸⁷ Vickers, interview.

Chris Paul, one of the earliest and most prolific digital print artists, apprenticed with Roy Henry Vickers. From Vickers, Paul witnessed how to create a stand-alone studio and how to go about the business of being a Northwest Coast Indigenous artist. He was the first artist - to my knowledge - to own a digital printer. Paul recalls his early interest in computers lead to his explorations in computer design. When he recalls how he began digital designs he notes

[I] draw a unique parallel - coding and Native art. There is a code within Northern art. There is a code within Salish art. It has some weird similarities to writing code because you create a tone in it, but there are some pieces that you can't change, you can't move them. They're just there. And that's the same with Salish and Northern. The ovoid - you can't move the ovoid. It's always going to be there. And in Salish art it's the t-shape or crescent or whatever. They're always going to be there. It's like 1s and 0s. A lot of people don't realize how interesting it is for a Native artist.

Here Paul obliquely refers to the perpetual constructs of Indigenous identity as anti-modern and technologically stagnant. But he does not pause to dwell on that well-examined topic. He pushes on to revel in the innovations his daughter, Sage Paul, has already created in the digital realm:

I'm her teacher. She's apprenticing with me. Having the opportunity to have someone build [their career]... She, as a person, I think is going to be a huge part of Salish art in the future because she's so strong. She has no idea. And she's already sold out about ten print editions and she's only twenty. She doesn't realize how much the landscape is going to change and has come forward. She's lived in a full digital world. None of the barriers are there. For me, it was like pushing string up hill - you know that saying? - it doesn't work. It's going to be vital for the future. How many people have three children building that legacy?¹⁸⁸

While Paul does not explain his reference to the years he “pushed a string up hill,” he certainly participated in the first explorations of what the digital print might bring to Northwest Coast art and the market.

¹⁸⁸ Paul, interview.

Gallery owners were initially wary of digital prints, in much the same way the previous generation was concerned about the authenticity of the silkscreen.¹⁸⁹ Dealers expressed concerns about how they should be priced, whether the market could bear an inundation of prints, whether the quality in design and production would stand up, and, in particular to digital prints, whether an original print could even exist if a matrix could not be destroyed to prevent its reproduction. These concerns are rooted in the embedded art world concept of originality that prints continually confound. Contemporary gallery owners also felt strongly about the appearance of digital prints. They are necessarily made on thinner paper with thinner ink in order to accommodate the digital printer. They have a very real likelihood of being marked or bent in a print drawer, while silkscreens remain more durable. In the early 2000s enough artists were creating digital prints that gallery owners began to test their market.

Simultaneous to this, galleries began cultivating a language of authenticity for digital prints. Just as the word “serigraphy” had become a signifier for the authenticity of fine art silkscreens, so the term *giclée* entered the Northwest Coast Native gallery system. The neologism, fatefully coined by screen printer Jack Duganee in 1991, has been used variously to describe digital reproductions and digital original prints and was specifically created to distinguish fine art prints from commercial digital production.¹⁹⁰ The term has failed to garner widespread usage, as evidenced by its absence in Grove/Oxford Art Online. In my experience on the West Coast, mainstream galleries and public institutions

¹⁸⁹ Monds, interview; Gary Wyatt, interview with India Rael Young, audio recording, May 27, 2014; Hall and Blackman, “A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs,” interviews with Edith Ross and Brent Johnson.

¹⁹⁰ Harold Johnson, *Mastering the Digital Print* (Boston: Thomson Course Technology, 2005), 30-33.

simply refer to such works as “digital prints.”¹⁹¹ However, all coastal galleries that carry digital prints employ the term, as well as the websites of artists who create such works. The widespread acceptance of this term, as with the term serigraph, works to authenticate the new art for all involved, from buyers to artists themselves.

The artists, primarily from the generation now growing up with access to technology, have been drawn to the medium because of its directness. As Shaun Peterson explains: “That’s what’s so appealing about *giclée*. It’s all happening in front of you... I’ve become so spoiled by experimenting with the digital media part of it. I like the way that this looks; I can change this.”¹⁹² Artists are able to create more quickly and to produce easily and endless variations on a theme. Because the medium is still quite new it is difficult to access the full impact on aesthetics. Some recurring interests include: overlays, printing the same design with multiple color palettes, tonal gradations that create illusions of form, and a color fade, similar to that employed by Point and Vickers. Many of these subtle variations in design can be accomplished through screen-printing but the costs to add colors and employ difficult pulling techniques quickly made the process cost prohibitive for most artists. Significantly, Northwest Coast artists working in digital print media have not shown great interest in landscape representations, photographic-collage, or other representational styles made more readily accessible through design programs. They remain most engaged with opportunities to create repeating imagery with the potential to disseminate coastal aesthetics widely.

¹⁹¹ However, Andy Everson noted he first heard the word “from someone in the mainstream art world,” and he brought it to the attention of the first person who printed his digital works around the year 2000. Andy Everson, private communiqué, 4 December 2016.

¹⁹² Shaun Peterson, audio recording, March 20, 2014.

Indeed, dissemination remains at the heart of interests in new technologies.

Peterson observed the real and immediate impact a digital presence contributed to his practice. He recalls,

People, in general, directly buy work from me. People started to ask me once they saw the work. This was at the time that Facebook was gaining traction and I had my website up. People started to see things outside of [the galleries.] It was driving the visibility of [my work].¹⁹³

Facebook, other social media platforms, and artist websites have generated new means for artists to communicate - with each other, with gallery audiences, and sometimes with entirely new communities. Within these spaces artists have full control over how their work is displayed. Some, like Roy Henry Vickers and Andy Everson, choose to highlight the importance of stories alongside their prints. Others, like Robert Davidson and Chris Paul, focus on the two-dimensional imagery to promote the identity of the artist, or what people outside the art world might today call “brand recognition.” Some artists offer opportunities to buy prints directly; others more simply present an opportunity to be contacted.

As a variety of methodologies for engaging with the digital world emerge, access and visibility remain the artists’ primary goals. Similar to the way the silkscreen afforded opportunities for coastal artists to connect with fresh audiences who then built broad interest in the contemporary lives of Northwest Coast peoples, so too the digital print and digital dissemination reach further to connect with youth, with those interested in sciences or technologies, and other audiences who might never travel to the Pacific Northwest. As artists begin to tackle the potential of the Internet some choose to use their two-dimensional artworks to address national and international issues, like climate

¹⁹³ Ibid.

change, Indigenous sovereignty, and global human rights.¹⁹⁴ These artworks circulate freely, sometimes with a direct message from the artist. Most often, the community who shares and disseminates the design constructs its meaning. The performative and pedagogical implications of this kind of meaning-making have yet to be determined. However, I suggest they will ultimately connect to the performative and pedagogical intentions behind the silkscreen, and Northwest Coast Indigenous values around sharing knowledge through objects.

The millennial generation of print artists, entering into the Northwest Coast Native art world with new tools, has begun to alter the models of the market. It will take decades to see which processes become institutionalized. Already visible shifts confirm the successes of this print history in establishing itself as part of Northwest Coast Indigenous arts tradition. Continued interests in broad dissemination of signature coastal aesthetics and generational learning confirm the intentions behind printmaking for coastal artists and the Indigenous infrastructures that underpin this art history.

These are some of the fundamental arguments of my dissertation. I claim that coastal artists turn to the print as a specific method for translating and transcribing cultural knowledge. They have used the medium to share histories, to define arts practices, to address intellectual and physical sovereignty, and to perpetuate coastal Indigenous value systems. In order to parse a sixty-year history that has produced approximately 10,000 editions of prints I have worked with artists, printers, dealers and collectors to establish primary histories and themes. Histories were both specific and broad; I analyzed the arrival and continuation of Northwest Coast prints from within

¹⁹⁴ India Young, "Momentum: The Ripple of Indigenous Art Activism from Idle No More," *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas*, 2014, 76–92.

regional and cultural contexts, and from a broader social art history. The themes that revealed themselves through print works include: aesthetic codifications, evolutions, specificities, and educational intentionality.

Discussions with artists, printers, and dealers evidenced that printmaking was integral to the development of an independent Northwest Coast Native art market. Artists used a widely recognizable and affordable medium to establish themselves as “artists” rather than craftsman or artisans. Prints also created a low end for this *fine art* market, which helped restructure broader evaluations of Northwest Coast art objects. Artists subverted the broad understanding of fine art prints to address new audiences, and to broadly circulate markers of Indigeneity.

Once prints were established as essential to the new infrastructure for Northwest Coast Indigenous arts, artists concertededly employed the medium to perpetuate cultural systems. Because all artists voiced specific cultural connections to their prints, I considered deeper art histories specific to coastal communities. First, I evaluated the very different coastal cultural values around repetition and reproduction. These values for repetition are embedded learning processes that perpetuate knowledge and imbue objects with specific kinds of meaning, often related to wealth, place, belonging, and authority.

This dissertation also takes the time to evaluate historic coastal economies to contend that artists’ intentions behind the market move beyond an economy. Coastal Indigenous value systems connect value with objects as simultaneously economic and positional. Historic coastal peoples created complex systems of exchange that gave value to object makers and objects through the process of sharing. These systems were

predicated on collaborative relationships between individuals, families, communities, and neighbors. With a value system based on exchange, coastal peoples ensured that ways of knowing and being were communally respected, upheld, and passed on. Spaces to affirm and pass on knowledge were upheld through the arts and performance, where objects were imbued with specific meanings.

Perpetuation of visual systems overtly links prints to long coastal art histories. At first, artists used these aesthetic connections to establish authenticity for an adopted medium. As artists and the market became more established the designs were employed to systematize specific expressions of cultural knowledge. Artists cultivated inter-related aesthetic systems that would appeal to contemporary audiences while asserting specific cultural authority. I revealed how Kwakwaka'wakw, Nuu-chah-nulth, and Coast Salish artists used the medium to create space and acknowledgement for their communities.

Further, artists also systematically connect prints to means for sharing knowledge. Cultural spaces, like community events, offer the most obvious connection. However, knowledge sharing within the market place continued to be the artists' most committed interest in printmaking. Beyond the creation of cultural stories, artists use prints to share current histories, to relay continued presence on the land, and to teach broader communities about coastal Indigenous peoples. This is done through broad dissemination, the continued affordability of prints, the cultivation of a collectors' market, and the artist statements and stories that often accompany prints on their journey into the world.

This initial assessment of the history of Northwest Coast Native prints establishes several vital areas for research. Primarily, it begins the investigation into a critically

under-valued art form. Only a handful of institutions hold significant collections of Northwest Coast prints resulting from donations by specific collectors. Those collections remain incompletely archived, are rarely circulated or exhibited, and therefore often fail to illuminate the histories and themes addressed in my dissertation. My research shows that a significant number of prints exist only in private hands, spread throughout the globe, and have other histories to tell about their creators and collectors.

I assert that the larger market for contemporary Northwest Coast arts, and specifically this print history, has been under-researched because of art world taboos about repetition and enterprise. My work brings attention to artists that remain largely unacknowledged outside this market. These artists have established life-long careers in the arts and have produced, in some cases, hundreds of artworks. In writing about Mark Henderson or Patrick Amos or Greg Colfax I draw attention to the intersectionality of an academy that perpetuates certain kinds of absences.

Most significantly, this dissertation participates in an emerging mode of scholarship that centralizes Indigenous worldviews as theoretical frameworks and shares authorship with all participant voices. My assertions come from discussions with those most intimately knowledgeable about the history, and the patterns emerge from those conversations. I openly discussed my intellectual and cultural claims with the artists I write about, and position my knowledge as relational and conditional. Contributors' perspectives and experiences guide my conclusions. Artists' clear communications of cultural values inform the theoretical frameworks I deploy. I place coastal Indigenous art histories and worldviews alongside scholarly frameworks to ground my arguments in the multiple socio-cultural systems that inform this history.

Both my dissertation topic and my methodology create opportunities for further scholarship and curatorship. Each topic explored deserves more concrete, directed investigation. I strongly recommend monographs on the rise of specific cultural aesthetics and on the artists who created these legacies. Artists who have cultivated their careers through the market deserve special attention; the Hunt family deserves their own art history, along with artists like Francis Dick, Don Yeomans, Joe David, and Nathan Jackson. Likewise, curatorial research should be directed towards complete archiving of current collections with integration of artist biographies. Finally, the incorporation of prints into the foundation of the Northwest Coast art world provided a space for new media to follow. A significant number of artists work in two forms that have emerged after prints: glasswork and decorative industrial design. I suggest that the incorporation of these forms models the trajectory of prints while the topics themselves merit further research. As much as these collective pages record a history and employ Indigenous critical theory, they also reveal glaring absences in art history and museology that, I suggest, reveal structural blind spots within the academy and art world. The history of the market, beyond my and Karen Duffek's comparatively short examinations, deserves a deep exploration of its insular nature and the means and methods with which it perpetuates itself.¹⁹⁵

There can be no finality to an initial effort to coalesce thousands of works by hundreds of artists from many nations. The artworks merit further study while their creators are still available to convey their intentions and processes. Yet, this dissertation considers themes within a particular art history to bring Indigenous theoretical and

¹⁹⁵ Solen Roth wrote a relational study that explore the commercial reproduction of tourist objects with Northwest Coast designs, "Culturally Modified Capitalism: The Native Northwest Coast Artware Industry" (University of British Columbia, 2013), <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/43862>.

methodological knowledge into the academy. The concept of Indigenous critical theory is not wholly new. However, I intend for this dissertation to begin to consider specific gaps: the positionality of the non-Indigenous collaborator/scholar and a specificity of Indigenous theory that comes from specific communities to address the global, [decolonial] circumstances that directly engage their lives. To that end, I suggest that Northwest Coast Native prints operate through coastal modalities. Beyond conveying Indigenous worldviews, these prints, through circulation, make Indigenous claims upon art, commoditization, and sovereignty that convey not general but specific Indigenous ways of knowing.

Figures Appendix



Figure 1: Illustration from Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 229.

Figure 2: Robert Davidson, *Dogfish*, 1969. Silkscreen. Vancouver, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

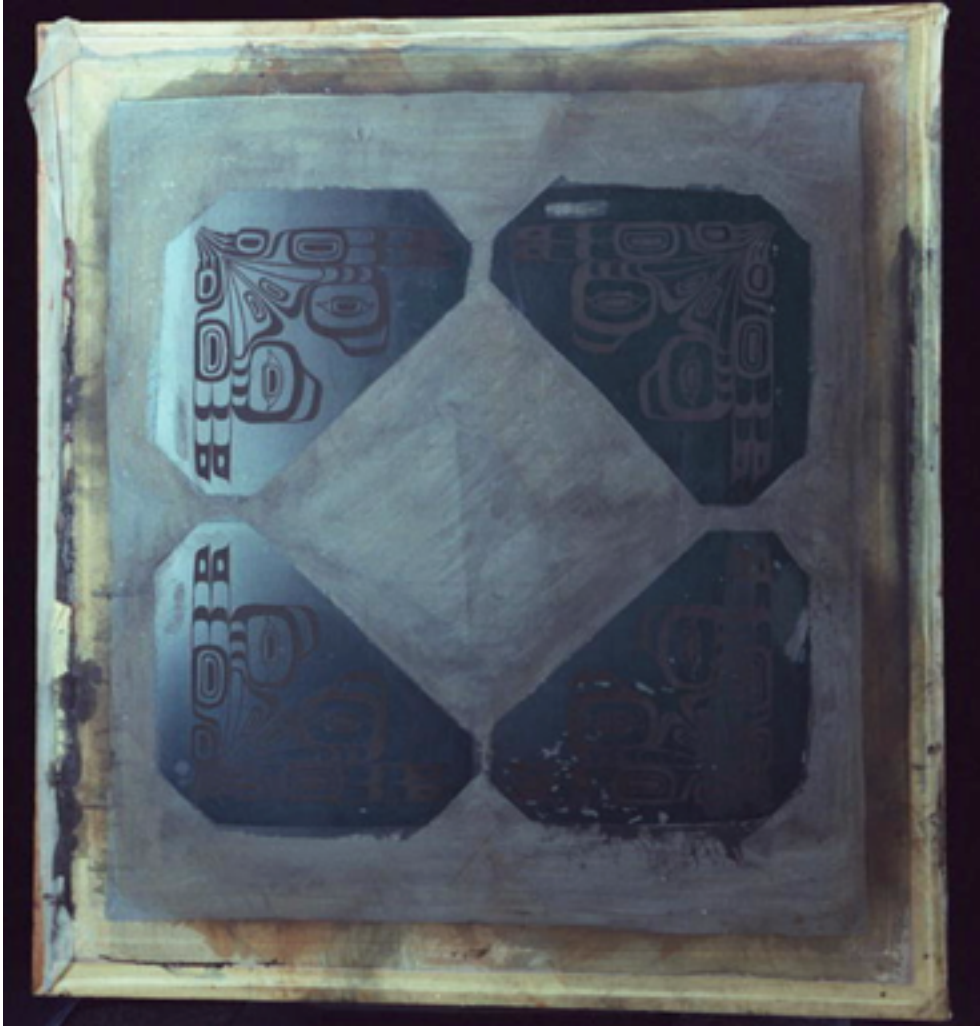


Figure 3: Screen for Raven scarf by Ellen Neel, ND. Victoria, Royal BC Museum.



Figure 4: Spindle Whorl (Cowichan), acquired 1904. Washington, DC, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History.

Figure 5: Susan Point, *Ancestral Vision*, 1994. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler Gallery.



Figure 6: Marika Swan, *Becoming Worthy*, 2016. Digital print of original woodblock.



Figure 7: Ron Hamilton (then Huquachew), *Designs Whaling*, 1972. Washington, DC, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History.



Figure 8: Engraving from sketches collected by Alessandro Malaspina, 1791. Chicago, Newberry Library.

Figure 9: Reproduction of John Webber drawing (1778), ND. Victoria, BC Archives.

Figure 10: Whaling hat, acquired 1778. London, British Museum.



Figure 11: Basket makers demonstrating their work at the opening of Highway 101, 1931. Port Angeles, Olympic Library System.

Figure 12: Nuu-chah-nulth woven mat from Ucluelet, c.1930. London, British Museum.



Figure 13: Nuu-chah-nulth basket from Nitinaht, before 1934. Vancouver, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

Figure 14: Nuu-chah-nulth basketry, before 1920. Vancouver, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.



Figure 15: Joe David, *Crown of Title*, 1985. Screen print. Seattle, Burke Museum, University of Washington.

Figure 16: Patrick Amos, *Whaler's Vision*, 1998. Screen print. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.

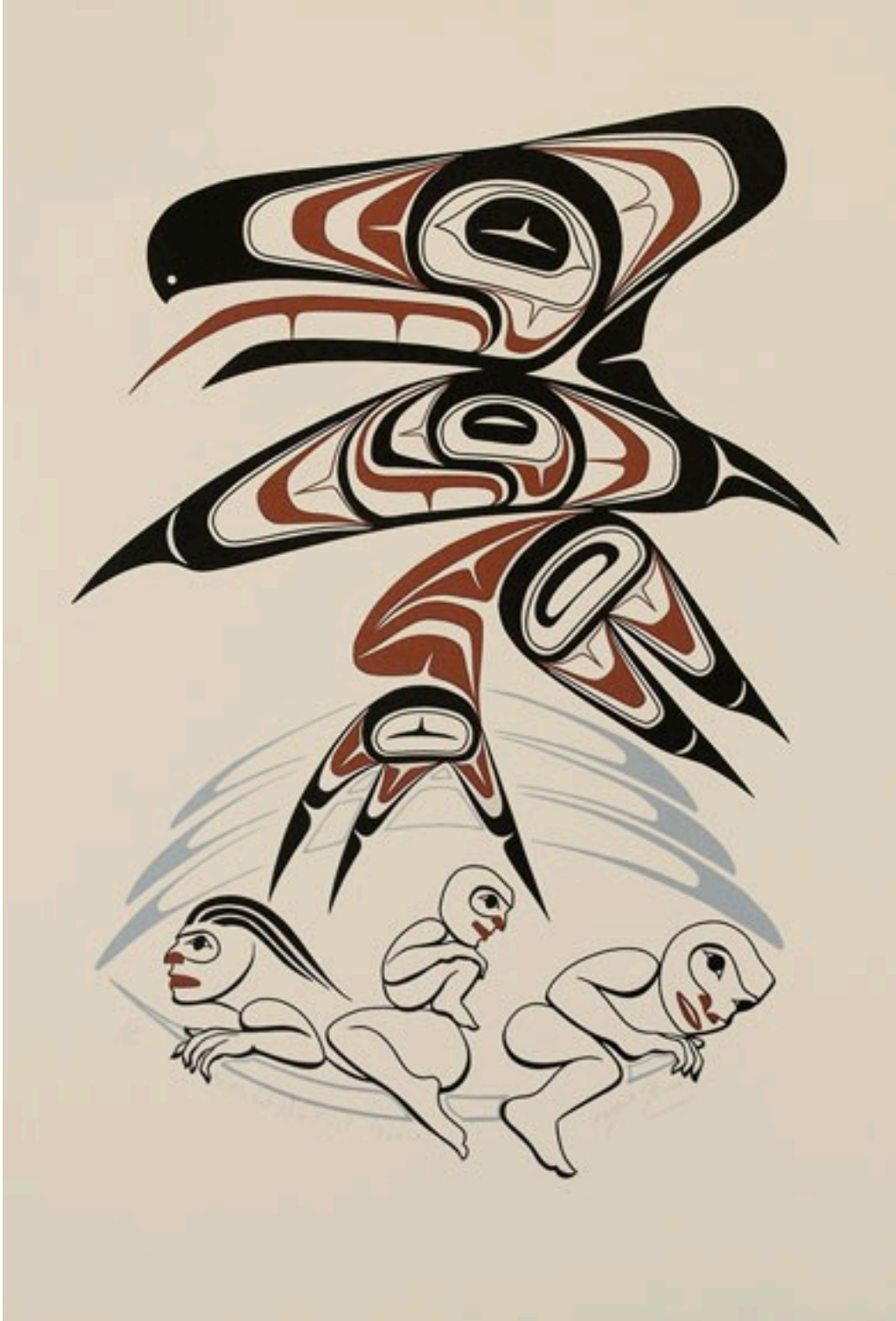


Figure 17: Wayne Young, *Raven and First People*, 2006. Screen print. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.



Figure 18: Danny Dennis, *Raven and the First Man*, ND. Lattimer Gallery, Vancouver.

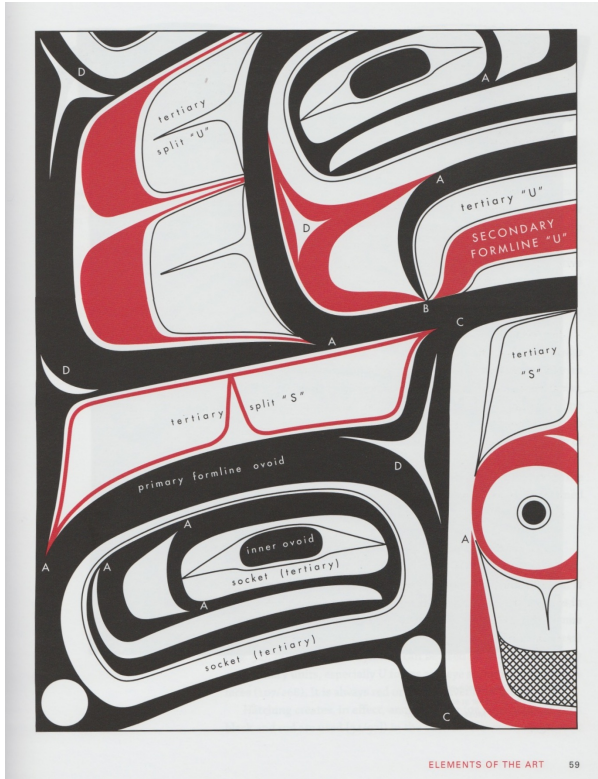


Figure 19 a, b: Illustrations of formal elements from *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form, 50th Anniversary Edition* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2015), 59, 52.



Figure 20: Thunderbird House (Xeitl Hít) Screen, Small Lake Tlingit (Wooshkitaan Clan), ND. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Figure 21: Button Blanket, Wet'suwet'en, ND. Vancouver, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.



Figure 22: Tim Paul, *Thunderbird Dancer*, 1979. Screen Print. Vancouver, Lattimer Gallery.



Figure 23: Joe David, *Eats-quin*, 1977. Screen Print. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler Gallery.

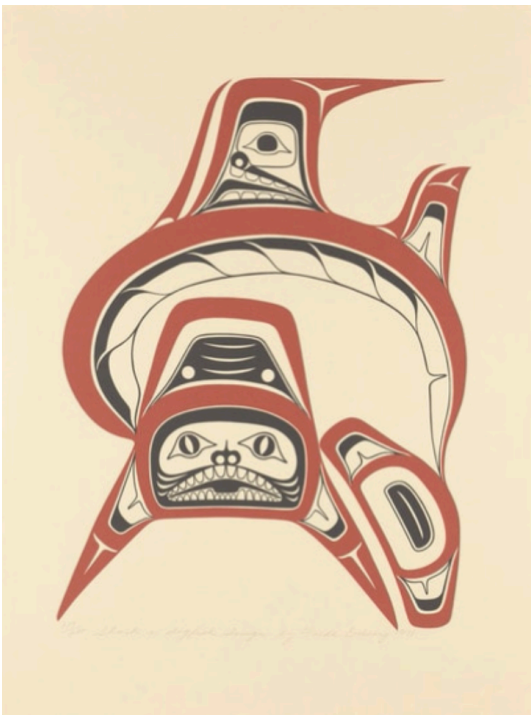


Figure 24: Art Sterritt, *Xhahsim and Bright Cloud Woman*, ND. Screen Print. Vancouver, Vancouver Museum.

Figure 25: Freda Diesing, *Shark as Dogish Design*, 1978. New York, American Museum of Natural History.



Figure 26: Vernon Stephens, *Raiders*, 1980. Vancouver, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.



Figure 27: lessLIE, *SacRED Songs*, 2006. Screen print. Victoria, Alcheringa Gallery.

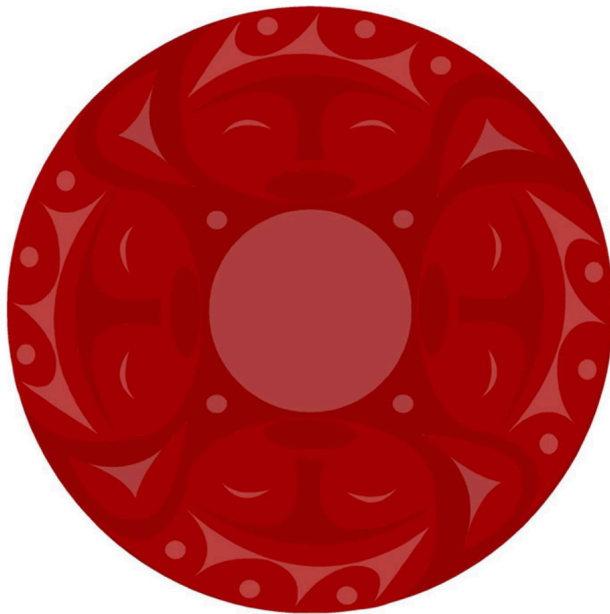


Figure 28, Chris Paul, *Berry Pickers*, 2003. Screen print. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 29: Illustration from Shaun Peterson's essay, "Coast Salish Design: An Anticipated Southern Analysis," in *In the Spirit of the Ancestors: Contemporary Northwest Coast Art at the Burke Museum* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 20. Original caption reads: "Wing designs: (a) Northern Formline style; (b) Nuu-chah-nulth style; (c) Kwakwaka'wakw style; (d) Salish style. Illustration by Shaun Peterson (Puyallup/Tualalip, Coast Salish)

Figure 30: Charles Elliott, *Blue Heron*, 1980. Screen print. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.



Figure 31: Henry Speck, *Kwigwis*, 1935. Watercolor. Victoria, Royal BC Museum.

Figure 32: Henry Speck, *Sea Monster*, 1962. Vancouver, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

Available
JUNE 1978

first annual collection
Ksan
1978 original graphics

catalog
\$5.00

KSAN GRAPHICS DEALERS:

CANADA

CALGARY
Calgary Galleries

CAMPBELL RIVER
Pegmars

EDMONTON
Canadana Galleries

HALIFAX
The Chest Boutique

HAMILTON
Berkeitt Gallery
Wooddale Gallery

MONTREAL
Canadian Guild of Crafts

OTTAWA
National Museum of Man
The Goose

REGINA
Henry's Art Centre
Discovery

TORONTO
Aggregation Gallery
Art Rental Service — Art Gallery
of Ontario

VANCOUVER
Centennial Museum
U.B.C. Museum of Anthropology
Kil-Sli Native Arts & Crafts
The Artworks
Vancouver Gold & Jade Ltd.
Canadian Native Prints Ltd.

VICTORIA
Provincial Museum
Open Pacific Graphics
The Quest

WATERLOO
Inukshuk Galleries

WINNIPEG
Wah-Sa Gallery

U.S.A.

DENVER, COLORADO
Arctic Art

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
The Raven Gallery

NEW YORK, N.Y.
Boutique Margot
Museum of the American Indian

ROCKPORT, MASS.
House of the Raven Gallery

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
The Legacy

DISTRIBUTED BY
CANADIAN NATIVE PRINTS LTD., 775 HOMER ST., VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA V6B 2W1 (604) 681-3485

Figure 33: Advertisement for Canadian Native Prints depicting catalogue for *First Annual Collection 'Ksan: 1978 Original Graphics* (Vancouver: Children of the Raven Pub. Inc., 1978) in *American Indian Art Magazine*



Figure 34: Calvin Hunt, *Fisherman*, 2005. Screen print. Victoria, Alcheringa Gallery.



Figure 35: Ron Hamilton (Ki-Ke-In), *Whaler's Dream*, 1977. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler Gallery.



Figure 36: Roy Henry Vickers, *Goolka*, 1973. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.

Figure 37: Roy Henry Vickers, *The Westcoasters*, 1982. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.

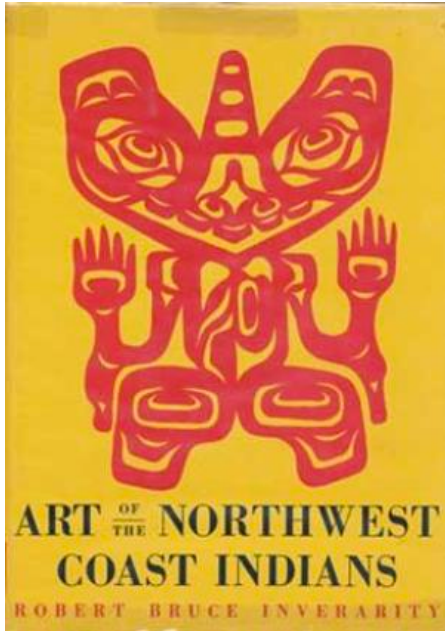


Figure 38: Cover of Bruce Inverarity's *Art of the Northwest Coast Indians* (1950).

Figure 39: Robert Davidson, *Seabear*, 1968. Illustration from Hilary Stewart, *Robert Davidson, Haida Printmaker* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 39.



Figure 40: Robert Davidson, *Parnell Memorial: Eagle and Raven*, 1978. Illustration from Hilary Stewart, *Robert Davidson, Haida Printmaker* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 111.

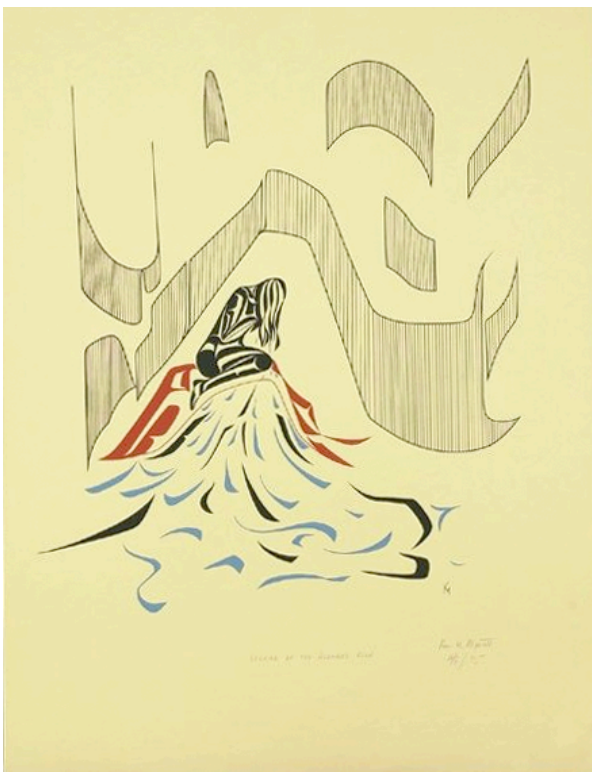
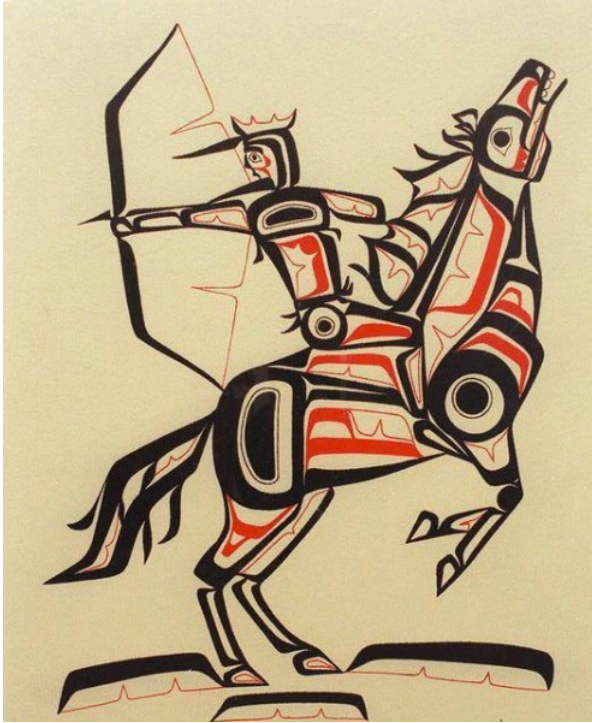


Figure 41: In the 'Ksan style. Roy Henry Vickers, *First Horseman of the Apocalypse*, ND. Screen print. Tofino, Eagle Aerie Gallery.

Figure 42: In the 'Ksan style, Ken Mowatt, *Legend of the Avenged Flea*, 1975. Screen print. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.

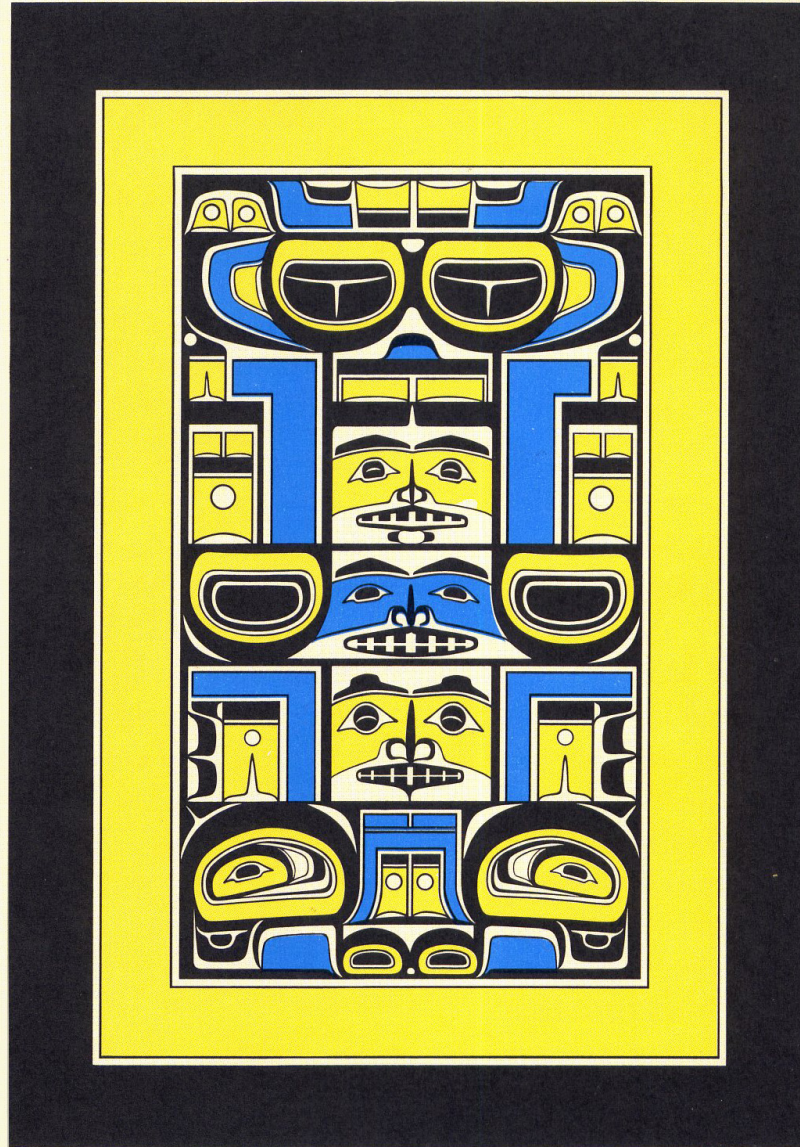


Figure 43: Roy Henry Vickers, Northwest Coast Indian Artist Guild Series: *Chilkat Blackfish*, 1978. Screen print. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler Gallery.



Figure 44: Roy Henry Vickers, *Good Hope 4*, 2009. Screen print. Tofino, Eagle Aerie Gallery.

Figure 45: Roy Henry Vickers storytelling at his gallery, Eagle Aerie, in Tofino, BC. March 18, 2017. This image was promoted on social media and linked to a live storytelling feed on Instagram. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 46: Marvin Oliver, *Moon Dancing*, 1981. Embossed screen print. Seattle, Legacy Gallery Ltd.



Figure 47: Marvin Oliver, *Blue Reflections*, 1987. Embossed screen print. Seattle, Stonington Gallery.

Figure 48: Marvin Oliver, *A Touch of Blue*, 2004. Embossed screen print. Seattle, Stonington Gallery.



Figure 49: Marvin Oliver, *Eagle in the Mist*, 1992. Embossed screen prints. Ketchikan, Alaska Eagle Arts.

Figure 50: Marvin Oliver, *Moon Catcher*, 2002. Embossed screen prints. Ketchikan, Alaska Eagle Arts.

Figure 51: Marvin Oliver, *Mystical Journey*, 2005. Embossed screen prints. Ketchikan, Alaska Eagle Arts.

Figure 52: Marvin Oliver in front of sculpture *Mystical Journey*. Image courtesy of the Tacoma Art Museum.



Figure 53: Spindle whorl (Coast Salish), 19th Century. Houston, de Menil Collection.

Figure 54: Spindle whorl (Coast Salish), 19th Century. Victoria, Royal BC Museum.

Figure 55: Stan Greene, *Human with Thunderbirds*, 1979. Screen print. Vancouver, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

Figure 56: Susan Point, *Man and Thunderbirds*, 1981. Screen print. Seattle, Burke Museum, University of Washington.



Figure 57: Susan Point, *Water - The Essence of Life*, 1996. Screen print. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler Gallery.

Figure 58: Susan Point, *Water - The Essence of Life*, 1998. Stainless steel gates. Pump Station, Seattle.



Figure 59: Susan Point, *Completing the Circle*, 1992. Screen print. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler Gallery.

Figure 60: Susan Point, *Sturgeon*, 1985. Screen print. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.

Figure 61: Kelly Cannell, *Salish Rope*, 2011. Screen print. Victoria, Alcheringa Gallery.



Figure 62 a, b: Text and illustration on opposing pages in *Susan Point: Spindle Whorl*. London: Black Dog Press, 2017), 120, 121.



Figure 63: Stan Greene, *Thukia and the Chipmunk*, 1986. Screen print. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.

“Thukia is the female Sasquatch. There are many legends of these hairy people. This is the story of the Chipmunk. There was a little girl and in the summer she would go and pick the salmon berries. Her mother warned her not to go into Thukia’s patch. The little girl did not listen. She was sitting there eating berries in the patch that Thukia had claimed. This made Thukia angry. She ran and chased the little girl. The little chipmunk screamed and ran away. But the next day she was back again. Thukia came out and chased the little girl, the chipmunk screamed. Thukia reached out to grab the girl; she missed, but scratched the fur on the back of the chipmunk girl. She ran and ran and made it home. That is why the Chipmunks have the stripes on the back.”

-Stan Greene and Vincent Rickard, *Thukia and the Chipmunk* artist statement (Victoria: Pacific Editions, 1986).



Figure 64: Mark Henderson, *Tsonoqua*, 1995. Screen print. Victoria, Pacific Editions.

“Tsonoqua (Wild Woman of the woods) was a giant woman who lived more in the mountains and deep forest. She was also in Human form and very clumsy. Her house contained a lot of wealth. There are several legends of Tsonoqua. This painting shows her carrying a little one in her Basket. It was said that villagers went into the woods to look for Tsonoqua and her little one, and tried to make the little one cry. For if they did they would become wealthy, but they never succeeded.”

-Mark Henderson and Vincent Rickard, *Tsonoqua* artist statement (Victoria: Pacific Editions, 1986).

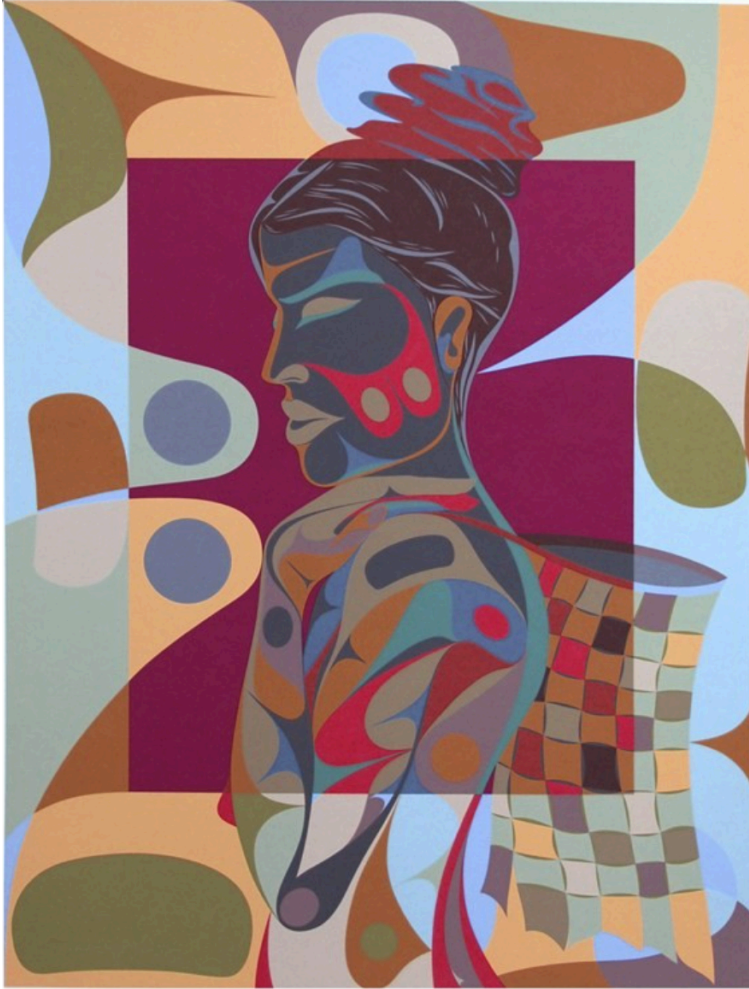


Figure 65: Rande Cook, *Dzunukwa*, 2012. Screen print. Image courtesy of the artist.

“Dzunukwa You expect an old woman, way past her stale date, dragging her wrinkled breasts on the sidewalk, curdling her milk; but I’m as new as the weeds that grow through the cracks in the pavement, the young loons singing on artificial lakes; and I will, yes, I do keep coming back from my time in the woods. Huuu uuuuuuuuuuu. I come with the animals chased from the forest. I come with my hunger, my thirst for justice. I come with my old friends, my new- every-year body painted in designer colours, Frog spit on my breast, Susiutl slung over my shoulders, Star on my forehead, and always my blood singing through. Uh- hooooo. You can’t resist my lips by Revlon, mouth wide open, ready to swallow side- walks, streetlamps, hydroponic children growing tame in the garden you think you own.”

-Poet Linda Rogers in collaboration with Rande Cook, *Dzunukwa*, Cedar Hill Long House Art Publishing.



Figure 66: Francis Dick, *Raelene*, 1999. Screen print. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.

“I notice you from afar, always standing outside my periphery, the most amazing beauty, so quickly I would turn away. Your eyes most haunting, calling me, so familiar from lifetimes ago. Who are you? And why do I remember you... The calling is closer and the whispers clearer, I am so drawn to you. And when we meet, without thought I listen, watch and inhale your place where you breathe from, and I am so indescribably moved inside myself from a place that has not ever been touched. Only through the highest honour that I know, I knew that I had to paint the way I feel, my love, my fascination, my appreciation, my gratitude that you are you and I was able to listen. The image in this print is symbolic of beauty, quiet strength and upraised endurance. Also symbolized by the eagle, the hummingbird and the flower is the ability to be in relationship with all creatures of the world. Hence they are depicted closely to and in balance with the woman. The wolf is symbolic of Kawadelekala, from whom I am descended, and it is wrapped around the image of quiet strength. In the top corners is the full moon and the crescent moon existing in simultaneous balance.”

-Francis Dick, artist statement from *Honouring Place, Honouring Self: the art of Francis Dick in retrospective* (Victoria: Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery, University of Victoria, 2000).



Figure 67: Don Yeoman, *Infinite Journey*, 2000. Screen print. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler.

“I once read a tragic newspaper story about a young couple who perished in a boating mishap and it reminded me of an old Haida Belief. It is said that the souls of drowning victims become killer whales in the afterlife. The image of the two souls traveling together, beyond this life, is the subject of this print. The pattern in the water is stylized *hu*, pronounced ‘hue.’ It is an ancient name for god and is the sound that I first become familiar with during a near death experience as a child.”

-Don Yeomans, artist statement, Spirit Wrestler (website). www.spiritwrestler.com/catalog/index.php?cPath=48&products_id=603.



Figure 68: Floyd Joseph, *Salmon Cycle*, 1984. Screen print. Victoria, University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries.

“Since I carry the name 'Tyee', I find it important to express my concern for the continued existence of the salmon. This spindle design is upside down to indicate the low ebb of the salmon which is part of the continuing cycle. Legendary stories tell of how the Squamish people were starving, so they asked the Salmon People to send some salmon into their waters as a source of food. The Salmon People agreed under the condition that they people would return the bones back to the water so that the Salmon People could regenerate. When this respect is not upheld, as is the case today, the numbers of the Salmon People diminish.”

-Floyd Joseph, *Salmon Cycle* artist statement (Victoria: Pacific Editions, 1984).



Figure 69: Nytom (John Goodwin), *Hahoulthe - Chief's Domain*, 2004. Screen print. Seattle, Steinbreuck Gallery.

“Salmon were the second most important food group next to sea mammals. This print represents the six different species of salmon in the territories of the First Nations People. Every river belongs to a head man or chief, hawilh. It was his tribe's responsibility to take care of his territory, hahoulthe. The customs of the Nuu-chah-nulth people demanded that the members of the tribe pay tribute, oumas, to the chief. This gave them access to his resources in his territory. The word hahoulthe means all that is under the cover or blanket of a chief's domain. This print represents a hawilh's territory, his hahoulthe.”

-Nytom, Hahoulthe artist statement, source unknown.

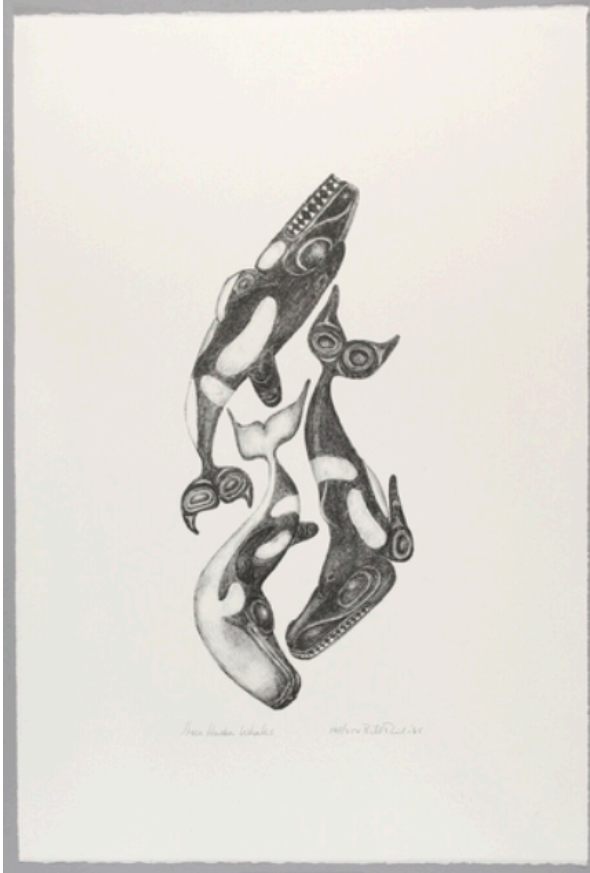


Figure 70: Bill Reid, *Three Haida Whales*, 1985. Lithograph. Vancouver, Bill Reid Gallery.

Figure 71: Robert Davidson, *Every Year the Salmon Come Back*, 1983. Screen print. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler Gallery.



Figure 72: ‘Wii Muk’Willixw (Art Wilson), *Seizure on Luulak’s Land*, 1992.

“Gitxsan hereditary Chief Luulak was concerned about logging on her territory, located near the Gitxsan reserve of Gitwangak. She called for a meeting of many chiefs in Gitwangak. Chief Gwiis Skyen (Stanley Williams) provided leadership and, along with the strong support of many chiefs, came up with a plan to take all the equipment off Luulak’s territory, or burn it. This was a lawful plan, since anything on one’s territory is considered to be family property to be disposed of as the family chiefs wish.

When we got on site, we decided to first seize the front-end loader. An eagle chief hot-wired it – you can see him driving it away. The body of the vehicle is depicted as a frog because Luulak is a Frog Chief, and the seizure was made on her behalf. The skulls in the wheels represent Luulak – the Gitxsan word for ghost.

A supporter of our plan who had recently bought an old police car at an auction accompanied the front-end loader along Highway 16. This delayed any suspicion about irregular activities going on. Eventually there was ‘real’ police attention from the local police detachments from nearby towns – Smithers, Hazelton, Price Rupert and Terrace. We gave them our Gitxsan names, which technically fulfilled our legal obligations to them, but which they had great difficulty in spelling! The Eagle chief was later charged with theft of over one thousand dollars, but the charges were eventually thrown out.

Perhaps the difficulty was in deciding who the real thieves were?”

- ‘Wii Muk’Willixw (Art Wilson), *Heartbeat of the Earth: A First Nations Artist Records Injustice and Resistance* (Gabriola, BC: New Society Publishers, 1996), no page numbers.



Figure 74: Andy Everson, *No Pipelines!*, 2012. Screen print and digital print editions. Image courtesy of the artist.

“I don’t really have a strong activist mindset, but I know when something is really really wrong. I see hereditary chiefs on the news standing together against this pipeline. I respect them and honour them by doing my little part to support our traditional leaders. I just want to let them know that the Kwakwaka’wakw here in the south stand together with them shoulder to shoulder. That river that flows through their village connects with the inlet in front of the next and that inlet’s waters run right along the coast to our territory, as well. We’re in this together!

In case the message isn’t clear: Say “No” to the Enbridge pipeline that purports to travel through unceded First Nations territory! Black represents the oil, red represents the blood of our people....”

- Andy Everson, artist statement, Artwork by Andy Everson (website). www.andyeverson.com/2012/no_pipelines.html.



Figure 75 a, d: Andy Everson, *Idle No More!*, 2013, 2016. Digital edition and Screen print.

“Motivated by the prospect of several awful omnibus bills being pushed through Canadian parliament, the Idle No More movement was created as a way to demonstrate that Indigenous peoples would no longer stand idly by. Beginning in December of 2012, the movement spread like wildfire. Flash mobs were held in malls and solidarity rallies were organized outside MP’s offices across the country. Soon, demonstrations were held in the United States, Europe and beyond. While begun and maintained primarily by Indigenous peoples, settler supporters offered a significant amount of support to the movement in many regions.

Going to my first rally on December 29, I needed a poster to bring along. Knowing that the fist and feather with its image of strength and spirituality was quickly becoming the symbol of the movement, I thought it would be fitting if I created one in the formline style indicative of the west coast. I quickly drew up this image at my dining room table and then put it on my Facebook page and it suddenly went viral. Soon, this image appeared on poster boards, buttons, t-shirts, stickers and banners. My feeling was that I wanted this image to go out into the world and find a life of its own. It did.

I decided to finally put the image to paper to commemorate the significance that this movement had on worldwide Indigenous peoples. While it has certainly gotten a lot more quiet on the Idle No More front in recent years, the image of the fist and feather is as poignant as ever.”

- Andy Everson, artist statement, Artwork by Andy Everson (website).
www.andyeverson.com/2014/idle_no_more.html.



Figure 76: Susan Point, *Of This Land*, 1998. Screen print. Vancouver, Spirit Wrestler Gallery.

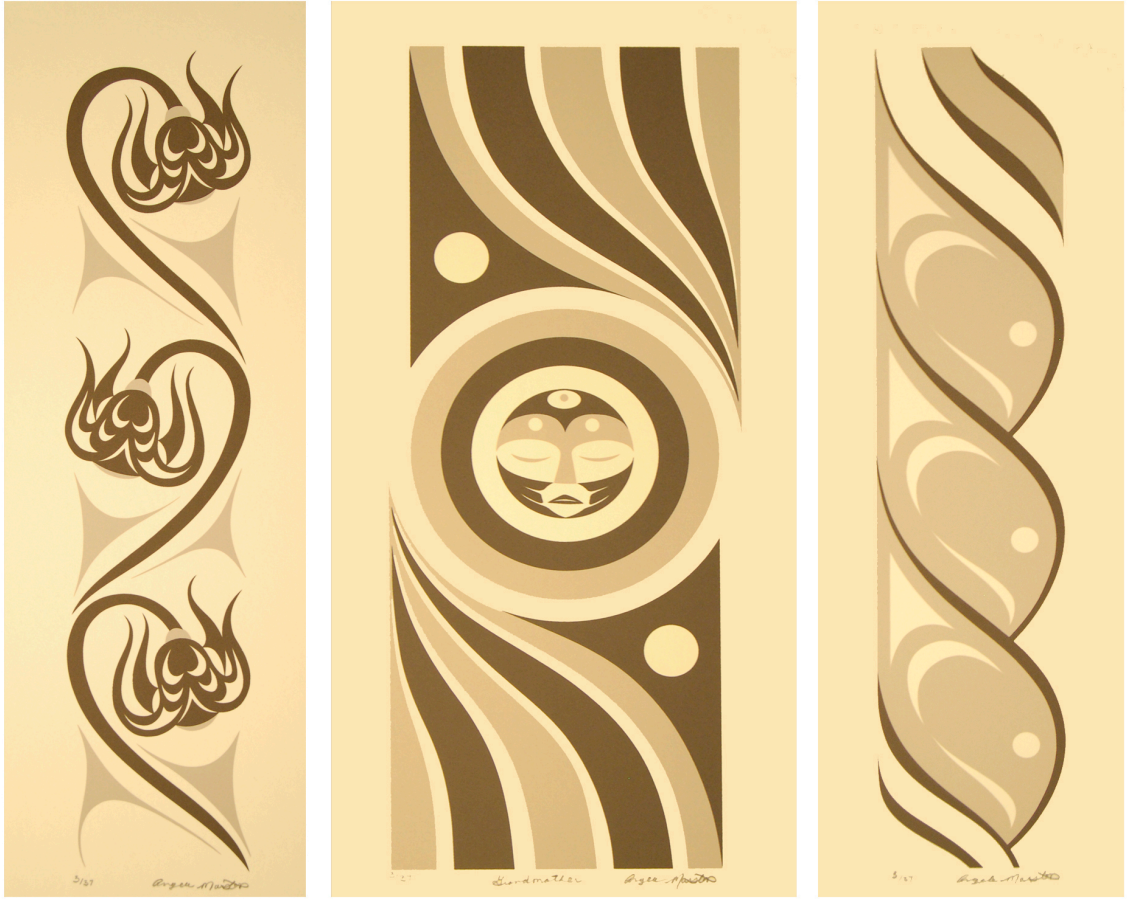


Figure 77: Angela Marston, *Grandmother*, 2011. Triptych screen prints. Victoria, Alcheringa Gallery.



Figure 78: Angela Martson, *Star Crossed Lovers*, 2014. Etching. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 79: Marika Swan, *Deep Within Our Bones*, 2014. Woodblock and digital print editions. Image courtesy of the artist.

“We have huge grandma and grandpa cedar trees on the coast, they have been standing watch for over a thousand years, slowly and steadily reaching for the sun's rays. They entomb within them the leftovers from all parts of West Coast life. Bears will eat the salmon out of the rivers and leave the bones to fertilize the soil. An honourable burial for our people is to be put in a cedar box and left in arms of these huge trees.

We were a whaling people and each whale provided our people with so much sustenance. Each part of the whale could be used for so many purposes. Even though we no longer whale, they are a part of our root system. I wanted to honour the contribution they made to our culture, spirituality and families with every life they offered us.

Deep in Our Bones is a part of a series of woodblock prints exploring my people's natural and supernatural relationship with whales.”

-Marika Swan, artist statement, Marika Swan (website). www.marikaswan.com/shop/deepinourbones.

References

- “Aboriginal Gallery.” *Cedar Hill Long House*. Accessed June 17, 2017.
<https://www.cedarhilllonghouse.ca/gallery>.
- “Aboriginal Gallery - Aboriginal Artwork | Cedar Hill Long House.” Accessed June 17, 2017. <https://www.cedarhilllonghouse.ca/gallery>.
- Allan, Lois. *Contemporary Printmaking in the Northwest*. Sydney: Craftsman House, 1997.
- “Alvin Balkind.” *Ruins in Process: Vancouver in the Sixties*. Accessed April 3, 2017.
<http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/people/8>.
- Amos, Robert. “Native Artist Left Lasting Legacy.” *Times Colonist*. Accessed April 22, 2017. <http://www.timescolonist.com/life/islander/robert-amos-native-artist-left-lasting-legacy-1.2178546>.
- . “Our Times: Haida Artist a Master of Screen Prints.” *Times Colonist*. March 2, 2014.
- . “Susan Point Prints Perfectly Poised.” *Times Colonist*. December 3, 1994, sec. News.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Andy Everson: Northwest Coast Artist* (website). Accessed June 14, 2017.
<http://www.andyeverson.com/faq.html>.
- Angus, Charlotte, Vernon Stephens, Ken N Mowatt, and Sandy Heybroek. *We-gyet Wanders On: legends of the Northwest*. Surrey: Hancock House, 1977.
- Armstrong, Doris. *Patterns Based on Northwest Indian Designs*. Victoria: B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society, 1955.
- “Artwork by Andy Everson.” *Artwork by Andy Everson*. Accessed June 17, 2017.
<http://www.andyeverson.com/>.
- “Backstory: Nuuchaanulth Ceremonial Curtains and the Work of Ki-Ke-in | Art Gallery Collections.” Accessed April 23, 2017.
http://collections.burnabyartgallery.ca/ListDetail?q=src%3Alibrary&p=8&ps=1&sort=creator_sort+asc&subject_facet=Art%2C+Canadian--British+Columbia--Exhibitions.
- B. C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society. *Tales from the Longhouse*. Sidney, B.C.: Gray’s Pub., 1973.

- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Art in Theory, 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, edited by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, 500–520. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003.
- Black, Martha. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, April 8, 2014.
- Blackman, Margaret B. "Behind the Screens." In *In the Spirit of the Ancestors: Contemporary Northwest Coast Art at the Burke Museum*, edited by Robin Kathleen Wright, Kathryn B Bunn-Marcuse, and Shaun Peterson. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.
- . Email, June 5, 2015.
- Blackman, Margaret B. and Edwin S. Hall. "Snakes and Clowns: Art Thompson and the Westcoast Heritage." *American Indian Art Magazine* 11, no. 2 (1986).
- . "The Afterimage & Image After: Visual Documents and the Renaissance in Northwest Coast Art." *American Indian Art Magazine* 7, no. 2 (1982): 30–39.
- Blanchard, Rebecca, and Nancy Davenport. *Contemporary Coast Salish Art*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Boas, Franz. *Primitive Art*. New York: Dover Publications, 1955.
- Blodgett, Jean. *In Cape Dorset We Do It This Way: three decades of Inuit printmaking*. Kleinburg, Ont.: McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 1991.
- Brody, J. J. *Indian Painters and White Patrons*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1971.
- Bolz, Peter. "The Northwest Coast." In *Native American Modernism: art from North America: the collection of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin*, edited by Viola König and Peter Bolz, 77–103. Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2012.
- Brotherton, Barbara. *S'abadeb = The gifts: Pacific Coast Salish art and artists*. Seattle: Seattle Art Museum in association with University of Washington Press, 2008.
- . Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Seattle, February 28, 2014.
- Brown, Steve. "Formlines Changing Form: Northwest Coast Art as an Evolving Tradition." *American Indian Art Magazine* 22, no. 2 (1997).
- . In *Contemporary Coast Salish Art*, edited by Rebecca Blanchard and Nancy Davenport. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Bunn-Marcuse, Kathryn B. "Susan Point: Primacy and Perspective." In *Susan Point*:

- Spindle Whorl*, edited by Ian Thom and Susan Point, 63–70. London: Black Dog Press, 2017.
- Canadian Indian Marketing Services (Ontario). *Canadian Indian Arts and Crafts*. Ottawa: Canadian Indian Marketing Services, 1976.
- Canadian Museum of Civilization, ed. *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*. Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993.
- Carr, Emily. *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern*. Grange Park: Art Gallery of Toronto, 1928.
- Chapman, Rod. “Susan Point: Preserving Tradition.” *Galleries West*, April 30, 2004. <http://www.gallerieswest.ca/reviews/susan-point%3A-preserving-tradition/>.
- Clifford, James, and George E Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Cole, Douglas. *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2014.
- Conference on Native Indian Affairs, and B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society, eds. *Report of Conference on Native Indian Affairs at Acadia Camp: University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., April 1, 2 and 3, 1948, Sponsored by the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society, Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.* Vancouver: publisher not identified, 1948.
- Cook, Rande. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, October 15, 2015.
- Crosby, Marcia. “Making Indian Art ‘Modern.’” *Ruins in Process: Vancouver in the Sixties*. Accessed February 24, 2017. <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/essays/making-indian-art-modern>.
- . “Museums, Mentors, Merchants; Aboriginal Art in the 60s: Fine and Popular.” *Ruins in Process: Vancouver in the Sixties*. Accessed April 3, 2017. <http://aboriginalart.vancouverartinthesixties.com/mentors-and-merchants#theme-nav>.
- Cruikshank, Julie. “Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography: Perspectives from the Yukon Territory, Canada.” In *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*, edited by Nancy Shoemaker, 3–27. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Currie, Noel Elizabeth. *Constructing Colonial Discourse: Cook at Nootka Sound, 1778*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005. <http://www.myilibrary.com?id=286361&ref=toc>.

- David, Joe. Interview with India Rael Young. Transcription. Port Townsend, October 13, 2010.
- Davidson, Robert. *Discovering Haida Art: A Personal Journey*. Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2015.
- . Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Vancouver, February 20, 2015.
- Davidson, Robert, and Barbara Brotherton. *Robert Davidson: Abstract Impulse*. Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2013.
- Davidson, Robert, Karen Duffek, and Robert Houle. *Robert Davidson: The Abstract Edge*. Vancouver: UBC Museum of Anthropology, 2004.
- Davidson, Robert, Ian M Thom, Aldona Jonaitis, and Marianne Jones. *Robert Davidson, Eagle of the Dawn*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery; Douglas & McIntyre, 1993.
- Dawn, Leslie Allan, and Art Gallery of Greater Victoria. *The Northwest Coast Native Print*. Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1984.
- Dawson, Michael. *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004.
- Driver, Sarah. “Weaving Past into Present: Experiments into Contemporary Native American Printmaking.” *International Print Center New York*, n.d. http://www.ipcny.org/sandbox/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/WeavingPastintoPresent_Essay.pdf.
- Duff, Wilson, ed. *Histories, Territories and Laws of the Kitwancool*. Victoria: Don McDiarmid, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1960.
- Duffek, Karen. *A Guide to Buying Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Arts*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, 1983.
- . “The Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market.” University of British Columbia, 1985.
- . “Value Added: The NWC Art Market since 1965.” In *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas*, edited by Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Jennifer Kramer, and Ƙi-ƙe-in, 590–632. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013.
- Duffek, Karen, Susan A Point, and University of British Columbia. *New Visions, Serigraphs by Susan A. Point, Coast Salish Artist*. Vancouver: UBC Museum of Anthropology, 1986.

- Duffek, Karen, and Charlotte Townsend-Gault. *Bill Reid and Beyond: Expanding on Modern Native Art*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004.
- Duffy, Andrew. "Native-Art Branding Scheme Targets Knock-off Market." *Times Colonist*. October 8, 2014. <http://www.timescolonist.com/business/native-art-branding-scheme-targets-knock-off-market-1.1419979>.
- "Eagle Aerie Gallery - The Art of Roy Henry Vickers." *Eagle Aerie Gallery - The Art of Roy Henry Vickers* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <http://www.royhenryvickers.com/>.
- Ellis, Bill. *First Annual Collection 'Ksan: 1978 Original Graphics*. Vancouver: Children of the Raven Pub. Inc., 1978.
- "Exhibit Features Kwakwaka'wakw World View." *Campbell River Mirror*. September 12, 2007.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Fauntleroy, Gussie. "Back to the Future: David Robert Boxley." *Native Peoples Magazine* 19, no. 3 (June 5, 2006): 40–41.
- Feder, Norman. "Incised Relief Carving of the Halkomelem and Straits Salish." *American Indian Art Magazine* 8, no. 2 (1983).
- Fry, Aaron. "The northern traditional powwow clothing style and the United States Postal Service: a study in conflicting meanings." Thesis. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1999.
- Gessell, Paul. "Ottawa's 'other' Art Gallery: Exhibits at Carleton University Art Gallery Prove This Venue Is on the Cutting Edge." *The Ottawa Citizen; Ottawa, Ont.* June 9, 2001, sec. Going Out.
- Gilio-Whitaker, Dina. "Art by Any Other Name." *Native Peoples Magazine* 27, no. 1 (February 1, 2014): 44–49.
- Glass, Aaron. "Crests on Cotton: 'souvenir' t-Shirts and the Materiality of Remembrance among the Kwakwaka'wakw of British Columbia." *Museum Anthropology* 31, no. 1 (2008): 1–18.
- Glatthaar, Trisha Corliss. "Tom Price (c.1860-1927): The Art and Style of a Haida Artist." University of British Columbia, 1970.
- Godley, Elizabeth. "Artist's \$3,000 Book of Prints Sparks Collectors' Attention." *Vancouver Sun*. August 25, 1988.
- . "Indian Artists Now Command Top Prices." *Vancouver Sun*. July 16, 1988.

- . “Loving Master Presses on with Ancient Craft.” *Vancouver Sun*. August 19, 1989, sec. LEISURE.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York: Norton, 1981.
- Grant, Daniel. “Ink-Jet Art Runs Gamut from Low Brow to High Class.” *Baltimore Sun*. January 25, 1999. http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1999-01-25/entertainment/9901250193_1_giclee-ink-jet-prints-jet-printer.
- Gravari-Barbas, Maria, and Nelson H. H. Graburn. *Tourism Imaginaries at the Disciplinary Crossroads: Place, Practice, Media*. London: Routledge, 2016. <http://www.tandfebooks.com/isbn/9781315550718>.
- Grindlay, Lora. “Starting Your Own Collection.” *The Province*. August 1, 1996.
- Grundle, Lia. Interview with India Rael Young. Telephone call and email. Victoria, October 20, 2010.
- Gunther, Erna. *Art in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indians*. Seattle: Superior Pub., 1966.
- Haberland, Wolfgang. “Thunderbird and Killer Whale.” *American Indian Art Magazine* 5, no. 2 (1980).
- Hall, Edwin S. “The Marketing of a Tradition: The Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild,” 1980.
- Hall, Edwin S., and Margaret B. Blackman. “A Study of NWC Indian Serigraphs.” Seattle, 1979. Bill Holm Center, Burke Museum, University of Washington.
- . “Contemporary Northwest Coast Art: Tradition and Innovation in Serigraphy.” *American Indian Art Magazine* 6, no. 3 (1982): 54–61.
- Hall, Edwin S., Margaret B. Blackman, and Vincent Rickard. *Northwest Coast Indian Graphics: An Introduction to Silk Screen Prints*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.
- Halpin, Marjorie. *Cycles: the graphic art of Robert Davidson, Haida*. Vancouver: Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia Press, 1979.
- Hamilton, Ron/Ki-ke-in. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Port Alberni, August 2010.
- Hawker, Ronald William. *Tales of Ghosts: First Nations Art in British Columbia, 1922-61*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003.
- . *Yakuglas’ Legacy: The Art and Times of Charlie James*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

- Hawthorn, Audrey. "Mungo Martin, Artist and Craftsman." *The Beaver* 295, no. 2 (1964): 18–23.
- Hawthorn, Tom. "ART (TSA-QWA-SUPP) THOMPSON 1948-2003: Native Artist Bridged Traditional, Modern Survivor of Abuse in Residential School, His Works Became Prized and Displayed in Museums around the World." *The Globe and Mail (1936-Current)*; Toronto, Ont. June 4, 2003, sec. Obituaries.
- "Fine Art Works." *Susan Point* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <https://susanpoint.com/works/>.
- Holm, Bill. *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form, 50th Anniversary Edition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.
- Holm, Bill, and Bill Reid. *Indian Art of the Northwest Coast: A Dialogue on Craftsmanship and Aesthetics*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978.
- Hood, Maryl. "Map(ing): Multiple Artists Printing." *American Indian Art Magazine* 38, no. 4 (August 2013): 54–59.
- Hoover, Alan L. "Charles Edenshaw: His Art and Audience." *American Indian Art Magazine* 20, no. 3 (1995).
- . *Nuu-Chah-Nulth Voices, Histories, Objects, and Journeys*. Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2002.
- Hoover, Anna. "Sounding the Alarm Fashion STATEMENT: Native Artists Against Pebble Mine." *Hemisphere: Visual Art of the Americas* 6 (2013): 75–92.
- Houlihan, Patrick T. "Prints and the Indian Artist at the Heard Museum." *American Indian Art Magazine*. 4, no. 2 (1979).
- Howard, Cori. "A Foot in Both Worlds: Native Artist Susan Point Mixes Traditional Style, Modern Materials." *National Post*. November 16, 2000, sec. Arts & Life.
- Hunt, Richard. Formal conversation, July 19, 2010.
- Indian Art Centre (Canada), and National Museum of Man (Canada). *The Eye of the Dreamer: Heroes and Heroic Transformation in Northwest Coast Silkscreen Prints from the Collection of the National Museum of Man*. Thunder Bay, Ontario: Thunder Bay National Exhibition Centre and Centre for Indian Art, 1985.
- Inverarity, Robert Bruce. *Northwest Coast Indian Art: A Brief Survey*. Seattle: University of Washington, 1946.
- Jonaitis, Aldona. *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995.

- . *Art of the Northwest Coast*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.
- . *Review of Northwest Coast Indian Graphics: An Introduction to Silk Screen Printing, Edwin S. Hall*, by Edwin S. Hall, Margaret B. Blackman, and Vincent Rickard. *American Indian Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1984): 136–38. doi:10.2307/1184215.
- Jonaitis, Aldona, and American Museum of Natural History. *Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.
- Joseph, Robert. *Listening to Our Ancestors: The Art of Native Life along the North Pacific Coast*. Washington, DC: The National Geographic Society; Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 2005.
- Kramer, Jennifer. *Kesu: The Art and Life of Doug Cranmer*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2012.
- Large, R. Geddes, and Charlie George. *Soogwilis; a Collection of Kwakiutl Indian Designs & Legends*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951.
- Lattimer, Peter. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, June 26, 2014.
- Laurence, Robin. “Images beyond the Haida Fringe.” *Vancouver Sun*. August 7, 1993.
- LaVallee, Michelle. *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.: group of seven*. Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 2014.
- Lavoie, Judith. “Possible Changes to B.C. Law Reveal Divisions in First Nations.” *Times Colonist*. February 2, 2013. <http://www.timescolonist.com/news/local/possible-changes-to-b-c-law-reveal-divisions-in-first-nations-1.65454>.
- lessLIE. *Perpetual Salish*. Victoria: Legacy Art Gallery, University of Victoria, 2014.
- . Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, August 18, 2014.
- “Limited Edition Prints.” *Steinbrueck Native Gallery* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <http://www.steinbruecknativegallery.com>.
- Livingston, John. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, February 24, 2015.
- “Lyle Wilson: ‘Paint,’ Sept. 15, 2013, Bill Reid Gallery, Vancouver.” *Galleries West*, May 15, 2013. <http://www.gallerieswest.ca/artists/profiles/lyle-wilson%3A-%22paint%2C%22-to-sept.-15%2C-2013%2C-bill-reid-gallery%2C-/>.
- MacDonald, George. Interview with India Rael Young. Telephone call and email.

Victoria, September, 2014.

MacDonald, Robert. "At the Galleries." *Los Angeles Times*, December 26, 1986.
articles.latimes.com/1986-12-26/entertainment/ca-399_1_sunset-gallery.

Macnair, Peter L. *Life of the Copper: A Commonwealth of Tribal Nations*. Victoria: Alcheringa Gallery, 1994.

Macnair, Peter L, Alan L Hoover, and Kevin Neary. *The Legacy: Tradition and Innovation in Northwest Coast Indian Art*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984.

Macnair, Peter L, Robert Joseph, and Bruce Grenville. *Down from the Shimmering Sky: Masks of the Northwest Coast*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998.

Mallon, Sean. "Opinion: Why We Should Beware of the Word 'traditional.'" *Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa*, December 20, 2016.
<http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2016/12/20/opinion-why-we-should-beware-of-the-word-traditional/>.

Maracle, D. C. *Directory of Indian Arts and Crafts Producers and Buyers: Illustrated and Compiled from the Records of Canadian Indian Marketing Services*. Ottawa: Canadian Indian Marketing Services, 1979.

McCall, Sophie. *First Person Plural: Aboriginal Storytelling and the Ethics of Collaborative Authorship*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011.

McLennan, Bill, and Karen Duffek. *The Transforming Image: Painted Arts of Northwest Coast First Nations*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000.

McLerran, Jennifer. *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009.

McTavish, Doug. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Seattle, November 24, 2014.

Melot, Michel. *Prints: History of an Art*. New York: Rizzoli, 1981.

Monds, Elaine. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, April 5, 2013.

Monthan, Guy, and Doris Monthan. "Marvin Oliver, a Northwest Coast Artist." *American Indian Art Magazine* 3, no. 1 (1977).

Morin, Peter, Martine Jeanne Reid, and Mike Robinson. *Carrying on "Irregardless": Humour in Contemporary Northwest Coast Art*. Vancouver: Bill Reid Gallery of Northwest Coast Art, 2012.

Mortimore, G.E. "Indian Artist's Eloquent Plea Holds Commission Spellbound." *The Daily Colonist*. ND.

Native Art Prints by Lattimer Gallery. Accessed June 17, 2017.
<https://nativeartprints.com/>.

Neary, Kevin. *K'ulut'a and the Professor: The Friendship of Henry Hunt and Peter Smart*. Victoria: University of Victoria Art Collections, 2011.

Nelson, Bert. "The Artist and the Market." *The Indian as Artist*. Vancouver: Canadian Broadcasting Company, July 28, 1965. BC Archives.

Nemiroff, Diana, Robert Houle, and Charlotte Townsend-Gault. *Land, Spirit, Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1992.

Nicholson, Paul. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Seattle, March 24, 2014.

Nicol, Janet. "On Point: Art a Family Affair for Renowned Coast Salish Artist Susan Point." *Galleries West*, January 11, 2014.
<http://www.gallerieswest.ca/api/content/f8030472-6a84-11e3-a429-1231380a02d9/>.

"Northwest Coast First Nations Graphics (Paintings, Drawings, Serigraphs, Lithographs, and Etchings)." *Spirit Wrestler Gallery*. Accessed June 17, 2017.
http://www.spiritwrestler.com/catalog/index.php?cPath=3_12.

"Northwest Coast Graphics." *Inuit Gallery of Vancouver*. Accessed June 17, 2017.
<https://inuit.com/collections/northwest-coast-graphics>.

Northwest Coast Indian Artists: 1979 Graphics Collection. Toronto: Thompson Gallery Inc., 1979.

Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild. *Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, 1977 Graphics Collection*. Ottawa: Canadian Indian Marketing Services, 1977.

———. *Northwest Coast Indian Artists Guild, 1978 Graphics Collection*. Ottawa: Canadian Indian Marketing Service, 1978.

Nuytten, Phil. *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*. Vancouver: Panorama Publications, 1982.

———. Interview with India Rael Young. Telephone call. Victoria, April 9, 2012.

Oliver, Marvin. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording, May 7, 2014.

"The Inkameep Indian School." *Osoyoos & District Museum and Archives*. Accessed

June 13, 2017.

<http://osoyoosmuseum.ca/index.php/exhibits/collections/inkameep-day-school/about-the-inkameep-collection/16-exhibits/specialexhibits/inkameep/61-the-inkameep-indian-school.html>.

Ostrowitz, Judith. *Privileging the Past: Reconstructing History in Northwest Coast Art*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999.

Ottenberg, Simon. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Seattle, September 15, 2013.

“Paintings & Prints.” *Alcheringa Gallery* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <http://www.alcheringa-gallery.com/artworks/paintings-prints/shopby/classification-canada.html>.

Pai Buick, Kirsten. *Child of the Fire: Mary Edmonia Lewis and the problem of art history's Black and Indian subject*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Paul, Chris. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, February 10, 2016.

Peterson, Shaun. “Coast Salish Design: An Anticipated Southern Analysis.” In *In the Spirit of the Ancestors: Contemporary Northwest Coast Art at the Burke Museum*, edited by Robin Kathleen Wright and Kathryn B Bunn-Marcuse, 13–21. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.

———. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Seattle, March 20, 2014.

Petrescu, Sarah. “Keeping Old First Nation Stories Alive.” *Times Colonist*. June 5, 2016, sec. Islander.

Phillips, Ruth. “Formline Modern: The MacDonald Collection of Northwest Coast Graphic Art.” Curatorial essay. *Carleton University Art Gallery*. Accessed January 1, 2017. <http://cuag.carleton.ca/index.php/exhibitions/242/>.

———. “Why Not Tourist Art? Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations.” In *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, edited by Gyan Prakash, 98–125. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Phillips, Ruth B, and Christopher Burghard Steiner, eds. *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Platzker, David, and Elizabeth Wyckoff. *Hard Pressed: 600 Years of Prints and Process*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2000.

Point, Susan A, and Gary Wyatt. *Susan Point: Works on Paper*. Vancouver: Figure 1

Publishing, 2014.

- Ponnekanti, Rosemary. "Marvin Oliver's Colorful Native Northwest Screenprints on View at Handforth Gallery." *The News Tribune*, November 5, 2014. <http://www.thenewstribune.com/entertainment/arts-culture/article25891651.html>.
- Potter K., Kristin. "James Houston, Armchair Tourism, and the Marketing of Inuit Art," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by W. Jackson Rushing III. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Preston, Mark. Interview with India Rael Young. Telephone call. Victoria, April 22, 2015.
- "Print & Original | Douglas Reynolds Gallery." *Douglas Reynolds Gallery* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <http://www.douglasreynoldsgallery.com/categories/print-original>.
- "Printmaking." *Marika Echachis Swan* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <http://www.marikaswan.com/printmaking/>.
- "Prints." *Lattimer Gallery* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <https://www.lattimergallery.com/collections/prints>.
- "Prints." *Stonington Gallery* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <https://stoningtongallery.com/art-type/paintings-and-prints/prints/>.
- "Prints." *Chris Paul* (website). Accessed June 17, 2017. <http://chrispaul.ca/prints/prints1.htm>.
- "Prints and Paintings." Accessed June 17, 2017. http://www.thelegacyltd.com/Northwest-Coast-Native-American-Indian-Art-Seattle/Prints_and_Paintings.html.
- Purdie, James. "The Power of Concentrated Energies." *Globe and Mail*. June 17, 1978.
- Ravenhill, Alice. *A Corner Stone of Canadian Culture: An Outline of the Arts and Crafts of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia*. Victoria: Don McDiarmid, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1945.
- . *Folklore of the Far West: With Some Clues to Characteristics and Customs*. Victoria: British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society, 1953.
- . *The Native Tribes of British Columbia*. Victoria: Printed by C.R. Banfield, printer to the King, 1938.
- Richardson, Shelby. "Understanding Place in Culture – Serigraphs and the Transmission of Cultural Knowledge." Victoria: Legacy Art Gallery, University of Victoria, 2013. <http://uvac.uvic.ca/gallery/placeinculture/>.

- Rickard, Vincent. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, July 20, 2015.
- Riedel, Caroline. *Convergence/Divergence: Landscape and Identity on the West Coast*. Victoria: Legacy Art Gallery, University of Victoria, 2011.
<http://uvac.uvic.ca/gallery/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Book-1.pdf>.
- Rizzal, Clarissa. Interview with India Rael Young. Telephone call. Albuquerque, September 27, 2011.
- Rosenberg, Ann. "Raising the Profile of Native Art." *Vancouver Sun*. July 6, 1991.
- Roth, Solen. "Culturally Modified Capitalism: The Native Northwest Coast Artware Industry." Dissertation. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2013.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2429/43862>.
- Ryan, Allan. *The Trickster Shift: humour and irony in contemporary native art*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999.
- Sawyer, Jill. "Maynard Johnny Jr., 'Pacific Prints 2008,' Jan 8 to Feb 29, 2008, Alcheringa Gallery, Victoria." *Galleries West*, December 31, 2007.
<http://www.gallerieswest.ca/reviews/maynard-johnny-jr.%2C-%22pacific-prints-2008%2C%22-jan-8-to-feb-29%2C-2008%2C-alcheringa-gallery%2C-victoria/>.
- "Screen Prints 1970: The Art Institute of Chicago." *CN Gorman Museum* (website). Accessed January 13, 2017.
<http://gormanmuseum.ucdavis.edu/Exhibitions/exhfmst.htm>.
- Sheng, Angela. "Why Ancient Silk Is Still Gold: Issues in Chinese Textile History." Edited by Anne E. Wardwell, Morris Rossabi, and James C. Y. Watt. *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999): 147–68.
- Singletary, Preston. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Seattle, June 13, 2014.
- Smetzer, Megan Alice. "Assimilation or Resistance? : The Production and Consumption of Tlingit Beadwork." Dissertation. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2011.
<https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0100353>.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books, 1999.
- Smyth, George, and Christiane Smyth. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, December 16, 2014.
- Speck, Henry. *Kwakiutl Art*. Vancouver: B.C. Indian Designs, 1964.

- Stanbridge, Nicole. *Urban Thunderbirds: LessLIE, Dylan Thomas. Ravens in a Material World : Rande Cook, Francis Dick*. Victoria: Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 2013.
- Steinbrueck, Elizabeth. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Seattle, April 17, 2014.
- Steiner, Christopher. "Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetic of Seriality: The Work of Tourist Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, edited by Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, 87–103. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Steltzer, Ulli. *Indian Artists at Work*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1994.
- Sternberg, Harry. *Silk Screen Color Printing: Presenting a New Addition to the Graphic Arts--Serigraphy : A Demonstration and Explanation of the Process of Making "multiple Original" color Prints*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942.
- Stewart, Hilary, and Robert Davidson. *Robert Davidson, Haida Printmaker*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.
- Suttles, Wayne. "The Recognition of Coast Salish Art." In *S'abadeb = The gifts: Pacific Coast Salish art and artists*, edited by Barbara Brotherton. Seattle: Seattle Art Museum; University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Swan, Marika. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, May 25, 2016.
- Szabo, Joyce. *Imprisoned art, complex patronage: Plains drawings by Howling Wolf and Zotom at the Autry National Center*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 2011.
- . "From General Souvenir to Personal Momento: Fort Marion Drawings and the Significance of the Books." *Painters, Patrons, and Identity: Essays in Native American Art to Honor J. J. Brody*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2001.
- . "Native American Art History: Questions of the Canon." *Essays on Native Modernism: Complexity and Contradition in American Indian Art*. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 2006.
- Tall Chief, Russ. "Marvin Oliver: On Paper." *Native Peoples Magazine* 27, no. 3 (June 5, 2014): 56–57.
- Tallman, Susan. *The Contemporary Print: From Pre-Pop to Postmodern*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.

- “The Daily Colonist (1949-10-29).” *The Internet Archive* (website). Accessed April 24, 2017.
http://archive.org/stream/dailycolonist1049uvic_23#page/n9/mode/1up/search/welfare+society+indian+arts.
- Thom, Ian, and Susan Point. *Susan Point: Spindle Whorl*. London: Black Dog Press, 2017.
- Thomas, Dylan. “Sacred Geometry.” presented at the Alcheringa Gallery, Victoria, August 2016.
- Thrush, Coll. *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-over Place*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017.
- Tovell, Rosemarie L. *A New Class of Art: The Artist’s Print in Canadian Art, 1877-1920*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1996.
- Townsend-Gault, Charlotte, and Ki-ke-in. *Backstory: Nuuchaanulth Ceremonial Curtains and the Work of Ki-Ke-In*. Vancouver: Morris and Helen Art Gallery, 2010.
- Townsend-Gault, Charlotte, Jennifer Kramer, and Ki-ke-in. *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas*, 2013.
- Tueles, Nicholas, Leslie Allan Dawn, and Greg Bellerby. *Printmaking in British Columbia, 1889-1983*. Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, 1983.
- Venturi, Robert. *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966.
- Vickers, Roy Henry. *Beginnings: An Exhibition of the Silkscreen Prints and Carvings of Roy Henry Vickers*. Vancouver: U.B.C. Museum of Anthropology, 1977.
- . *Storyteller: The Art of Roy Henry Vickers, 2003-2013*, 2014.
- . Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Victoria, November 9, 2014.
- Vickers, Roy Henry, Raymond Yakeleya, and Bill Stewart. *Roy Henry Vickers*. Edmonton: Earth Magic Media, 2006.
- Walsh, Andrea. *Honouring Place, Honouring Self: The Art of Francis Dick in Retrospective*. Victoria: Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery, University of Victoria, 2000.
- Walsh, Anthony. *Native Designs of British Columbia*. Victoria: British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society, 1948.
- Watson, Scott. “Two Bears.” In *Bill Reid and Beyond: Expanding on Modern Native Art*, edited by Charlotte Townsend-Gault and Karen Duffek, 209–24. Vancouver:

Douglas & McIntyre, 2004.

Westra, Monique. "Digital Artmaking: Exploring the Artfulness of Giclée." *Galleries West*, December 31, 2002. <http://www.gallerieswest.ca/reviews/digital-artmaking%3A-exploring-the-artfulness-of-gicl%C3%A9/>.

"What the Heck Says Mr. Speck: The Chief Gives a Tootle for the Talents of Kwakiutl,." *Ruins in Process: Vancouver in the Sixties*, March 24, 1961. <http://vancouverartinthesixties.com/archive/161>.

'Wii Muk' willixw. *Heartbeat of the Earth: A First Nations Artist Records Injustice and Resistance*. Gabriola, B.C.; New Haven, CT: New Society Publishers, 1996.

Willard, Tania. *Unlimited Edition*. Kamloops: Kamloops Art Gallery, 2015. http://www.kag.bc.ca/docs/unlimited_edition.pdf.

———. Informal conversation with India Rael Young. Kamloops. March 5, 2014.

Willoughby, Charles C. "Hats from the Nootka Sound Region." *The American Naturalist* 37, no. 433 (1903): 65–69.

Wilson, Lyle. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Bellingham, May 18, 2014.

Wilson, Shawn. *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Pub., 2008.

Wong, Todd. "Cockburn Helps Haidas." *The Ubysey*, February 25, 1986.

Wray, Jacilee. *From the Hands of a Weaver: Olympic Peninsula Basketry through Time*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.

Wright, Robin. Informal conversation with India Rael Young. Seattle, October 2013.

Wright, Robin Kathleen, Kathryn B Bunn-Marcuse, and Shaun Peterson. *In the Spirit of the Ancestors: Contemporary Northwest Coast Art at the Burke Museum*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.

Wyatt, Gary. *Mythic Beings: Spirit Art of the Northwest Coast*. Netherlands: Craftsman House, 1999.

———. *Seekers and Travellers: Contemporary Art of the Pacific Northwest Coast*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.

———. Interview with India Rael Young. Audio recording. Vancouver, May 27, 2014.

Wyatt, Gary, and Michael Kew. *Susan Point: Coast Salish Artist*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre ; University of Washington Press, 2000.

- Young, David R. *Northwest Renaissance*. Burnaby: Burnaby Art Gallery, 1980.
- Young, India. "Inscriptions of Knowledge: Print Production of and by Northwest Coast Native Peoples." Chicago: Newberry Library, 2016.
- . "Momentum: The Ripple of Indigenous Art Activism from Idle No More." *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas*, 2014, 76–92.
- . "Re-Pressed: How Serigraphy Re-Envisions Northwest Coast Iconography." *ARTiculate* 1, no. 1 (2012): 39–54.
- . "We Poets, Philosophers, Serigraphers: Locating the Northwest Coast Indian Artist Guild within Indigenous Tradition." Research paper. Victoria: University of Victoria, 2011.
- Zavediuk, Melanie. Interview with India Rael Young. Telephone call. Seattle, February 6, 2015.