FROM COLONIAL TROPHY CASE TO NON-COLONIAL KEEPING HOUSE

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David Garneau

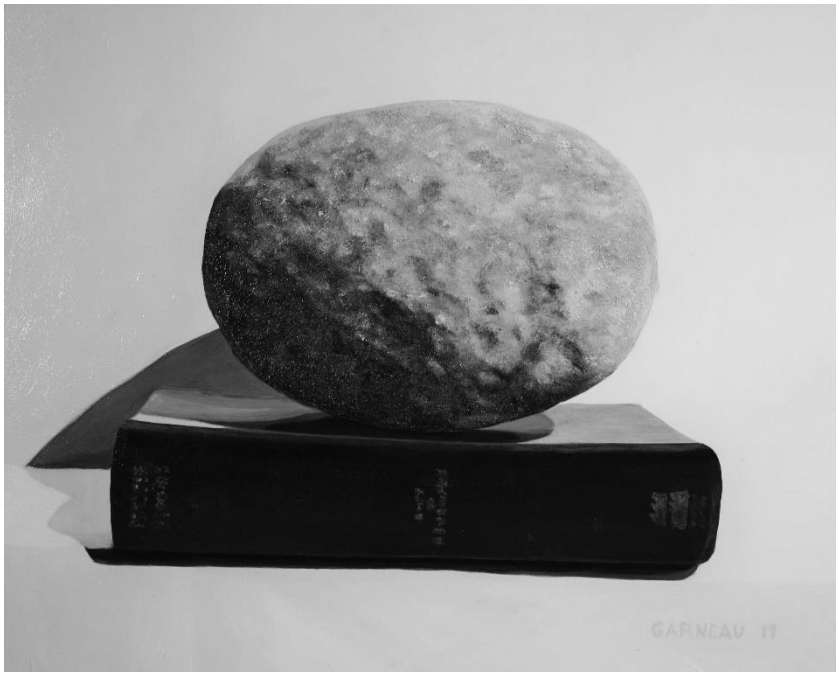

Figure 22.*1* David Garneau. "Indigenous Research Methodology (I)." Acrylic on masonite, 40 x 50 cm, 2019.

Source: Courtesy the artist.

My father, Richard Garneau,[i] loved science and local history. He took us, his five kids, to museums, planetariums, and historic sites throughout Alberta and British Columbia. When I was 10 (1972), we found a very unusual object newly installed in the Royal Alberta Museum (Edmonton): a smooth but dimpled slab of brown iron that seemed neither quite human-made nor natural. The museum card explained that it was a 4.5 billion-year-old meteorite battered into this enigmatic form by millennia by collisions with other meteorites. We marveled. Then my father's face darkened. The Iron Creek meteorite was not what it seemed; he explained, "Yes, it is what it is, but also something more." A Métis amateur historian, he recognized it as *Pahpamiyhaw asiniy*, the Manitou Stone—sacred to Cree, Dene, Blackfoot, and Métis. That it was held in a museum and classified as a geological specimen was not, he said, an error but a provocation to Aboriginal people. And it worked; he was upset. Until that moment it never occurred to me that museums did more than display artifacts and facts, that they are also political sites, and that they display some stories and displace others. As a teen, I frequented the museum on my own. It was close to home and free (until 1990). I often stole a touch of this sublime entity. It was a portal to the stars, a reminder of the unimaginable expanse of the universe and my fugitive existence. It was also a touchstone grounding me with our Métis history.

The passage of this sacred being that fell from the sky, from its recognition, naming, and veneration by Native peoples; to its objectification and confiscation by a missionary, its renaming and incarceration in a faraway colonial science and political center; to its eventual return to its territory but still misnamed and misused; and, finally, to having its name and status restored, rehoused in a sacred space co-managed by Indigenous and settler keepers, this is a story of how colonial trophy cases might yet transform into non-colonial keeping houses.

Museums, universities, and other sites of learning, if they are to become non-colonial, can no longer feature First Nations, Inuit, and Métis as subjects; they must engage us as agents. This means not only 'making' and 'holding space' for Indigenous people but also devising new protocols and practices that transform us all. While anti- and decolonial critique is essential work, these strategies tend to focus on deconstruction rather than production and to center settlers as the locus of development. While we need to know our intertwined histories, what has deformed us, what we are not, and what we do not want to be, lingering too long in critique is demoralizing and exhausting. We also need to be constructive. Non-colonial action means learning and using but not getting subsumed by anti-colonial critique. Non-colonial action focuses on productive engagement, especially the continuance of those pre-contact, traditional modes of knowing and being that arise from and suit the territory and times. But it is also the recognition that adaptation is essential to Creeness, Inuitness, Métisness, etc., and understanding the Indigenous as a new mode of being Native. Practicing non-colonial action includes not only Indigenous sovereignty but also true collaboration with non-Native people and institutions. Central to non-colonial action is the recognition that not everything or being that comes from Europe or elsewhere is toxic, and that not everything thought to be native to our territories is pure, unadulterated by colonial influence, or right for contemporary life. Native is not the opposite of European or any other identity. Non-colonial action is, however, a struggle toward a future without Settlers; that is, a future in which newcomers are in material and spiritual treaty with the land and the people who are its first stewards, a future in which colonial/patriarchal/racist/capitalist actions are inconceivable. Achieving a decolonized state while in a land still occupied by colonizers is an oxymoron. A territory is non-colonial not when settlers return home but when they find home *with* the territory. When guests are re-formed by respectful relationships with the land and its keepers, they are Settlers no more.

Critique is crucial to decolonization. Critical tools help us identify, understand, and dismantle repressive display cultures. But we also need constructive critical tools, which assist in construction post the deconstruction. We need speculative pictures of what a non-colonial society might look like if we are to evolve toward a productive future rather than revolve in a perpetually critical present. This paper considers the future of non-colonial museums as sites of Indigenous and non-Native collaboration and cultural conciliation.

Sublimation

Canadian colonial museums are among the places our recent ancestors went to learn how to be 'Cowboys and Indians,' Settlers, and Aboriginals.[ii] Evolving from curio cabinets to nation-building education centers, they were designed to perpetuate Euro-Canadian worldviews at the expense of the ways of knowing and being Indigenous to the territories they occupy. They did this not by ignoring First Nations, Inuit, and Métis but by sublimating them within Canadian and Humanist narratives.

To sublimate is "to change the form, but not the essence . . . psychologically, it means changing the means of expression from something base and inappropriate to something more positive or acceptable. The word *sublimate* comes from the Latin verb *sublimare*, which means 'to lift up' or 'raise' and which is also the ancestor of our *sublime*."[iii] In the Freudian sense, civilization is the sublimation of the natural aspect of human *nature*. For settler colonial states' civilizing institutions such as the Indian Residential School system, 'Indians' are as raw material needing refinement, to be made less coarse, more socially appropriate. But today—as Indigenous and decolonizing Settlers alike grow discontent with colonial, patriarchal, racist, anti-environment capitalism, recognizing that it is ill-suited to most people and ecosystems, and that Indigenous ways of knowing and being offer a more holistic civility—Canadian museums struggle to free themselves from their colonial carapace and cautiously approached Indigeneity.

Among the ways museums sublimated First Nations was by collecting their most beautiful and interesting things and stories, editing and freeze-drying them. Colonial curators cured, and they preserved. They exhibited and celebrated a select, 'authentic,' and dead Indianess in order to delegitimize and eventually repress the possibility of contemporary Indigeneity.

The colonial purpose of still-life displays of First Nations glory prior to catastrophic contact is first, to establish settlement as total, and second, to demonstrate that the survivors are not what they once were. The implied story goes: "Diluted by European blood and Modernity, Aboriginal people are not really native Natives anymore, and unreal Indians are un-entitled to treaty, land, and sovereignty. Not-quite-Aboriginals are just another minority group; more coloured tiles in our cultural mosaic." Colonialism always has the land in mind, the conversion of Native territory into Settler property.

For decorum's sake, the shift from Imperialism to Settler colonialism necessitated finer forms of state violence. Outright murder, internment, and starvation were out of vogue by the late 19th century. More discrete forms of aggressive assimilation were needed so as not to upset the finer Settlers as they went about their settling. Indian residential schools did their part by separating children from their families, language, culture, parenting skills, and land knowledge—and returning them to community as traumatized strangers. While Imperial collections seized, hoarded, and displayed First Nations, Inuit, and Métis belongings as the spoils of invasion, Settler museums prefer to mystify Native people so that they might be softened up for assimilation and be suitable foils for Settler superiority. The point was to confuse and quell First Peoples, to keep us from active dissent, from full remembering who we are, and from resisting dispossession.

A primary method used in the cultural and intellectual disenfranchisement of Native people was the training of Indian experts. Not Indians as experts but Settlers who became expert in Indians. Before invasion, of course, we were our own authorities. The rise of the White Indian expert required not only the actual separation of Aboriginal people from their better belongings but also the transfer of knowledge from brown bodies to white. Colonizers, then Settlers, not only seized and controlled the best Native creations they could capture but also mined meaning from their makers and keepers. They hunted for stories—the remaining property these people had to trade for their survival. Indian experts then cabineted these edited things within their own worldview, casting them as either akin or alien in relation to the White center. Colonial museums established White European masculine or patriarchal values and bodies at the hub of the new entity called Human, or later, Man, and the Aboriginal, among many others, were placed in a relative orbit depending on how much Hu*man*ity they had—as determined by these experts.

Perhaps I am exaggerating, a little, but this is what these places can feel like from an Indigenous point of view, one tuned to recognize complicity in the Settler colonial hegemony. In fact, in practice, museums are messy. Their agendas can differ from the visions of their collectors and founders. They can offer exceptions and resistances to Settler colonialism. They often show more admiration for Native creators than I am so far permitting. It is a complex fascination, combined with a sense of justice that has routinely troubled hegemonic apprehension. This desire has resulted in genuine contacts, even partnerships—especially the museum's recent discovery of the Indigenous as Contemporary[iv]—that necessitates the reforms many of us now strive to achieve.

Rocks and Stones, Naming, Unnaming

The Manitou Stone originally rested on a hill near Iron Creek/Battle River in what is now called east central Alberta. People who trekked near detoured to pray with it. The Stone's full meaning and use are not mine to share, but it is no secret that the face you see in the profile is that of the Creator. Also public[v] is the prophecy that if the Stone were disturbed, disasters would follow. Knowing this, in 1866, a Methodist minister, George McDougall, abducted it. Calamity ensued. The Cree and Blackfoot warred. The railroad, Settlers, waves of smallpox, alcohol, and the cash economy all swept in. The center of Plains livelihood and spirituality, the bison, were hunted to near extinction. Then came the Northwest Resistances and military invasions, dispossession, internment on reserves, the Pass system, colonial law, dishonored treaties, legislated starvation, bans on ceremony and regalia, Indian Residential Schools, the adopting out of children to White families, disproportionate incarceration—the relentless campaign to annihilate First Nations, Inuit, and Métis languages, cultures, sovereignty, and bodies.

Before sending the Manitou Stone to an Ontario museum, McDougall brought it to Lac Ste. Anne. A hundred kilometers northwest of Fort Edmonton, the Nakota knew it as *Wakame* (God's Lake), and the Cree called it as *Manitou Sakhahigan* (Lake of the Spirit). The Hudson's Bay Company, mistaking the lake's 'spirit' for a monster, called it Devil's Lake. In 1844, Father Jean-Baptiste Thibault founded the first Catholic mission there to serve the already Catholic Métis and to convert the local 'Indians.' The lake was long sacred to the Cree when he appropriated and renamed it in honour of Jesus' grandmother. It is the site of an annual pilgrimage for thousands

of Cree, Blackfoot, Dene, and Métis. I have been several times. While the services are recognizable to Roman Catholics, the site incorporates numerous Indigenous spiritual practices.

Why did McDougall bring the Manitou Stone to *Manitou Sakhahigan*? Did he try to harness its sacred/symbolic power as Thibault did with the lake? I know of no account of its display or reception there. My feeling is that this was his intent but that the Stone was too powerful to be appropriated by a Christian narrative while it remained in the territory of its most potent meanings. The only option within his imaginary was to banish it. McDougall exiled the Stone east, first to alma mater, Victoria University in Cobourg, Ont., then to Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum where it remained until 1972. Removing the Manitou Stone from the site of its meaning was devastating, and McDougall's ontological transformation of it from the sacred to the scientific, from a stone to a rock, was diabolical.

To geologists, a rock is a mineral aggregate existing in nature. Stones are that same material but altered by people.[vi] Stone walls are made from rocks. Stones are rocks altered by human hands and intention. We refer to the Stone Age rather than the Rock Age as a way of indicating a tool-making era. Rocks pressed into human service become Stonehenge rather than Rockhenge. A rock garden is an arrangement of stones trying to pass for nature.[vii]

Legal scholar and philosopher Leroy Little Bear explains that in the Blackfoot worldview, everything—from rotating galaxies to vibrating atoms—is in motion, animated.[viii] Indigenous people of the Plains have respect for rocks, called grandfathers, because while everything is in flux—time and motion relative—these relatives are more stable, less mutable than, say, plants, animals, and people. Such an ancient meteorite, a singular space traveler, then, has an even richer level of being.

To call the Manitou Stone a 'stone' indicates its rank above mere rocks. It means that it participates in human intention. And to give it a name suggests that it has an even greater elevation. We don't give just anything a name. Names confer status, Arthur Danto explains.[ix] One of the few sure qualities, for example, separating works of art from other things is a title: artworks are entitled to titles; mere real things are not. We name our pets; the same animal in the lab gets a number. And animals we eat also go unnamed. The ontological elevation that naming implies can include the confirmation (in the Catholic sense) that the named thing has a metaphysical quality. So, to not only name this stone but to give it such an illustrious one, 'Manitou' ('spirit'), indicates that it has being that participates in and exceeds the human.

George McDougall deliberately used science to wage spiritual war. By removing the Manitou Stone to a museum, this man of spirit intended to desacralize it; materialize it; strip it of its real (Indigenous) name, context, and meanings; and convert it into a scientific object, an exceptional but mere real thing. It is not hard to see the resemblance between these actions and what happened to Aboriginal people who were unnamed, renamed, and separated from the places where they had their meaning.

Every culture circulates around a set of objects and spaces that are beyond property and trade.[x] They are national treasures, sacred sites, and texts, the tactile symbols that constitute a community's gravitational center. These things, their protection, and amplification through rituals define the society and hold its large and infinitesimal fragments in orbit. The colonial attitude—the state of mind required to assume control over the space, bodies, objects, trade, and imaginaries of others—begins by refusing the living, relational value of these entities.

This is done in one of two ways. First, the colonist refuses the sacred character of a thing/being or site because it derives from a metaphysical system that it rejects in favor of its own cosmology—a competing religion, science, or other narrative. Second, in a recent and more sensitive version, materialist Settler scholars recognize an object's value *for believers* but not for themselves. Because of their objectivist creed, materialist scholars cannot *know* the essential, sacred qualities of these entities from within the believers' lived experience. For example, you can read many wonderful books about Aboriginal art by non-Indigenous writers and receive anthropological insights and learn about the history, sociology, economics, political meanings, and occasionally the aesthetics of these works, but it is rare for such texts to include subjective engagement with Indigenous objects. Narratives about how one feels with these things, how one "was moved, touched, taken to another place, momentarily born again,"[xi] as bell hooks describes the aesthetic experience, are either not included because not experienced or, more likely, excluded because such confessions lie outside of the objectivist discourse of these disciplined texts. Such writings keep the first person (the author) at a distance from the First Nations artwork. hooks considers the failure of white critics to appreciate African American artist Jean-Michel Basquiat's work. She argues that if they are "unmoved, they are unable to speak meaningfully about the work."[xii] The 'meanings'

she alludes to are those felt values, communal affects, and metaphysical knowing that lie beyond material(ist) meanings.

No Native person would have thought to protect the Manitou Stone from theft because they were not yet inhabited by Western capitalist materialism. They could not conceive of a mind that could justify taking a sacred thing that belonged to no one but the territory. When the metaphysical qualities of sacred objects are actively *un*recognized as essential properties, these objects suddenly become mere things and become available for appropriation by the dominant narratives and their institutions. In the case of the Manitou Stone, Indigenous spiritual meanings and stewardship were displaced by a materialist narrative, which then transformed something sacred into a mere object, which could then be made a (scientific) possession.

It is important to note that this reconceptualization only works if the threat of force supports re-storying. Nineteenth-century Prairie priests and ministers were legends, at least in the legends written about them. Many were said to possess great powers of persuasion. But it is clear that their authority was not so much spiritual as it was dramatic irony; they knew a tsunami of Setter migration and Indigenous dispossession was coming—they were its vanguard.

In 1972, the Manitou Stone was returned to its homeland, but not to its original custodians, and not as a sacred object. It was transferred to the Royal Alberta Museum and as a geological specimen. This was a provocation to Native people. It was a test for their assimilation. If First Nations and Métis people did not complain, it meant that the work of erasure and re-education was effective; the people had forgotten who they were. And if they recognized the red flag but did nothing, it meant they remained cowed by colonial power. In either case, the display does its work. In fact, people did notice. They bided their time.

Non-colonial Action

Unlike Imperialists who were out to loot and bring the goods home, Settlers wanted to stay. To do this they needed stories and displays that acknowledged their (ancestors') crimes, stories that admit but not necessarily atone. The goal was to make current Settler presence ethically tolerable. You can't look at your children in the eyes, and enjoy the land and its spoils, without a suitable story. You need tales of duty, bravery, or at least survival, necessity, and ignorance to blanket individual fear and collective greed; a narrative that includes but exceeds you. Such displays are about Natives without including them.

In this second stage of colonial self-narrative, tales of conquest give way to displays of benevolence and assimilation. Native bodies were contained and corrected, the story goes—for their own good. Native lands not already propertied were made into parks, community pastures, and other preserves—for the greater good. And Native possessions are collected and hoarded to preserve a vestige of who these people once were—for posterity, appropriated under the narratives of 'science' and 'humanity,' new names for old European gods who hunger for beautiful objects and tokens of what they desire or fear. Colonial Settler narratives are of terrible but inevitable actions leading to a complex but better present. Beneath it all, these stories and displays reinforce Settler rights to remain and to absorb what they displaced into Canada's story.

The children of colonizers, now Settler colonialists, needed these stories in order to live with themselves and to settle somewhat more comfortably on these lands. Stories laid like blankets on the blood-stained earth. Science stories—anthropology, ethnology, including race theories—are paternal narratives constituting a seemingly humane, but pernicious form of invasion, slowed, controlled, and less visible than the bloody violence of the great grandfathers. You can read the giddy excitement in the written voices of Settlers when individual First Peoples adopted western clothing, words, and religions; the knowing sadness when they did it imperfectly; and the astonishment, the incredulity when Natives would not take the European yoke, did not become bettered in the proper way; when education did not kill the Indian in the man—child, really. Their stories were blinding. Those who did not assimilate, or remained too dark, became scapegoats—foils of civilization.

We are all now waking up to the sins of our fathers and mothers, stirring to the complexity of our inheritance, feeling the blood seep through the blankets. In Canada, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has shocked Settlers and Indigenous alike not only to the murky wrongs imbedded in the Indian Residential Schools but also the deep consequences of the Indian act and other decrepit stories and how they continue to shape us all.

Our current, third narrative cycle of colonization is characterized by an awareness of the impossibility of holding onto these past stories but our being not quite sure how to compose new ones when the interested nature of such narratives is impossible to overcome. One path, a non-colonial one, is to abandon colonial strategies

altogether, and to engage living Native people, to collaborate person-to-person, to try new ways grounded in the spirit of the treaties.

Most arrangements between Native people and Settler museums and scholars that are called collaborations turn out to be consultations or employment. The dominant party gets information and an imprimatur, and the informant gets a job. True collaborations, however, are partnerships in which both parties *and* their methodologies are disturbed. Collaborations engender the creation of new, co-created, and shared knowledge. Non-colonial keeping houses are shared display territories where Settler and Indigenous peoples collaborate to produce creative exhibitions that struggle with and trouble each other's inherited histories, belongings, and paradigms.

Non-colonial museums take as axiomatic that these territories, by right of prior occupation, belong to its First Peoples whose relationship to territory is not translatable as property, and therefore not extinguishable by exchange, purchase, or occupation. Non-colonial keeping houses are shared Indigenous and Settler spaces that recognize the sovereignty of Natives as Peoples—membership is a matter of self-determination (the People recognize its members). Non-colonial keeping houses lead Indigenous/Settler conciliation by example. They prepare the ground for non-colonial futures by sharing tangible truths about our entangled histories, display our ways prior to and despite invasion, and model non-colonial collaboration through curatorial and community relationships.

In 1997, the Royal Alberta Museum listened to the original keepers of that territory and moved the *Pahpamiyhaw asiniy*/Manitou Stone from the geology display to the Aboriginal Gallery. Since then representatives of several local First Nations have demanded that it leave the museum—but to go where? Chris Robinson, executive director of the museum, explained, "We recognize that it certainly isn't ours." Thirty First Nations were consulted. Most objected to it going to any one First Nation; it was a resident of the land and not a Nation. Vincent Steinhauer, the president of Blue Quill First Nations College in St. Paul, Alberta, said the Stone should be in Indigenous care. "One thing the elders in consultations were very clear about was that the stone belongs to all First Nations, not to one. That's why there's been no resolution about who we would return it to," he said. The Royal Alberta Museum moved to a new building in 2018. The Stone now has its own space, "a special room, suitable for ceremonies."[xiii]

The Manitou Stone was never owned or kept by anyone. Like the land it rested on, all shared it. It lay in a field where it fell. People visited it. No one conceived the Stone as property and so could not imagine its theft. It took a different imaginary, an alien narrative to re-conceive the Stone as geology and abduct it with a clear conscience.

Most Indigenous people involved in repatriation agree that bodies and recognized sacred objects should be returned to community and sometimes to the earth. But many also agree that some things are best cared for in museums, especially when it includes Indigenous stewardship. While I am most interested in sovereign Indigenous display territories, there are objects, relations, and moments such as these where international collaboration is the best solution.

Non-colonial museums are how we answer questions such as: What do Settlers do with heritage museums when they lose faith in the colonial narratives that established them? What do you do with First Peoples' belongings when the reasons for collecting and displaying them are no longer credible? Non-colonial action steps out of the binary of assimilation or isolationism, of either holding fast to these belongings[xiv] or just giving them back.

Similarly, while many Aboriginal objects were produced for trade, or given as gifts, others were not, were plundered and ought to be returned. The non-colonial museum centers living people. It recognizes that non-trade, once-were-artefacts-now-belongings belong in the care of community and/or Indigenous keepers either in our own sovereign display territories or in co-managed keeping houses. In any case, Native people should steward Native belongings.

I take as axiomatic that patriarchal, racist, anti-environmental capitalism, and those histories, habits, and ideas we clot under the words *western* and *colonial*, has the nature of an illness, and that Native ways of knowing and being are medicines, antidotes for this disorder. We, Native or not, are compelled to center First Nations, Inuit, Metis, and Indigenous, not out of guilt, deference, or an expression of multi-cultural inclusion, and not only because it is the just thing to do, but because we recognize it as better ways of knowing and being in these territories, more healthful than dominant culture habits that humiliate the Native, dehumanize the majority, and degrade the ecosphere.

Museum as Hoard

Let's consider one symptom. Colonial museums are hoards. A hoard is a mass of things collected and secreted away by people who feel the objects are valuable. They get a feeling of power from the piles even when the hoard has little meaning or value for others. Eventually, the stacks develop lives of their own. They become pernicious beings that distort the hoarder's life and the lives of the hoard's inheritors. Problems arise when the reason for collecting, the precipitating ontology, takes second place to maintaining the hoard, or, trouble grows in the other direction when the will that directs the collecting and collection becomes compulsive and moribund and overwhelms the needs of the living. Finally, the cancerous collection puts so much stress on its container such that few new things can be added. Such a hoard embodies the will of an ancestor and chokes the lives of the living. Such a museum is a necropolis, a city for the dead.

Non-colonial museums are based on Native ontologies. They respect the ancestors, the healthy ones, who guide us, but we do not suffer the dead weight of the ill deceased who desire corporeal immortality. The happy dead want to be remembered and wish their collective wisdom and stories to live, but they do not mean to burden us with their things, their individual desires made concrete.

While the Imperial museum collects to prove dominion, colonial museums, that is, museums on Indigenous territory made by Settlers for Settlers, hoard as proof of presence. Their piles are tent pegs creating a feeling of weight, attempting to secure their contingent occupation. Indigenous people who are at home with the land are in less need of such piles, property, and proofs. They traverse lightly. Their presence is storied in and with country, our reservoir of being and meaning.

Hoarding is an unhealthy emotional attachment to material things. It is an illness of colonial capitalism. Perhaps Settler psychology is such that people project on to things as if they were empty vessels and then cannot let them go because they identify with them a non-critical and non-relational way. The original Plains people did not hoard because they were mobile and were mobile because they did not hoard. Because they know everything as animate, their relation is not *to* inanimate things but *with* animate relations. People in the Indigenous mode recognize things as animate relations rather than possessions, not possessing and possessed by.

Museums, then, are non-colonial, are Indigenized, when they place the needs of living people before preserved possessions. When they recognize that their inherited hoards are not inanimate things but desires made firm and that some of those desires are healthier than others. Some need curatorial care; others need to be released.

I would like to close by reiterating my point about collaborations. Non-colonial collaboration is a partnership in which both parties and the systems they represent are disturbed by the encounter. Currently, most Indigenous/Settler encounters are characterized by unequal power relations and results. Too often, non-Native experts 'consult' with Natives as subjects rather than as Indigenous peers. To be non-colonial is to defer to living Aboriginal people in tribal matters. However, to be Indigenous is to consider non-Native modes and tools to see if it might be made Indigenous. Non-colonial collaborations are characterized by respectful trying, and the measure of their success cannot be determined by settler collaborators.

Notes

[i] Richard ("Dick") Garneau (1937–2015), http://metis-history.info/author.shtml.

[ii] In this location, I am using the term *Aboriginal* ironically, to refer to the type of Native persons preferred by colonial institutions. I use traditional, or First Nations, to refer to people who are not assimilated by settler culture, or at least that part of a person or people that may be influenced but is not overwhelmed by settler culture. While 'Indigenous' has recently replaced 'Aboriginal,' I believe it is more than a synonym for 'Aboriginal' but also refers to a new type of Native being, one that is connected with other Indigenous peoples around the world, desires to reconnect with traditional life ways and adapt them to or to use them to transform the contemporary world.

[iii] *Merriam Webster Dictionary of English online*, 'sublimate,' accessed February 2016, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sublimate.

[iv] I am referring here to the idea that to be 'contemporary' simply means to be living in the present time, whereas to be 'Contemporary' is to participate in a set of international cultural discourses and practices that define our historical

moment (roughly, since 1989) as the period following 'Modern.' Terry Smith, *What Is Contemporary Art?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Also see Ian McLean, "Names," in *Double Desire: Transculturation and Indigenous Contemporary Art*, edi. Ian McLean (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 15–29. According to McLean, 'contemporary Indigenous art' is art made by Aboriginal people living at the present time, while 'Indigenous Contemporary art' is art made by Indigenous persons who are consciously participating in Contemporary cultural discourses that exceed their traditional ones.

[v] Accessed February 2017, http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/first-nations-college-calls-for-return-of-sacred-meteorite-from-alberta-museum.

[vi] D. G. A Whitten and J. R. V. Brooks, *The Penguin Dictionary of Geology* (London: Penguin Books, 1987). "Rock. (1) To the geologist any mass of mineral matter, whether consolidated or not, which forms part of the Earth's crust . . . (2) The civil engineer regards rock as something hard, consolidated, and/or load bearing, which, where necessary, has to be removed by blasting. This concept also accords with the popular idea of the meaning of the word. Stone. In geology the word *stone* is admissible only in combinations such as limestone, sandstone, etc., or where it is used as the name for extracted material—building stone, stone road. It should not be used as a synonym for rock or pebble."

[vii] This paragraph and the next are adapted from: The following three paragraphs are adapted from: David Garneau, "Rocks, Stones, and Grandfathers," *Rocks, Stones, and Dust*, John Hampton, curator and ed., 2015. Exhibition Catalogue, http://rocksstonesdust.com/#writing.

[viii] In conversation at the Banff Centre for the Arts, February 2016. Also, accessed February 2017, www.youtube.com/watch?v=gJSJ28eEUjI.

[ix] Arthur Danto, *The Transfiguration of the Commonplace: A Philosophy of Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

[x] The following two paragraphs are adapted from David Garneau, "Imaginary Spaces of Conciliation and Reconciliation: Art, Curation, and Healing," *Arts of Engagement: Taking Aesthetic Action in and Beyond the Truth and Reconcilliation Commission of Canada* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2016).

[xi] bell hooks, "Altars of Sacrifice: Re-membering Basquiat" (1993) in *Art on My Mind: Visual Politics* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 35–48.

[xii] Ibid.

[xiii] Paula E. Kirman Sweetgrass (Edmonton) VOl. 20; issue #6, 2013, www.ammsa.com/publications/alberta-sweetgrass/consultation-process-continue-repatriation-manitou-stone, accessed August 8, 2012, http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/first-nations-college-calls-for-return-of-sacred-meteorite-from-alberta-museum.

[xiv] I owe this powerful phrase, 'Indigenous belongings,' to a conversation I had with the Musqueam curator and anthropologist Jordan Wilson. The phrase is an effort to see, what, from a colonial view, is an artifact in a collection (theirs), to, for example, Musqueam belongings currently in the collection of another. The idea is that cultural objects are always the property of their maker owners, not only the individual human vessels that produced the object but also the culture and territory that precede and inform the materials the work is made from and the cultural form it takes.