

des messages de force et de résilience parsèment la fin du parcours, avec des œuvres comme *The Essential Sensuality of Ceremony* (2002), *Surrender, Nothing, Always* (2004), *Unbury My Heart* (2000) ou encore *Resting with Warriors* (2001).

Juste avant la sortie de la galerie, la peinture *The Weapon* (2021), dont le premier plan représente une main levée tenant une aiguille enfilée d'une perle rouge, semble ici agir autant comme un clin d'œil à l'exposition *Perler, radicalement*, située à l'étage supérieur, qu'au recours au perlage chez l'artiste. Car s'il est une technique qui traverse l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Shelley Niro, c'est bien celle-ci. On en trouve des exemples tout au long de l'exposition, dont les œuvres en trois dimensions comme les « lits » pour pierres, *1779* (2017), ou encore *Thinking Caps* (1999), qui rend hommage à la longue tradition du perlage chez les femmes haudenausonee. Mais le perlage est également présent de façon plus subtile et symbolique dans certaines peintures, sous forme de motifs en pointillés comme dans *Waitress* ou *Continuing the Journey* (2014). Dans de nombreuses œuvres photographiques, la référence au perlage est cette fois intégrée au dispositif d'encadrement : des motifs percés en lignes pointillées dans les passe-partout de la majorité des œuvres photographiques des années 1990; des tissus perlés bordant *Time Travels through Us, My Girls* (2002) ou *Chiquita* (2002); ou encore des wampums qui entourent les photographies dans *La Pietà* (2007) ou *Ghosts, Girls and Grandmas* (2004).

Avec *The Weapon*, l'artiste suggère que le perlage est une arme politique qui, en perpétuant la tradition, constitue un vecteur de changement. On comprend alors l'acception politique sous-tendue par le terme « radical » du titre de l'exposition à l'étage supérieur. Mais, au-delà de cette signification politique, les deux expositions nous rappellent également que le terme « radical » renvoie à la nature fondamentale des choses. *Perler, radicalement* et *Shelley Niro: 500 Year Itch* montrent que l'acte de création radical part toujours du cœur, et se fonde sur un investissement profond et complet de l'artiste envers son œuvre et envers le monde.

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Old Town, New Approach

Royal BC Museum, Victoria
July 29, 2023–ongoing

/Friederike Landau-Donnelly,
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On July 29, 2023, the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM) in Victoria opened its third floor exhibition *Old Town, New Approach*.¹ Depicting the province's early settler-colonial history, the show refashioned *Old Town*, an earlier exhibition that opened in the 1970s and ran for over fifty years with little change.² Both iterations were immersive, guiding visitors through a series of built environments, including shop fronts, a hotel, a theatre, an apothecary, and a train station, each addressing practices of everyday life, trade, and culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The 1970s version of *Old Town* was immensely popular (the BC Minister of Tourism, Arts, Culture and Sport, Lana Popham, used the term “beloved” to describe it) but also drew deep criticism for being culturally insensitive and for presenting internally diverse cultural groups as monolithic.³

The revisions to the exhibition came about as part of the museum's larger strategy to revise gallery spaces to be more “relevant, inclusive, and engaging,”⁴ as well as being a response to internal and external calls for change. Most prominently, in July 2020 Head of the First Nations Department and Repatriation, Lucy Bell, a member of the Haida Nation, resigned, calling out the museum for numerous instances of targeted and systemic racism.⁵ Though the museum had committed itself to reconciliation in 2019, it was clearly falling short, as found by an independent diversity and inclusion consultant hired by the museum, who concluded that the institution was a “dysfunctional and toxic workplace, characterized by a culture of fear and distrust.”⁶ The independent report led to the resignation of CEO Jack Lohman in February 2021 and forced the RBCM into a position of self-reckoning that resulted, three months later, in a commitment to change. The museum issued a statement: “over the years, our organization has made people feel unwanted, disrespected and unheard. We are sorry. We will do better.”⁷ The *Old Town* exhibition became a key site for

the museum's renewal. Importantly, at the time of its opening in 2023, *Old Town, New Approach* was purposely a work in progress. Overhauling the exhibition will be ongoing and take place over many years, with at least some of the consultation and processes of renewal incorporated into the changing displays and made transparent to visitors through extensive didactics.

In light of the long-smouldering issues at the RBCM,⁸ we examine *Old Town, New Approach* in its opening moment to ask: can an exhibition steeped so deeply in colonial assumptions be transformed into a platform that holds space for difference and difficult histories? As white scholars from different disciplines who do not live in British Columbia, we feel it is not for us to adjudicate whether the museum's efforts at reconciliation and decolonization were/are successful. Rather, we focus on how the unfinished nature of the exhibition potentially offers a generative opening for discussion by foregrounding a plurality of voices, while simultaneously refusing to disregard settler responsibilities towards self-education. The partially complete displays in *Old Town, New Approach*, we suggest, lead to the haunting of the exhibition by its own past. In turn, this presents an opportunity to engage audiences through presenting the exhibition as a constantly changing work in progress that reflects the museum's own process of self-reckoning.⁹

To understand *Old Town, New Approach*, it is necessary to acknowledge the larger circumstances leading up to this new exhibition at the RBCM. Nearly simultaneous with Bell's resignation and calls for change at the museum, challenges with regard to the physical state of the RBCM's building came to a head. The museum required seismic upgrades due to its location in an earthquake-prone zone. It also contained "hazardous materials like asbestos and lead, [was] inaccessible to people with disabilities and structurally insufficient to maintain its current collection or host major exhibits."¹⁰ In May 2022, a massive \$789-million investment from the British Columbia government was announced "to build a safer, more inclusive and accessible modern building." The building plan foregrounded partnerships with local First Nations on the project team and promised to "ensure modern accessibility standards ... [and remove] physical, sensory

and cultural barriers," as well as encouraging sustainability in terms of construction and lowered greenhouse gas emissions; extensive consultations were planned to bring "the people's museum into the twenty-first century."¹¹ The remit specifically responded to the independent report in noting that the "museum's design will support Indigenous territory recognition and incorporate ceremonial, cultural, and celebratory spaces," and included supportive statements from host nations including Songhees Nation and Esquimalt Nation, and the BC Minister of Indigenous Relations and Reconciliation.¹²

While it seemed that the RBCM had found a well-funded pathway to deal with the challenges of the past two years and to effectively start over, a little over a month later, Premier John Hogan suspended the plan, calling it the "wrong decision at the wrong time" and acknowledging public outcry against the cost of the rebuild.¹³ The RBCM entered a liminal state, closing many of its galleries, engaging in extensive consultation, and scrambling for funds to secure its future. Work on *Old Town New Approach* had continued in the background, and when it opened a year later, the rebuild was still suspended, and much of the museum, including the massive First Peoples' Gallery (formerly the site for the museum's display of its extensive collection of Indigenous belongings) and the remainder of the museum's Modern History Wing remained closed as a result of ongoing engagement and consultation with Indigenous communities.¹⁴ It was in this context of reflection and transformation that we visited the RBCM in 2023.

At the time of our visit in October, 2023, we entered *Old Town, New Approach* obliquely, through a door that led out of a travelling exhibition from the Field Museum dedicated to Tyrannosaurus Rex.¹⁵ In this review, as we approach the space, we switch to present tense to replicate our own first impressions.

In front of us is a small, dark, and quiet space, with walls covered in vinyl wallpaper meant to mimic a red brick wall. A lime green placard with a red label introduces the exhibition:

In January 2022, we closed the entire third floor to make some long-overdue changes to the narratives shared within the galleries. The exhibitions in these galleries will



/fig. 1/ Chinatown Alley in *Old Town, New Approach*. Image courtesy of the Royal BC Museum.

continue to transform over the next several years. To properly and respectfully present histories, the museum is working with our long-standing partners and inviting new partners to co-create exhibitions with us. In doing this work, we are growing and renewing relationships.

The wallpaper is then understood as a device: it covers the former storefronts that made up the Chinatown Alley in *Old Town* /fig. 1/.¹⁶ Through the Alley, similar closures and covers abound: at the Kwong Hing Lung & Co. Importers, the curtains are pulled closed, the baskets outside empty. A “Closed” sign hangs on the door of the apothecary, where a lamp in the window provides dim light, but only illuminates the now empty outline of the former exhibition.

Coming out of the Alley, the space of *Old Town* opens up. There is no linear path, but rather a central “crossroad” around which a series of historical spaces, initially designed to “offer a window into British settlement of the province,”¹⁷ are clustered. Stores, a theatre, hotel, apartments,

and offices are set up as if vacated just moments earlier, with some open to further exploration. We meander through, each of us choosing our own pathway through the installations, exploring the blend of decades-old exhibition pieces with recent, carefully marked attempts to reposition previous silences, exclusions, and stereotypes.

Old Town, New Approach presents an intentionally incomplete installation; visitors are confronted with an exhibition space viscerally under construction. Empty exhibition cases abound, their glass fronts designed to facilitate close looking, a possibility foreclosed by the absence of collection items. The shelves outside the Western Medical Supply Company Ltd. are empty, the Dominion Government Offices are locked, the ticket window at the Railway Station has a closed sign, the waiting room is empty, and the only sign of life is the sound of the train whistle and chugging engine, part of a looped video of a ghostly train passing by the station without stopping. One shop front has a historical “For Lease” sign in the window, in others



/fig. 2/ A didactic label in *Old Town, New Approach* asks visitors to “Consider This.” Image courtesy of the Royal BC Museum.

the lights are simply turned off and the display spaces are darkened. But this is not a closed exhibition. Rather, the closed signs signify spaces marked for change. In *Old Town, New Approach*, the reinstatement, through removal, closures, and intervention, serves to highlight the museum armature, its cases, its galleries, and its modes of inclusion and exclusion.

Importantly, the past is still very present. As art historian Caitlin Walker-Gordon describes *Old Town* prior to this new intervention, “It is perpetually dusk.”¹⁸ There are no drunken brawls, no sex workers, no civil unrest, no garbage, no poverty. Walker-Gordon describes it as a trip down memory lane and a nostalgia for a past that never existed. None of this has changed. Rather, the primary strategy used to distinguish the *Old Town* from the *New Approach* is interventionist labelling. “Today, we are learning our histories,” declares a brightly coloured and centrally located didactic panel, unmistakable in the dark brown and wooded interior streetscape. Closer examination reveals a series of circular pink and purple didactics

punctuating the space, which read “Consider this,” each label advancing a counter-narrative about the former staging of the exhibition /fig. 2/. Visitors are asked to consider not just who lived in the spaces but also who worked in them, how power and wealth were demarcated, who would have built the roads and buildings, with each label contributing to an overarching goal: “it’s time for the museum to share previously untold stories about communities, people and places.”¹⁹ In turn, this approach calls on viewers to attend to the institution’s collections and its colonial legacies. The curatorial texts emphasize liveliness and dialogue in the present, repeatedly referencing “living museums,” “living communities,” and “living land and peoples.” A self-critical tone reappears throughout the display panels, as well as in press releases about the exhibition, reflected in statements such as: “What [the museum] failed to do was respect the diversity of life in the region and share the stories of more communities.”²⁰ In the train station waiting room, for example, no trains ever arrive, but the stories of the Black porters, many of whom lived in

Vancouver's Hogan's Alley neighbourhood, and who founded the important Order of Sleeping Car Porters union, are now present through conspicuous orange and red signage. Labelling also incorporates visitors into the process: "We invite you to reflect on your own insights and learnings in the galleries ahead." Throughout, unrevised exhibition cases are interlaced with thought-provoking questions to stimulate a (hypothetical) debate. But at times the pace is overwhelming, questions are asked without providing a space for visitors to respond or reflect on the spot—or, more specifically, to position themselves into the space through answers, thoughts, or memories.

At the bottom of the staircase to the second level of *Old Town*, signage hints at what is to come: "How do you hold space for people who are different from you?" Moving into the historical office, apartment, and hotel spaces on the mezzanine level of the gallery, the exhibition-in-process reveals itself through a second curatorial strategy. In these spaces, the old installations remain intact, but contain interventions that unsettle their apparent neutrality.²¹ Here, the questions stop, and a reckoning takes place. For example, the (white) working class nineteenth-century kitchen, crowded with enamel cookware and the remains of apple pie baking, is largely blocked by a painting by contemporary artist Chrystal Phan.²² *My Still Life* (2021) is part of a series of works by the artist documenting growing up in a family who came to Canada as Vietnamese refugees. Phan writes of the series: "The drive behind this work is to represent Asian faces in the mainstream fine art world in ways that are not exotic, magical, or otherwise orientalized and draw attention to how Canadian identity is formed and guarded that can keep racialized Canadians from ever feeling entirely and truly 'Canadian.'"²³ Phan's painting of a family meal that does *not* include apple pie, instead favouring watermelon, greens, and rice, eaten with chopsticks and fingers, acts as a barrier to the kitchen scene, drawing attention to the way the installation assumes a universality in the baking of apple pie. Even so, the museum has chosen to keep the olfactory element—the cloying scent of apple pie lingers in the air: is a melting pot of cultures taking place here, or is the escaping scent a refusal of the old scene's over-writing?²⁴

Down the hallway, an intervention in the office space is simultaneously both more subtle and less ambivalent / fig. 3 /. At first glance, the display is unchanged, a cluttered nineteenth-century office full of ledgers, books, calculators, stamps, and other gadgets indicative of business. But in the back right-hand corner, the view through the window now shows a clear-cut forest; stumps and damaged land are shown in place of the lush rainforest.²⁵ Signage underscores how settlers approached the environment as a source of capital, advancing resource extraction for profit. Such an approach to nature had devastating impacts, as the label explains: "People who worked in offices like this one, disconnected from the land, quietly carved out resources and imposed boundaries. While the decisions to build mines, log forests, and divert waters were made effortlessly, the impacts were massive. As settlers led the greed of capitalism, the well-being of Indigenous people and land relations have suffered."

The labelling in the office space is deeply at odds with the museum's historical approach to narrating BC's history, which, according to Gordon-Walker, included "the hypothesis that the province's development had been spurred by major shifts in the regional economy," leading to extensive exhibits dedicated to the fur trade, gold rush, farming, logging, fishing, and mining. Before closure, the Modern History Galleries celebrated resource extraction, showcasing it as the main growth engine of the province.²⁶ The small intervention into the office space of *Old Town* leaves intact the "pleasant and peaceful shared history"²⁷ of the previous space, but cuts through it with the subtle inclusion of the clear cut forest through the window, and the didactics that viscerally reinterpret the scene. Like Phan's painting, the large-scale didactics are presented as a barrier, a clear separation or even a cleaving of the past from the present.

Through the strategies of labelling and intervention, *Old Town New Approach* restages a complicated site of nostalgia that is haunted by its own pasts. Following Eve Tuck and C. Ree, we understand haunting as "the relentless remembering and reminding that will not be appeased by settler society's assurances of innocence and reconciliation."²⁸ Thus, the exhibition makes evident struggles to narrate the



/fig. 3/ View of the nineteenth-century office space in *Old Town, New Approach*. Image courtesy of the Royal BC Museum.

difficult history of the province alongside the museum's own reckoning, while also demonstrating attempts to engage with decolonial practices and thinking in the now. Within this delicate dance between a past that lingers in the present and a complicated present charged with remorse and hope, we suggest understanding *Old Town, New Approach* through a hauntological lens. The exhibition becomes an ongoing revision, never fully complete, and always partial.

Even understood as constantly iterative, *Old Town, New Approach* raises as many questions as it answers. The empty shelves and closed off spaces signify the museum's commitment to change, yet we kept wondering: where did these ghostly artefacts move *to*, where are they now? In nearby storage or banished further away? Will they come back? Will they forever remain in storage? How does *Old Town, New Approach* fuse not only past and present stories, but also museal responsibilities and objects in this space? Can the ghostly nature of difficult histories and knowledge remain intact when objects are completely

removed, or when they are returned? The reworking of *Old Town, New Approach* is explained by the RBCM as part of a continual process and no end date has been announced.²⁹ If haunting is understood as constitutive of reckoning, a definitive ending would be an impossibility, or rather a foreclosure of the potential of *Old Town's* new approach. This leads to another question: because it is always-already an imaginary space, are the critiques incorporated into these interventions applicable solely to the historical arrangement of the spaces in *Old Town* or can they have impact beyond, throughout, and even outside of the troubled institution?

This final question is addressed by a third curatorial approach, which is taken up in the Majestic Theatre. The gaudy historical theatre, resplendent with red velvet seats and curtains, now hosts a series of films "collaboratively developed and produced with Indigenous Artists and Cultural Ambassadors in what is now known as BC."³⁰ The films foreground the weaving, carving, and engraving of Indigenous artists

from communities surrounding the museum, but they also start a conversation about how the museum itself can move forward. Carver Tutakwisnapših (Joe Martin) of ʔaʔuukʔiʔaṭh (Tla-o-qui-aht) First Nation, for example, is filmed engaging with belongings in the collections. He notes that “Many of these important cultural items that were said to have been ‘collected’ by peoples were actually confiscated,” as he wanders slowly through the RBCM’s First Peoples’ Gallery.³¹ As we watch the films, it will dawn on the viewer that this is the only access possible to the Gallery for most visitors to the museum. Though the cases Martin visits are but metres away, they are out of reach, only accessible through what Martin decides to share in the 3:49 minute video. It is an important reminder of the museum’s stance that it will not re-open the First Peoples’ Gallery until directed to do so by the communities. For now, it is used “as a space for discussion and collaboration with Indigenous communities.” Access, which has always been an assumed goal of museums, is turned inside out, placed back into the hands of those whose belongings form(ed) the core of the collection, and are now the site of the museum’s accountability. Sitting in the Majestic Theatre, which used to show a medley of silent Hollywood films, watching a video of an important living ʔaʔuukʔiʔaṭh carver, visiting the belongings of his ancestors, in Galleries that are currently out of reach, seems a crucial learning moment. In sum, the films show *why* being on hold, in limbo, in a state of unfinishedness, has the potential to challenge the museum.

Finally, depending on where one enters *Old Town, New Approach*, the visit either starts or ends with a letter from the Museum Board. For us, in October 2023, this is where our tour ends. A large but subdued blue, white, and black didactic plaque “acknowledges the colonial history of the Museum and the systemic racism inherent in that history.” The departure of Lucy Bell is boldly referenced: “We recognize and apologize for the way the Museum has treated individuals within our workforce and the communities we serve.”³² The panel notes the “failings of the Museum,” and promises that “the whole Museum must be reimagined and decolonized to ensure that we do better as we work to earn back the confidence and trust of those who were made to feel unsafe,

excluded, isolated, or unwanted.” These explicit acknowledgements of wrongdoing and the harm caused by past practices are unusual. Incorporating these paper trails into the exhibition space makes institutional critique and self-reflection transparent to its visitors. It destabilizes the exhibitionary complex, and therewith the idea of exhibitions as a closed circle or space, whose underpinnings and underlying values are not typically accessible to viewers.³³

Nonetheless, while the words of apology and self-criticism are strong, will the museum be able to translate this attitude into action? The total reimagining of the museum was tethered to the \$789-million investment from the provincial government. A massive influx of funds promised a clean slate and a new start. Following the reneging of funds, the museum has instead been forced into a state of flux, and a semi-permanent temporariness, the results of which can be seen in the affordable solutions premised in the renewal of *Old Town, New Approach* and the closure of galleries.³⁴ It is precisely this uncertainty that we consider important in imagining the future of this museum. The hauntology of this space resides in its unfinishedness, the semi-permanent temporariness. The RBCM effectively demonstrates what restitution actually looks like; closed galleries, interventions, conversations, ongoing process/ing of pasts. For this reason, *Old Town, New Approach* offers much to learn in terms of letting the audience into the complexity, tension, and need for conversation that could lead to other museum futures.

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- 1 "RBCM's Old Town Reopening with New Approach," *BC Gov News*, May 9, 2023, <https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2023TACS0023-000685>.
- 2 The exhibition was closed between January 2022 and July 2023 for updating. The Chinatown installation within the exhibition was updated in the 1990s, see Royal BC Museum, "Get Ready for a New Take on an Old Town at the Royal BC Museum," press release, July 23, 2023, <https://www.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/media/6266>.
- 3 These critiques date to the exhibition's origins. In fact, the year *Old Town* opened, visitors complained that it perpetuated racist stereotypes. See Patricia E. Roy, *The Collectors: A History of the Royal British Columbia Museum and Archives* (Victoria, BC: Royal BC Museum, 2018); "RBCM's Old Town Reopening with New Approach"; Dorian Batycka, "Canadian Museum Closes Indigenous Galleries to Begin the Process of 'Decolonisation,'" *The Art Newspaper*, November 10, 2021, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2021/11/10/royal-british-columbia-museum-closes-indigenous-galleries>.
- 4 Royal BC Museum, "Get Ready for a New Take on an Old Town at the Royal BC Museum."
- 5 Marsha Lederman, "Royal BC Museum Responds to Accusations of Racism," *Globe & Mail*, September 12, 2020, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/article-royal-bc-museum-responds-to-accusations-of-racism/>; Former Curator of Indigenous Collections Nupqu ᐱᐱᐱᐱ Troy Sebastian also did not renew his contract with the museum, supporting allegations that "the museum's internal dynamics made [Sebastian and Bell] feel as if the museum was a bastion of white supremacy and an unsafe workspace for Indigenous people." Boston Laferté, "Repatriation and Racism at the Royal BC Museum," *Martlet*, July 16, 2021, <https://martlet.ca/repatriation-and-racism-at-the-royal-bc-museum>.
- 6 In that year, the RBCM collaborated with the Haida Gwaii Museum (HGM), the First Peoples' Cultural Council, and the Indigenous Advisory and Advocacy Committee to create a repatriation handbook to help Indigenous communities instigate processes of repatriation: "The handbook includes letter examples that can be sent to museums, examples of repatriation successes, how to effectively write grant applications, and how to plan for the repatriation process." Laferté, "Repatriation and Racism at the Royal BC Museum"; Roxanne Egan-Elliott, "CEO Stepping Down after Royal BC Museum Deemed 'Toxic and Dysfunctional,'" *Times Colonist*, February 9, 2021, <https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/ceo-stepping-down-after-royal-bc-museum-deemed-toxic-and-dysfunctional-4687358>. The museum initiated a BC Public Service Agency investigation, and hired diversity and inclusion consultant Alden Habacon who interviewed 221 staff members at the institution. See Egan-Elliott, "CEO Stepping Down after Royal BC Museum Deemed 'Toxic and Dysfunctional.'"
 - 7 Laferté, "Repatriation and Racism at the Royal BC Museum."
 - 8 See, for example, Gloria Jean Frank, "That's My Dinner on Display: a First Nations Reflection on Museum Culture," *BC Studies* 125/126 (Spring 2000): 163-78, which considers a first-person First Nations' perspective on the RBMC, and the dismissive response to this article by curator Alan Hoover, "A Response to Gloria Frank: "'That's My Dinner on display': First Nations Reflection on Museum Culture," *BC Studies* 128 (Winter 2000): 65.
 - 9 The museum has specified that the exhibition will continue to be reworked, noting: "the space will continually evolve as we work with communities to share their experiences and cultures." RBCM, "Old Town, New Approach," <https://www.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/visit/exhibitions/old-town-new-approach>.
 - 10 "Horgan Suspends Controversial Rebuild of Royal BC Museum," *CBC News*, June 22, 2022, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/horgan-suspends-controversial-rebuild-of-royal-b-c-museum-1.6497749>.
 - 11 "Historic Investment to Build Modern, New RBCM, Safeguard Collection," *BC Gov News*, May 13, 2022, <https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2022PREM0030-000747>.
 - 12 Ibid.
 - 13 "Horgan Suspends Controversial Rebuild of Royal BC Museum."
 - 14 We employ the term "belongings" to refer to Indigenous visual and material culture on display at the museum, following Dylan Robinson and Jordan Wilson's usage of the term. As Robinson argues (citing Wilson), this term highlights the cultural ownership of these objects, their relationship to community, and de-naturalizes their current status in the museum's collections. See Dylan Robinson, "Shxweli li te shxweli temelh xits'etáwtwxw: The Museum's Confinement of Indigenous Kin," *American Anthropologist* 126 (2024): 233-47; Jordan Wilson, "'Belongings' in 'cəsnaʔəm: The City before the City,'" *IPinCH - Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage: Theory, Practice, Policy, Ethics*, January 27, 2016, <https://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/outputs/blog/citybeforecitybelongings/>; "RBCM's Old Town Reopening with New Approach."
 - 15 Didactic panel, *Old Town, New Approach*, October 16, 2023; Chinatown Alley was not formerly an entrance to *Old Town*.
 - 16 Chinatown Alley was one of the few more recent additions to *Old Town* (it had been added in 1992). Caitlin Gordon-Walker, *Exhibiting Nation: Multicultural Nationalism (and its Limits) in Canada's Museums* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2016), 71. See also pp. 83-85, which describe the intentions of the Chinatown exhibit as an installation that would make many white visitors feel "out of place," to think about racial exclusion, and was guided by consultation with members of the Victoria Chinatown Lions Club.
 - 17 Didactic panel, *Old Town, New Approach*, October 16, 2023.
 - 18 Gordon-Walker, *Exhibiting Nation*, 77.
 - 19 Didactic panel, *Old Town, New Approach*, October 16, 2023.
 - 20 Ibid.
 - 21 La Tanya S. Autry and Mike Murawski, "Museums Are Not Neutral: We Are Stronger Together," *Panorama: Journal of the Association of Historians of American Art* 5, no. 2 (Fall 2019), <https://doi.org/10.24926/24716839.2277>.
 - 22 Phan's painting was on display from the July 2023 reopening of *Old Town, New Approach* through to spring 2024. Sarah Smith in correspondence with Amanda Richardson, July 5, 2024.
 - 23 Chrystal Phan, artist's website, accessed June 12, 2024, <https://www.chrystalphan.ca>.
 - 24 See Gordon-Walker's chapter on sense and smell in the RBCM Modern History Galleries in *Exhibiting Nation*, 64-92, especially 79-80 where she specifically addresses apple pie.
 - 25 It was impossible to ascertain if the clearcut scene is a new addition or not. Photographs of clearcuts were included in the Modern History Galleries as evidence of economic progress in BC. Regardless, the *Old Town, New Approach* signage re-imagines the installation as a whole.
 - 26 Gordon-Walker, *Exhibiting Nation*, 71.
 - 27 Gordon-Walker, *Exhibiting Nation*, 73.
 - 28 Eve Tuck and C. Ree, "A Glossary of Haunting," *Handbook of Autoethnography*, ed. Stacey Holman Jones, Tony E. Adams, and Carolyn Ellis (New York and London: Routledge, 2020), 642.
 - 29 RBCM, "Old Town, New Approach," <https://www.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/visit/exhibitions/old-town-new-approach>.
 - 30 Didactic panel, *Old Town, New Approach*, October 16, 2023.
 - 31 Royal BC Museum, "Tutakwisnapsiik (Joe Martin)," <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/indigenous/explore/living-archives/tutakwisnapsil-joe-martin>.
 - 32 Bell is acknowledged by name: "We are humbled by and thank Lucy Bell for speaking out."
 - 33 Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 2.
 - 34 The closures at the RBCM anticipated the closure of major ethnographic collections in the United States due to the imposition of stricter rules on consultation following changes to NAGPRA.