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THE NATIVE ARTISTIC SUBJECT AND NATIONAL IDENTITY:

A Cultural Analysis of the Architecture of the
Canadian Museum of Civilization, Designed by
Douglas J. Cardinal.

Joan Reid Acland

A Thesis in the Humanities Programme

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

August 1994

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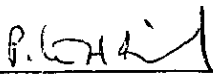
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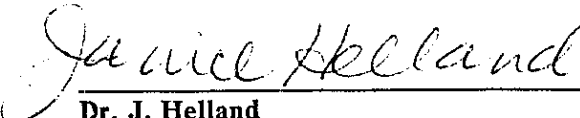and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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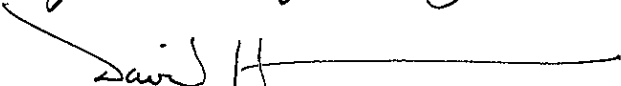
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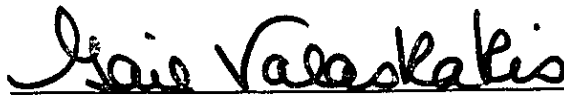
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ABSTRACT

THE NATIVE ARTISTIC SUBJECT AND NATIONAL IDENTITY:
A CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE
CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION
DESIGNED BY DOUGLAS CARDINAL

Joan Acland, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 1994.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) was
constructed as a national-popular symbol which would unite a
multicultural society. Described as a 'Global Village', CMC
was designed to appeal to the 'cultural tourist' of the 21st
century. To this end, a marketing strategy was keyed to the
Canadian interest in the mythical qualities of the Land. As
a museum whose characteristic features have been its
'Indianness', the dissertation seeks to understand why a
conflation of these two idioms, Land and 'Indianness', is
seen to appeal to Canadians at this postmodern moment.

The role of Douglas Cardinal, architect of the Museum
is examined in terms of his effect as a Canadian of
Blackfoot, Métis, and German ancestry. Both the formal
qualities of the architecture and its signification as a
symbol of national identity are considered. This is shaped
through an analysis of the iconography of the architecture
in relation to traditional Native spiritual symbolism in
order to construct a narrative surrounding the Museum which

is identity specific.

Primary source site visits and interviews were an integral aspect of the dissertation. My observations were developed and structured through the epistemological current of critical theory in anthropology, art history and cultural studies, drawing particularly on theories of postcolonial discourse and identity.

Essentially the dissertation explores the relationship between the artistic subject, expressive form and the problematic of signification in relation to a symbol of national identity.

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Charles Acland of the University of Calgary.

Lastly, I would like to thank my three sons, Charles, Bruce and Stephen for their loving encouragement; and my husband, Derek for his continuous support of my work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION:

CANADIAN IDENTITY, 'INDIANNESS', AND THE LAND

Canada, 'The True North Strong and Free'

The tourist industry circulates images of Canada which present a mythical paradise of crystal clear lakes, lush forests and rugged mountain ranges. It is an idyllic portrait, which conjures up images of a pristine northland where elk, deer and moose roam freely through an abundant natural habitat (Fig. 1). That most Canadians have never seen a live moose seems not to matter.

Canadians are often characterized as hardy outdoorsmen in red flannel shirts able to maneuver treacherous white-water rapids in a light birchbark canoe (Fig. 2). Even in a highly urbanized culture the Canada goose, the loon, the maple leaf, the beaver, and the Mountie remain popular iconographic symbols; all relating directly to the fabric and the 'law' of the Land (Fig. 3). The image of the industrious "Canadian beaver at work" (Fig. 4) and the rugged, untamed landscape of Jasper National Park (Fig. 5), are devoid of human elements and suggest a totally 'natural' world.

Historically, these symbolic representations of Canada

have been rivalled only by the image of the Indian. With "Greetings from Canada", this recent postcard (Fig. 6) shows a peaceful collaboration between Mountie and Indian. Other images of First Nations people reflect a preoccupation with the befeathered Plains Indian of the early nineteenth century. This man from Alberta (Fig. 7), who is Cree, is depicted in full traditional dress, crowned with a magnificent headdress and robed in an elaborately beaded costume. These postcards typify a genre of popular imagery which continues to connect 'nature' and Native to nation. This iconographic convention describes Canada in relation to the mystical qualities of the Land, as a vast and compelling solitude somehow removed from the reality of urban culture and colonization. It is a romantic tableau which is still popular in 1994, as the postcard of the Inuit child surrounded by lakes, mountains and animals demonstrates (Fig. 8). The image is an inviting picture suggesting untrammelled innocence and serenity.

The following study seeks to explore the ways in which a 'romantic' sense of Canadian identity has come to be implicated in the construction and signification of a new museum of history and ethnology, The Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) designed by Douglas Cardinal, a Western Canadian of Blackfoot, Métis and German ancestry.

The intention is to open a discourse on the political

Fig. 1 Postcard of Moose Eating Seaweed, 1994.
(source: Fotomania, Montreal. Valan Photos FF 06)
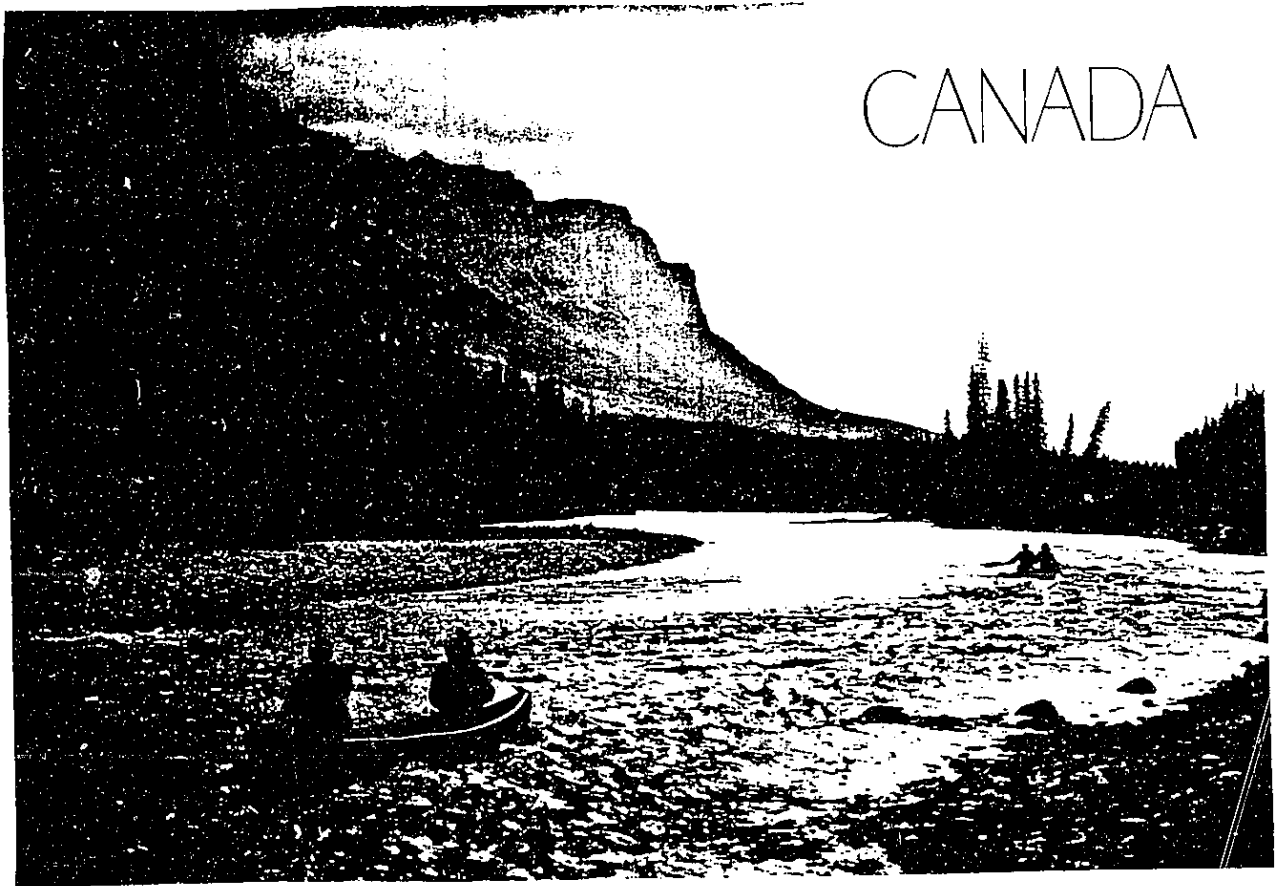
Fig. 2 Postcard of Canoeing on the Bow River, n/d.
(source: The Post Card Factory, Toronto. Ref. C-52)

CANADA

Fig. 3 Postcard of Royal Canadian Mounted Police n/d.
(source: The Post Card Factory, Toronto. Ref. C-74V
Compliments of the R.C.M.P.)

Fig. 4 Postcard of Beaver at work, n/d.
(source: The Post Card Factory, Toronto. Ref. C-42V)
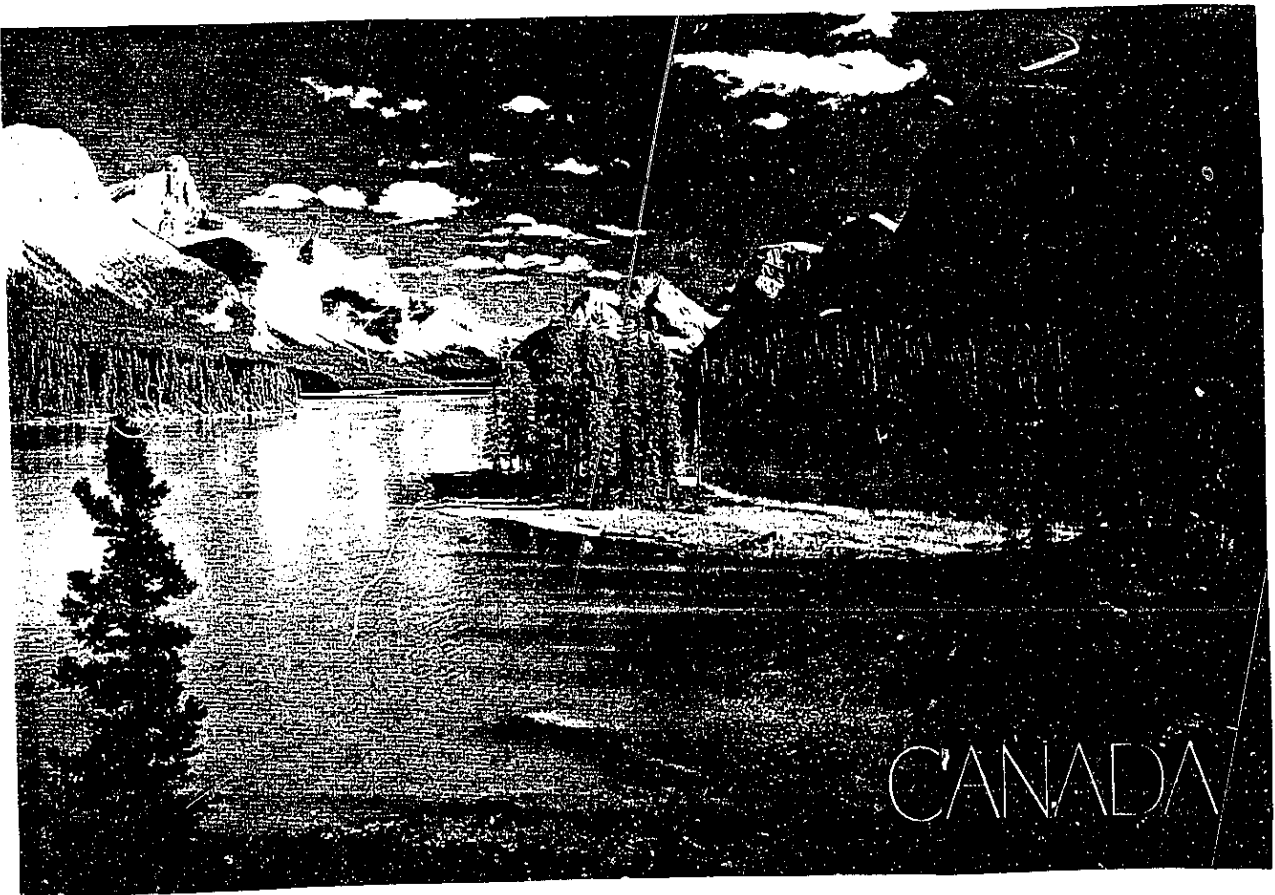
Fig. 5 Postcard of Jasper National Park, 1986.
(source: The Post Card Factory, Toronto. Ref. C-24)

Fig. 6 Postcard of Mountie and Indian, n/d.
(source: City Sights Postcards, Toronto.)

Fig. 7 Postcard of Alberta Cree Indian, n/d.
(source: The Post Card Factory, Toronto. Ref. C-60V)

Fig. 8 Postcard of Inuit Child, Landscape and Animals.
(source: City Sights Postcards, Toronto. Ref. C-114)

imperative which tapped into a particular aspect of the Canadian imagination, described in this study as 'Indianness' conflated with the Land. I want to unravel why the Land as a discursive construct came to be important at this juncture in Canadian history and to indicate the ways in which it is implicitly collapsed with 'Indianness' as a representation of Canadian identity. My intention is to establish the historic precedents which connect these concepts, that is, 'Indianness' to Land, and to indicate how these were an invention of the nineteenth century. A key concern is how these connections resonate with the residual effects of colonial ideology, and move forward into the present to impact on peoples lives.

How does the social construction of a category such as Land figure in the making of a symbol of national identity? Why does there exist a willingness to read this idiom of Land in connection with a museum whose characteristic feature has been 'Indianness' in terms of common-sense as a true, proper and fitting signification of a national identity? I contend that there exists an anxiety about the Land at this particular historical moment, and that this anxiety is implicated in a concern about the continued reproduction of a particular social order, which is a sense of national identity within the parameters established by a nineteenth century understanding of Canada as a confederation.

My intention is to establish the way in which a
particular version of Canadian identity is reframed through
the architecture and the architect of the Canadian Museum of
Civilization, Douglas Cardinal. Cardinal's gesture as a
Native artistic subject provides a point of resistance to
the official signification attached to CMC, while
simultaneously also being implicated in it. Essentially the
dissertation works on four terrains, one being the
architectural form as designed by Cardinal and the meaning
he projects through it; two, the official construction of
the Museum as a national symbol of Canadian identity; three,
the ethnological practices of CMC, situated in a history of
colonial ideology. And the fourth being the nexus at which
these cross in the present.

Canadians, 'Indianness' and the Land

Canadian consciousness of the Land is due in large
part to the freezing arctic climate which permeates the bulk
of the country's geographic makeup. Only one twelfth of
Canada's 3,852,000 square miles is settled, most of it in a
narrow band in its southern-most reaches near the American
border. Canada's 290,000 square miles of lakes and rivers
constitute more than half the fresh-water surface of the
entire world.[1] The crisis of the fishing industry and
polluted rivers and lakes notwithstanding, these are

expected to be teeming with trout and salmon, and speckled with a great variety of colourful waterfowl. Even today, the name of Canada continues to evoke sounds of howling wolves and the plaintive call of lake loons.

In the Western imagination, the people of the First Nations have been linked to the Land since early contact with Europeans. America was often represented through the image of an Indian. These manifestations were facsimilies creatively embodying the producer's imaginative relationship to a completely foreign world belonging to 'other' peoples. In an illustration for Prosopographia America, c. 1580-1600, America is personified in a sexualized portrayal as Native and female.[2] It is a violent image which depicts a fearful drawing of Native/Woman/America carrying a bloody severed head in one hand and a massive spear in the other, watched intently by a parrot somehow implicated in the dreadful deed (Fig. 9). This genre of mimesis was more accurately a similitude of the colonizers' fears than an illustration of the Indigenous people of Canada. But people of the First Nations were also representative of the ability to survive in a difficult environment. That is, both feared and revered, the Indian stereotype was the symbol of the colonizer's positioning to the New World.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Native people were no longer valued as guides to the geography and

AMERICA.

Fig. 9 Illustration for Prosopographia America,
  c. 1580-1600, Paris, Bibliothèque des Arts
  Décoratifs, coll. iconographique Maciet.
  (source: Jana Bara, The Image of Canada, 1991)

foods of Canada, nor were they needed in their formerly

indispensable position as trade partners. Under colonial

rule, First Peoples were emptied of their power and could be

appropriated as signs of 'self'. Images of colonialists

'gone Indian' abound in the photo-journals of the nineteenth

century. These depict new Canadians dressed in buckskin,

furs and feather headdresses (Fig. 10). 'Dressing-up' in

the clothes of the 'other' was their way of distinguishing

themselves as belonging to the New World. As Jana Bara's

study of Canadian popular symbolism in nineteenth-century

souvenir photographs points out:

> It was the use of photography as a medium that
> ensured the dissemination, popularity, mobility,
> verisimilitude, and ultimately the persistence of
> Canadian popular imagery. In the second half of the
> nineteenth century, the steadily growing demand for
> photographic souvenirs was satisfied by contemporary
> photographers who presented their wares, if not on a
> silver platter, at least on a silver-coated
> daguerreotype plate. The traffic in photo-souvenirs
> matched the growing development of the tourist industry
> and the advancement of British Imperial expansionism.
> After over a century of repetition and distribution,
> such images have come to be accepted down to the present
> as true representations of the country.[3]

As Bara tells it, Canada came to be seen abroad mainly in

terms of those images contained in souvenir photographs,

" . . . which were British in their origins and traditions.

The message encoded in these souvenirs was that of a land

of limitless opportunity in the colonial context of a new

Dominion within a world-wide Commonwealth."[4] It was an

Fig. 10 Mr. Bourdon as a Blackfoot Indian Chief,
Notman Photographic Archive, McCord Museum of
Canadian History, Montreal, 1872. (thereafter NPA).
(source: Jana Bara, The Image of Canada, 1991)

exotic wilderness, a world of feathers and furs, of snow and coniferous greenery meshed with toboggans, tents, campfires and snow-shoes, and often fabricated in studios by photographers such as William Notman.[5]

Canadians in the early decades of the twentieth century continued to cultivate this romantic link with nature, described in The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape, in the following way:

> . . . Canadians embraced enthusiastically a
> romantic cult of primitivistic wilderness-worship
> that expressed itself in such diverse phenomena as
> 'the creation of wilderness parks, like Algonquin
> and Garibaldi ... children's woodcraft camps . . .
> Grey Owl ... the animal stories of Ernest
> Thompson Seton and Charles G.D. Roberts . the
> summer cottaging movement, [and] the art of Emily
> Carr and the group of seven.'[6]

Gaile McGregor further suggests that ideas circulating around a romanticized Canadian identity appropriated the image of the Indian:

> Having rendered him invisible, the Canadian became
> incapable of 'seeing' the Indian at all, **except** in so
> far as he entered into white history.... The end
> result of this selective appropriation, somewhat
> paradoxically, was that the Indian, purged almost
> entirely of his alienness, became available to serve as
> a symbol not of 'other' but of 'self'.[7]

The way in which 'Indianness' comes to be braided into a strategy to signify the Canadian Museum of Civilization with a Land discourse is part of the following exploration.

CMC as a National-popular Symbol

The climate which shaped the specific direction CMC would take is largely informed by an on-going engagement with Canadian identity and the need to establish national-popular symbols which unite a multicultural society with diverse regionalist, culturalist and political interests, and reinforce a strong centralist government.

The marketing strategy surrounding the construction of the new Museum would indicate that institutional power structures perceive Canadians to be affectively connected to a 'romantic' concept of the Land. At CMC this concept is linked to 'Indianness' because of the historic use of **signs** of 'Indianness' as delineating a cultural identity representative of the New World **and** because of the ethnological practices which informed the character of the Museum since its formative years in the late nineteenth century.

'Indianness' as well as contemporary First Nations' culture has figured prominently in a marketing package aimed to attract the 'cultural tourist'. Colourful and dramatic theatrical re-enactments of traditional Native dances, dramas and rituals form a substantial part of the live-entertainment at the Museum. The spectacular Grand Hall, with its river views, is defined by a Northwest Coast Native village reconstruction complete with totem-poles; and it is

the West Coast which is noticeably visible at the Museum, in large part due to the interests of the Director, anthropologist/archaeologist George MacDonald, who is a West Coast specialist; but also because West Coast material culture fits neatly into the need for the dramatic impact required of a tourist site. The contemporary Native art gallery is a prominent feature at the Museum and the numerous paintings and sculptures which enhance the site and building, as well as the architecture itself, were all created by people of the First Nations. Of the more than three million artifacts which make up CMC's holdings, the bulk are Native objects, appropriated under early colonial rule.[8] The preservation of the material artifacts of supposedly disappearing cultures of First Nations was in large part the raison d'être of the Museum in the nineteenth century. Native cultures have been closely linked with the Museum since its formative years and continue to inform the character of the Museum.

While it is recognized that the Canadian Museum of Civilization is both a museum of ethnology and history, the very concept of the museum enterprise is defined within parameters which are largely informed by the early colonial history of this institution. The fact that there is even a need to make a distinction between these two disciplines is insightful, i.e. history is about 'us' and ethnology is

about 'them'. How then does a museum whose characteristic identity which has historically been, and continues to be, its 'Indianness', create a site of Canadian national identity pertinent to a multicultural society and diverse regional, historic, cultural and political interests?

Relationship to the Land carries different meaning for First Peoples. Struggles over the Land are ongoing, and life on reserves is pervaded by chronic poverty. The institutional practices of ethnological museums are implicated in these struggles. As this study will indicate, in spite of a **discourse** of fairness, of respect, and even of reverence, the subjugation of First Peoples in Canada continues.

CMC as Political Vehicle for National Unity

The Canadian Museum of Civilization was constructed at a time in the history of Canada when the struggle for national unity, within its earlier Confederation boundaries, was seriously contested by provincial and Quebec nationalist counter-interests. The Museum was intended as one of the political vehicles through which to offset these forces and consolidate central power. The fact that it was situated on the Quebec side of the National Capital Region is part of the attempt to bring Quebec into fuller participation at the center of Canadian political power.[9]

In order to gain public support for the Museum project, and inevitably funding, it was essential to tap into Canadian aspirations and to develop a concept of the Museum which would be seen to be saleable, and also fit in with current government cultural and political policy. Canadians are both implicated in this interest and in a sense formed by it. The Museum had to appear to provide a basis of national identity applicable to a multicultural society. It needed to be seen as representative of **every** Canadian, **all** provinces and a **variety** of ethnic groups. The concept of the Land was chosen as important to Canadians, and was the thread used to gather up a colonialist history, a contemporary multicultural population **and** include people of the First Nations.

With its core mission explicitly defined in terms of national unity, CMC was developed and marketed as a symbol of national identity. The need to reach large numbers of people with this unifying historical narrative, constructed around the Land, as well as the legitimation for the vast expenditures required to continue this experiment has been a marketing strategy geared to tourism. Because of the historic characteristics of CMC as an ethnological museum, the way in which 'Indianness' conflates with the Land discourse as an appeal to the 'cultural tourist' is of concern here.

Mattering Maps

In his study of the affective qualities which spark
public interest, tap into emotions, and form particular
alliances and connections between people, Lawrence Grossberg
searches for an understanding of the way in which 'affect'
works. While Grossberg's concerns are mainly with the
complex relations between forms of popular culture and their
audiences, his model for locating and understanding how
alliances are formed around particular experiences is useful
here. Grossberg theorizes the notion of 'mattering maps' as
follows:

> While critics generally recognize that meanings, and
> even desires, are organized into particular structures
> or maps, they tend to think of mood as formless and
> disorganized. But affect is also organized; it
> operates within and, at the same time, produces maps
> which direct our investments in and into the world;
> these maps tell us where and how we can become
> absorbed - not into the self but into the world - as
> potential locations for our self-identifications, and
> with what intensities. This 'absorption' or investment
> constructs the places and events which are, or can
> become, significant to us. They are the places at
> which we can construct our own identity as something to
> be invested in, as something that matters.[10]

Linked as they are to feelings, 'mattering maps' can become
roped into political agendas in which they become part of a
given ideological formation. Stuart Hall speaks of the
moment of articulation, the point at which affective
alliances become articulated to particular political motives
and are used to solidify hegemonic positions.[11]

The way in which Canadian national identity, 'Indianness' and the Land are braided together through the Canadian Museum of Civilization to form a national-popular symbol taps into the 'mattering maps' of Canadians and ties in with those feelings which are seen to connect a diverse population at certain nodal points. This appeal to the imagination, emotions and aspirations of Canadians is revealing of what is seen to be important to Canadians, but more than that, as Grossberg puts it, 'mattering maps' construct a lived coherence; they reflect the will to organize moments of stable identity, "sites at which we can, at least temporarily, find ourselves 'at home' with what we care about".[12] But there is also, at the bridge between affective sites and ideology, a point of turmoil in which individuals play an active role in accepting or rejecting, or in some way altering, the investment of feeling in a particular symbolic expression.

Douglas Cardinal

The Canadian Museum of Civilization is one of the most technologically complex and advanced museums in the world today. George MacDonald, describes the Museum as a "modern artifact", as well as a symbol of Canadian identity.

> A national museum of human history is part of that symbolization. It helps define cultural identity and the country itself. It stimulates pride amongst

Canadians in their own culture. It announces to the
world that Canada is a nation with special and unique
characteristics. It reflects the ways in which
various peoples, bringing their own cultures, have
met the challenges of the land, by shaping it and by
shaping themselves to it.[13]

This identity was described in terms of diverse
peoples and the challenges of the Land, and was supported by
Douglas Cardinal's first proposal statement for CMC:

Our future is optimistic and should be celebrated.
This national treasure-house must welcome the people,
teach them, inspire them and send them away
enlightened and optimistic that we are progressing
as human individuals and as a Nation.[14]

Cardinal's discourse for the Museum competition
focused on the tectonics of geology, the mythic tales of
natural genesis and the spiritual quality of the Land.
Trevor Boddy describes it as follows:

While Cardinal himself would never make so pretentious a
claim, I feel that this choice, since supported by a
prime minister, cabinet, CMCC director, construction
bureaucracy, and the director of the museum with a
quarter of a billion dollars of public money, appeals to
a deep interest in the mythic in Canadian culture.[15]

Allegiance to a nation which can accommodate a diverse
population, and a commitment to the Museum as the vehicle
through which this can be encouraged was a powerful
motivating force which connected Cardinal and MacDonald as
Canadians to a common cause.

Douglas Cardinal was chosen over seventy-eight other
architects to design the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Cardinal was better prepared for this commission than perhaps any other architect in Canada. In the forefront of computer assisted design technology (CAD), his firm was ready to take on the fast-track project which a Museum of such enormous complexity required (Fig. 11). His reflections on this design process are succinctly articulated in "The Canadian Museum of Civilization: From Vision to Reality". (Appendix A)[16]

The New Accommodation Task Force (NATF), responsible for assembling the four large volumes of specifications from which Cardinal was to work, was the filter and synthesis mechanism through which the Museum's mandate, goals, history, functions, audiences and organizational structure were interpreted. These guidelines included site specifications, access needs, security requirements, circulation, conservation, functionality, lighting etc. Divided into two groups, one for the Public Programming sector and one for the Curatorial and Services sector, these were further subdivided into twelve study teams which were augmented by information culled from 1,400 discussion guides/questionnaires which were sent to museum staff, the Advisory Committee, Board of Trustees, Canadian Museums Association and numerous other groups.[17] The stringent technical requirements set down for each of the building's 500 rooms, and the 30 different communications and network
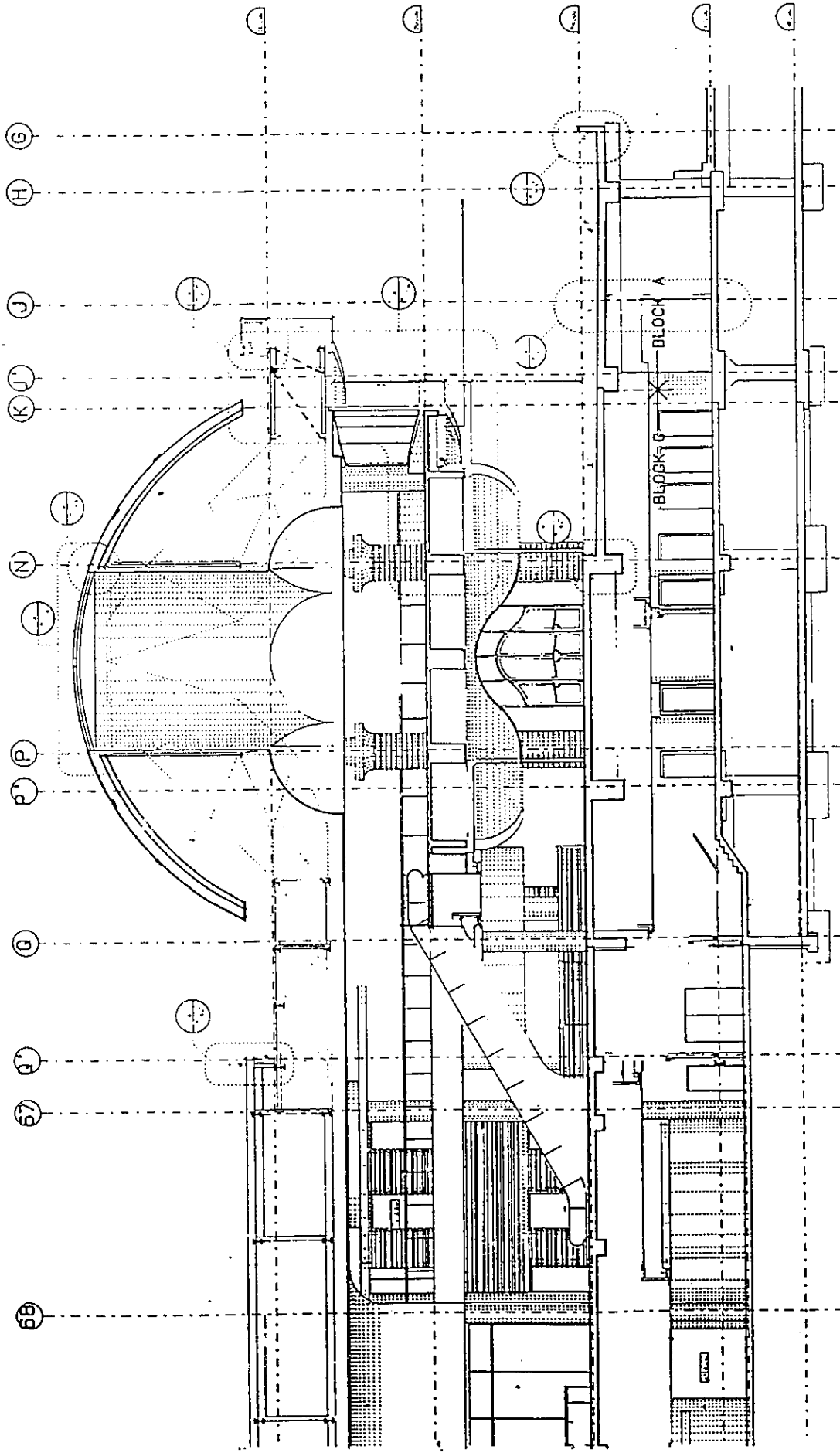
Fig. 11 Computer Assisted Design (CAD).
Cross section of main entrance vestibule, for
the Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989.
(source: Courtesy of Douglas J. Cardinal)

systems required for voice and data, could not have been achieved without the expertise of a firm such as Cardinal's. Elevations and plans give some small insight into the magnitude of this project. (Appendix B).[18]

In spite of the monumental preparatory guide, it was essential for Cardinal to be able to operate in a collaborative fashion interacting with the museum staffs. Daily revisions of the architectural blueprints were an indispensable component of this process. Cardinal has often been commended both for the loyalty he engenders in his staff and for a management style which facilitates effective negotiations between many levels of bureaucracy, while helping the client interpret architecturally what is needed. These are skills which were critical to the completion of an architectural program such as CMC.[19]

Cardinal's acclaim by the famous dean of American architects, Philip Johnson, is perhaps more widely recognized in the United States than in Canada. Johnson has been a key player in promoting the careers of the innovative architects Michael Graves and Peter Eisenman. He urged Arthur Drexler, the director of the Architecture and Design Department at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, to include Cardinal's St. Mary's Church (Red Deer, Alberta), in the highly publicized and influential exhibit Transformations in Modern Architecture of the late

1970's.[20]

Significantly Cardinal has recently been awarded one of the most prestigious American commissions of the twentieth century - the design of the National Museum of the American Indian, to be located on the famous Smithsonian Institution site in the center of the American Capital at Washington, D.C.

The choice of Douglas Cardinal as architect for the CMC was an extraordinary move which will have long range reverberations in Canadian architecture and in the arts generally. As an Albertan, of mixed-ethnicity, trained at the University of Texas at Austin and adhering to a Native worldview and spiritual life, Cardinal brings to the Canadian national capital a presence which is not only Native, but Western as well. His rootedness on this continent provides a highly visible model of postcolonial sources for artistic production. Cardinal has been recognized with numerous awards of distinction, including an honorary Doctor of Law from the University of Calgary in 1992, and the Canada Council Molson Prize for the Arts of 1992, which is a recognition of outstanding lifetime contribution to the cultural and intellectual life of Canada.[21]

The Selection Process

In "Dissection d'un processus de sélection", Odile Hénault says:

> Cardinal émeut le comité de sélection, non seulemant par la sensibilité de sa présentation, mais également par la façon presque insolite dont il utilise l'ordinateur pour créer des formes qui semblent surgir du sol. Et c'est ainsi qu'on lui confie le Musée national de l'Homme.[22]

While Hénault emphasizes the significance of Cardinal's computer design technology in the selection process, she also suggests that the Selection Committee was seduced by the more 'romantic' presentations both for the design of the National Gallery of Canada and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Because of this, Moshe Safdie was also a leading contender for CMC, she says. Safdie was in the end given the National Gallery of Canada commission complemented by the firm of John C. Parkin. Parkin had won a previous bid for an earlier version of the Gallery at a time when the political motivation was not strong enough to carry the project through. Similarly, Cardinal was given the services of the "politically appointed" Quebec firm of Tétreault, Parent, Languedoc, Lincourt et Associes.

> Les firmes qui compléteront chacune des deux équipes sont celles de John C. Parkin, dans le cas de la Galerie nationale, et de Tétreault, Parent, Languedoc, Lincourt et Associés, dans le cas du Musée national de l'Homme. D'une certaine facon, tout le

monde s'attendait a ce que Parkin soit choisi: gagnant
du dernier concours de la Galerie nationale en 1977,
Parkin exerce des pressions pour qu'on lui confie une
part des travaux et il obtient gain de cause. Par
contre, le choix de la firme Tétreault, Parent,
Languedoc, Lincourt et Associés, surprend. Notons que
Paul-André Tétreault, ex-président de l'Ordre des
architectes du Québec, est également connu pour ses
activités politiques. Tout récemment, il
tentait de se faire élire maire d'Outremont pour
remplacer le maire sortant Pierre DesMarais II.[23]

Hénault emphasizes in her article the link between a

'romantic' choi e and the fact that it was a Selection

Committee and not a jury of architects. Jean Boggs, who was

the director of the Canada Museums Construction Corporation,

argued that these were reasoned choices, as evidenced in the

following excerpts from her press releases.

Le choix des emplacement et des architectes de la
Galerie nationale du Canada et du Musée national de
l'Homme passera sans aucun doute pour un choix
romantique, mais it est également incontestable que
cette decision s'appuie sur une analyse raisonnée de la
situation.

and

The Métis architect from Alberta, Douglas Cardinal, who
is a shaman of his adopted tribe, seems a natural
choice for the National Museum of Man which has such a
great collection of Indian Art.[24]

Hénault has placed emphasis on the "amateur" component of

the Selection Committee and in particular Jean Boggs'

considerable influence based in "l'intuition".

The specific mandate given to the twelve finalists

emphasized a submission geared to imagination. Sketches

were expected to be ". . . a measure of your imagination and not a design."[25] By the end of January 1983 a recommended short list of seven firms was arrived at and presented to the government on behalf of both projects, the National Gallery of Canada and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. These firms were Arthur Erickson, Vancouver; Raymond Moriyama, Toronto; Barton Myers, Toronto; Ron Thom, Toronto; Moshe Safdie, Montreal; Eberhard Zeidler, Toronto and Douglas Cardinal of Edmonton.[26] The final choice of two architects, i.e. Safdie and Cardinal, for the two projects was in the end divided by giving Cardinal the Museum of Civilization and Safdie the National Gallery. Boggs defends these allocations in terms of function and suitability.

> Because a gallery has to have flat walls, it's as simple as that. There are other reasons too. I think actually Cardinal's solution was the best one for the Museum of Man site. We debated a long time whether we would have Safdie for the Gallery or for the Museum of Man, and actually it was very touch and go right to the end.[27]

In a decision which was in the final analysis to be made by Cabinet, the support of Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau was essential. Trevor Boddy describes the crucial encounter between Douglas Cardinal and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau during which Cardinal was left alone with Trudeau to explain his building before the all-important presentation to cabinet. During a one hour session Trudeau incisively questioned Cardinal on materials, siting and the structure,

as well as his choice of forms in movement.

> The architect explained his inspiration from the banded
> limestone bluffs below the Houses of Parliament, and
> his hopes for an architecture in dialogue with
> landscape and river. Trudeau warmed strongly to this,
> speaking of his canoeing expeditions in the Northwest
> Territories and of the sectional views through rippling
> rock formations that whiz by in whitewater passages.
> Some further queries were followed by a pause, the
> architect sure that a decision had been made. Trudeau
> smiled broadly and said, "It's wonderful. Let's go in
> the next room and approve it," pointing at the cabinet
> room.[28]

Douglas Cardinal's discourse surrounding the CMC affirms the government mission to create a symbol around which Canadians can rally and be strengthened as a nation. However, he shapes that discourse to give it a particular inflection, one which is meaningful to people of the First Nations. To this end, he emphasizes connections between the architecture and a Native worldview.

In keeping with Cardinal's gesture, I have traced the sources for the CMC architecture to the symbolism of shamanism, as a site of Native cultural heritage. Banned under colonial administration, many of the rituals, myths and symbols of shamanism have been lost to First Peoples.

A renewed consciousness of ancestral heritage is apparent in many contemporary art practices, and involves a resurgence and renegotiation of the meaning of shamanism in the present. Cardinal's discourse lends support to the active retrieval of traditional spirituality in Native

communities, and substantiates cultural differences and different experiences of Canadian history, which can work to support politically engaged First Nations' activists.

CMC: A Case Study in the Dynamics of Culture

The dissertation is a case study in the dynamics of culture with emphasis on the role of the postmodern artistic subject. My intention is to describe the way in which Douglas Cardinal's identity as a Western Canadian of Blackfoot, German and Métis ancestry has affected the architecture of the Canadian Museum of Civilization and its signification. Certain aspects of Cardinal's physical environment and his worldview are examined.

The methodology draws on primary source site visits, interviews, art historical iconographic analysis, supported by the literature on shamanism. My observations are developed and structured through the epistemological current of critical theory in anthropology, art history and cultural studies, drawing particularly on theories of postcolonial discourse and identity. During this research, I visited Alberta to study Douglas Cardinal's architecture first-hand, and travelled throughout the regions which were part of Cardinal's formative years. The experience of the Badlands of Alberta, of the architecture of Edmonton and Calgary, particularly German Expressionism, and of the prairiescape

has provided an essential point of connectedness to Cardinal's architecture which I did not previously have access to as an Eastern Canadian.

Primary source site visits have formed a core ingredient in this analysis, including extensive explorations of the Canadian Museum of Civilization beginning with its early construction siting and following its first five years of development as a building dedicated to Canadian unity. This has been enhanced by visits to numerous Native heritage sites, such as the Peterborough Petroglyphs in Ontario.

Interviews with Douglas Cardinal and George MacDonald have also been helpful, as well as the various public lectures by them which I attended. Their writings have figured prominently here, and gave me insights which guided the direction of the research.

The artwork, paintings, sculpture, and films of First Nations producers have been scrutinized and culled for support of my hypothesis which links the iconography of the Museum to shamanic symbols and political engagement.

I have side-stepped, marginalized and at times ignored certain aspects of Cardinal's personal life and his academic training. In the first instance because it digresses from the issues I am addressing, and in the second because Trevor Boddy's monograph on Douglas Cardinal deals adequately with

the more conventional aspects of an art history study.[29]

Inevitably the dissertation works to make sense of what key players said and did in the context of political and theoretical ideas circulating at the time of the design and construction of the CMC. Douglas Cardinal is in this context seen as a postmodern multicultural subject and his architecture, his meaning, his identity are the basis of my analysis in so far as I can connect with what he is doing. The concept of the postmodern subject is used here as a way of identifying the condition of non-essentialist identity, of living in our contemporary world in which historical frameworks, meaning and values, are negotiated territories, conjunctural sites of hybridity, which place individuals in a constant position of constructing who they are. Not necessarily the same as the multicultural subject, it nevertheless involves a mediation of identity which in the case of the Native subject is implicated in a complex struggle involving national identity.

The dissertation acknowledges certain theoretical findings of early postmodern theory, feminism and post-structuralism, which emphasize the importance of discourse and the way in which the world is inflected by the way in which we describe or refer to it. Keeping this in mind, the intention is to take account of the materiality of the architecture, not within a framework of inherent value, but

rather as a matter of negotiated interpretations and
meanings constructed through discourse. This writing
constitutes part of the process, not simply an analysis from
a distant objective stance. It is a narrative constructed
from my experiences of life reflecting diverse
epistemological influences, sensory phenomena culturally
interpreted, and the stories of others told and retold.

This first chapter is intended to introduce the issues
which unfold in the following study. The next chapter
describes the construction of CMC as a political gesture to
create national symbols which will unify a multicultural
nation. However in the process of framing Canadian identity
within a colonialist paradigm associated with immigrants
taming the land, the Native experience as colonized 'other'
is erased. The relationship between nationalism, Native
people and the ethnological practices of the Museum is drawn
out in Chapter III, which considers the early history of CMC
as a colonial institution. Chapter IV engages directly with
the issues surrounding individual identity and expressive
form. The intention is to understand more fully the role
identity plays in the production and signification of
Douglas Cardinal's architecture, particularly the
Canadian Museum of Civilization. This section works to de-
stabilize the conventional architectural Euro-centric
paradigm within which Cardinal's architecture has been

studied and critiqued. The aim is to draw another discourse
into public view which will provide a different trajectory
for looking at Cardinal's work, one which is more identity
specific and local in nature.

Chapter V begins the process of establishing a
discourse surrounding CMC which is pertinent to a Native
worldview, as outlined in Cardinal's writings and lectures.
This section suggests that contemporary Native artistic
practices, including Cardinal's, are consciously
articulating meaning and form to shamanism. By so doing,
these artistic subjects provide a public forum through which
to examine the concerns and struggles surrounding being
Native in Canada at this moment in history. This particular
chapter is intended to establish a precedent for the
iconographic interpretation which follows in Chapter VI.
Using Native heritage sites and the literature on shamanism,
cosmology and mythology, an analysis of the iconography of
CMC is drawn out which relates to the symbolism of
shamanism. In the concluding section, Chapter VII,
'Indianness', the Land, Canadian identity and cultural
tourism are juxtaposed to the contemporary Native artistic
subject, Douglas Cardinal and his discourse of signification
surrounding CMC.

Essentially the dissertation explores the relationship
between the artistic subject, expressive form and the

problematic of signification in relation to a symbol of national identity. It seeks to understand what it means to construct a museum of Canadian history and ethnology which aims to define and solidify Canadian national identity. What does it mean to have such a building designed by an architect of Native ancestry? What does it mean to market such a museum using a tourism strategy which collapses a Land discourse and 'Indianness'? And finally, what does it mean when the architect actively inflects his architecture with meaning pertinent to First Peoples' heritage, and constructs a discourse of traditionalism and transcendentalism which carries a very specific relationship to the Land, one which is different from that of the non-Native society?

Endnotes - Chapter I

1. George Woodcock, <u>The Canadians</u> (Don Mills, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside Limited, 1979), 7.

2. Jana Bara, "The Image of Canada. Iconological Sources of Canadian Popular Symbolism: nineteenth-century souvenir photographs." Ph.D. diss., Concordia University (1991): 123.

3. Ibid., 17.

4. Ibid., 25.

5. Notman was a Scottish immigrant to Montreal, whose creative development of studio-scenes was highly influential in depicting a particular version of Canadian life in the nineteenth century.

6. Douglas Cole, "Patrons and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven," <u>Journal of Canadian Studies</u> 13 (2) (1978) quoted in Gaile McGregor, <u>The Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 51.

7. McGregor, Ibid., 217.

8. Denis Alsford and Stephen Alsford, <u>Housing the Reserve Collections</u> (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989), 6.

9. George F. MacDonald and Stephen Alsford, <u>A museum for the global village</u> (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989), 8.

10. Lawrence Grossberg, "Is There a Fan in the House?: The Affective Sensibility of Fandom," in <u>The Adoring Audience</u>, ed. Lisa A. Lewis (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), 57.

11. Stuart Hall, "On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall," ed. Lawrence Grossberg, <u>Journal of Communication Inquiry</u> 2 (2) (June 1985).

12. Grossberg, Ibid., 60.

13. Macdonald and Alsford, Ibid., 3.

14. Douglas J. Cardinal, <u>The National Museum of Man</u>, unpublished report submitted to the Canada Museums Construction Corporation, (January 1983), quoted in MacDonald and Alsford, <u>A museum for the global village</u>, 3.

15. Trevor Boddy, <u>The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal</u> (Edmonton, Alberta: NeWest Press, 1989), 95.

16. Douglas Cardinal and Satish Rao. "The Canadian Museum of Civilization: From Vision to Reality," (The Architect's reflections on the creation of the Canadian Museum of Civilization). Unpublished paper, compliments of the architect, Nov. 1987.

17. MacDonald and Alsford, Ibid., 16.

18. CMC Floorplans, Site plans and Elevations were given to author by the firm of Douglas J. Cardinal Architect Ltd., January 1993.

19. Abraham Rogatnick and Alvin Balkind, "The Work of Douglas Cardinal," <u>artscanada</u> XXXIII (3) (October/November 1976).

20. Arthur Drexler, <u>Transformations in Modern Architecture</u> (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1976). Johnson's influence is recorded in Trevor Boddy, Ibid., 103.

21. <u>Communique</u> Canada Council Press Release, February 23, 1993, Ottawa, Ontario.

22. Odile Hénault, "Dissection d'un processus de sélection," <u>Section a</u> 1 (3) (June/July 1983): 13.

23. Ibid., 13.

24. Ibid., 15, quoting from Canada Museums Construction Corporation - Press Release, February 10, 1983.

25. Jean Sutherland Boggs, "An Encounter with Jean Sutherland Boggs," <u>Section a</u> 1 (3) (June/July 1983), 17.

26. Hénault, Ibid., 14.

27. Boggs, Ibid., 18.

28. Boddy, Ibid., 91.

29. Boddy, Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION:

A SYMBOL OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

The Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) has been conceived as a national-popular symbol aimed to unify a diverse multicultural nation by providing a collective sense of common heritage, described in terms of immigration and the Land. In Chapter I, my particular concern was to establish the way in which a specific aspect of the Canadian imagination was appealed to in the construction and signification of CMC. This was characterized as a 'romantic' inscription, mythic in nature, and placing a particular value on the Land as representative of Canadian identity. I contended that historically the idiom of the Land has been collapsed with 'Indianness' in situating an identity specific to the New World. I now want to explore the political motivation to build CMC, a museum of history and ethnology, at this time in the history of Canada, a moment when national unity is being reframed.

After his re-election in 1980, Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, a strong federalist, authorized in 1982 the first negotiations towards creating two new museums by establishing the Canada Museums Construction Corporation, headed by Jean Sutherland Boggs, former Director of The

National Gallery of Canada. George MacDonald was the anthropologist in charge of planning for CMC, (called the Museum of Man at that time).[1] Located in Hull, Quebec, across the Ottawa River from the National Gallery of Canada and the Houses of Parliament, CMC is the first prominent federal cultural institution on the Quebec side of the National Capital's ceremonial route, which links numerous federal institutions: the Houses of Parliament, the National Archives, the Supreme Court Building, the National Gallery of Canada, the War Museum, and the Mint among others (Fig. 1).

Parc Laurier Site: Hull, Quebec

The development of Ottawa-Hull as a capital expressive of national identity is a responsibility which rests with the National Capital Commission (NCC), and they had significant input in the CMC project. Bringing the Quebec side of the Ottawa River into direct involvement with Parliament was keyed to enhance the image of the capital as a symbolic center. It was essential to develop what the NCC would call the Ceremonial Route linking both sides of the Ottawa River and constructing visible government ties between Ontario and Quebec. Establishing a strong chain of national symbols was uppermost in the minds of bureaucrats when the Museum was sited on the Hull side of the Link.[2]
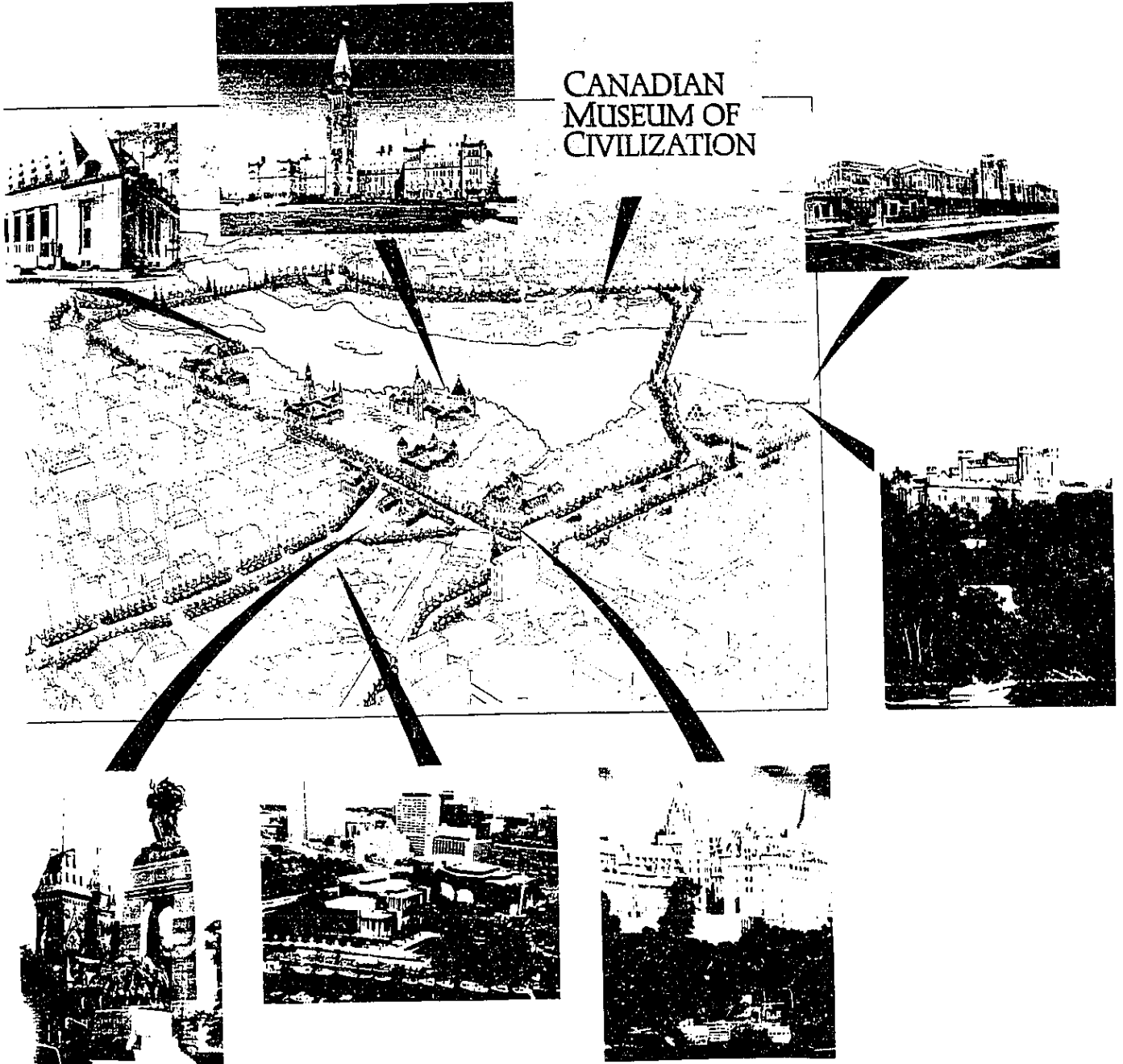
CANADIAN
MUSEUM OF
CIVILIZATION

Fig. 1 Confederation Boulevard is the ceremonial route
that ties together the Ottawa and Hull components of the
National Capital. CMC is located at Parc Laurier on the
Quebec side of the Link.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the global
village: The Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989.)

Historically this has been Algonquin territory and this site would have been highly used by them as middlemen in the fur-trade between the French, and the Indian hunters of the interior. When Champlain arrived in 1613 it was still being used as a trade junction between Eastern Woodlands people and the copper producers of Lake Superior. This was a major resting spot prior to undertaking the three difficult portages travelling west and north up the river. There were seasonal camps here and preparation for the arduous trek ahead (Fig. 2). Little Chaudiere Portage is located about three miles to the west of the site and pre-dates the first explorers of the Ottawa, Etiènne Brulé 1610, Nicholas de Vigneault 1611 and Samuel de Champlain 1613 and 1615. It is believed to be the only Indian trail remaining in a Canadian urban area, and is one of the thirty-six portages between Montreal and Georgian Bay (Fig. 3).[3]

Numerous camps were dotted in the areas adjoining the Parc Laurier site. While this is recognized as Algonquin territory, the Iroquois are thought to have occupied many of the passes of the Chaudiere Falls (Fig. 4). It was in fact the Mohawk who first named the nearby waterfalls, Big Kettle, later translated by the French to Chaudiere Falls, the name they now carry. Two of the campsites in the Museum area are distinctly different from the predominently Algonquin ones, and archaeological explorations indicate

Fig. 2 An engraving by J. Cousen based on a Bartlett
sepia drawing c. 1833. A Temporary Camp.
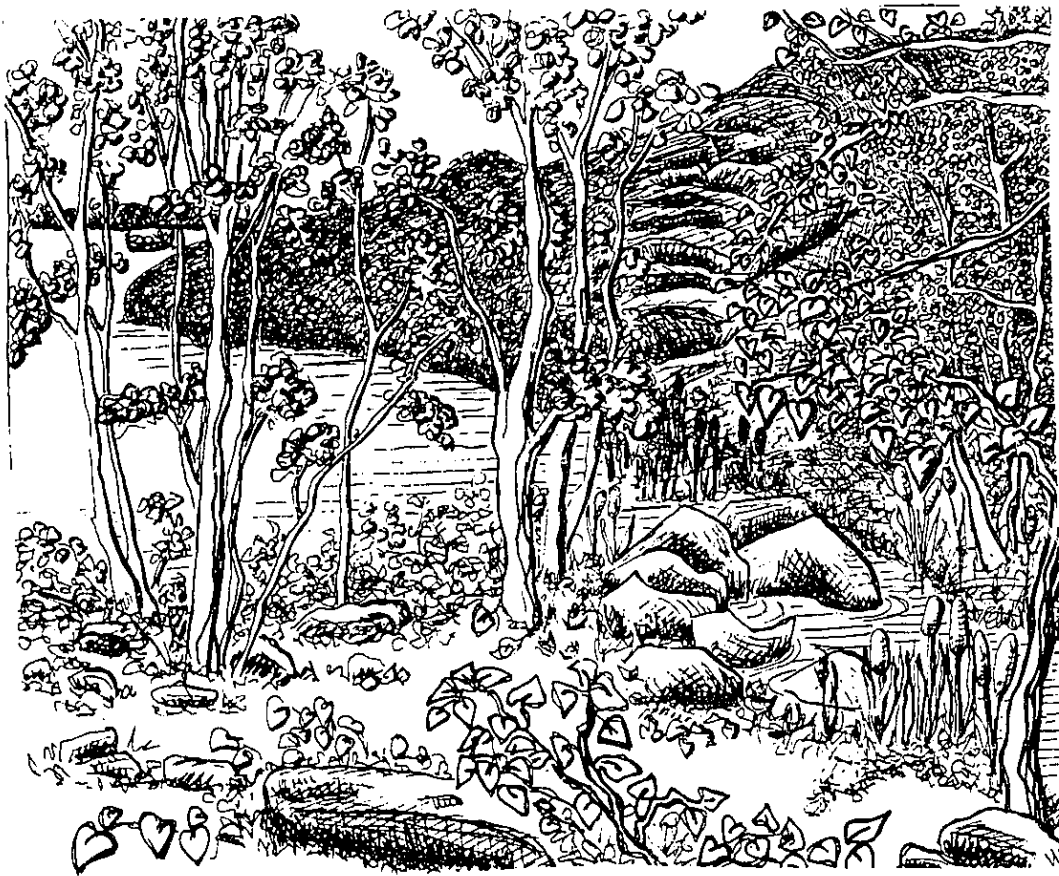(source: Bartlett's Canada,1968.

Fig. 3 Indian trail near CMC, one of the thirty-six portages
between Montreal and Georgian Bay.
(source: National Capital Region: Heritage, n/d/)

Fig. 4 The Chaudiere near Bytown, a Bartlett sepia drawing,
  c. 1838.
  (source: <u>Bartlett's Canada</u>, 1968)

prolonged Huron occupation here. The Huron are thought to have lived peacefully alongside the Algonquin for extended periods of time.[4] The dig which took place prior to the construction of the CMC was described by MacDonald and Alsford as a "rescue archaeology project", and it substantiated the long occupation of the Parc Laurier site, dating back to the Archaic period, about 6,000 years ago.[5]

Permanent non-Native settlement did not take place until fairly recently, in 1800. An American from Woburn, Massachussetts, Philomen Wright and a handful of friends and relatives travelled over frozen rivers to establish a settlement at the foot of the Chaudiere Falls in Hull on land which they had obtained from the Crown. Diane Aldred writes,

> The Gatineau and the Ottawa Rivers and their tributaries connected all corners of the township with the port of Quebec on the St. Lawrence, giving Wright and others an important early edge in the start of the great lumber trade of the 19th century.[6]

They were attracted by the tall stands of virgin pine in the area on which the lumber industry of the region would develop (Fig. 5). A digester, which is a remnant of the sulphite fibre mill started by Vermont native, Ezra Butler Eddy who settled in Hull in 1851, still remains on the CMC site (Fig. 6).[7]

Now primarily an area of mixed architectural styles, downtown Hull has become an extended arm of federal
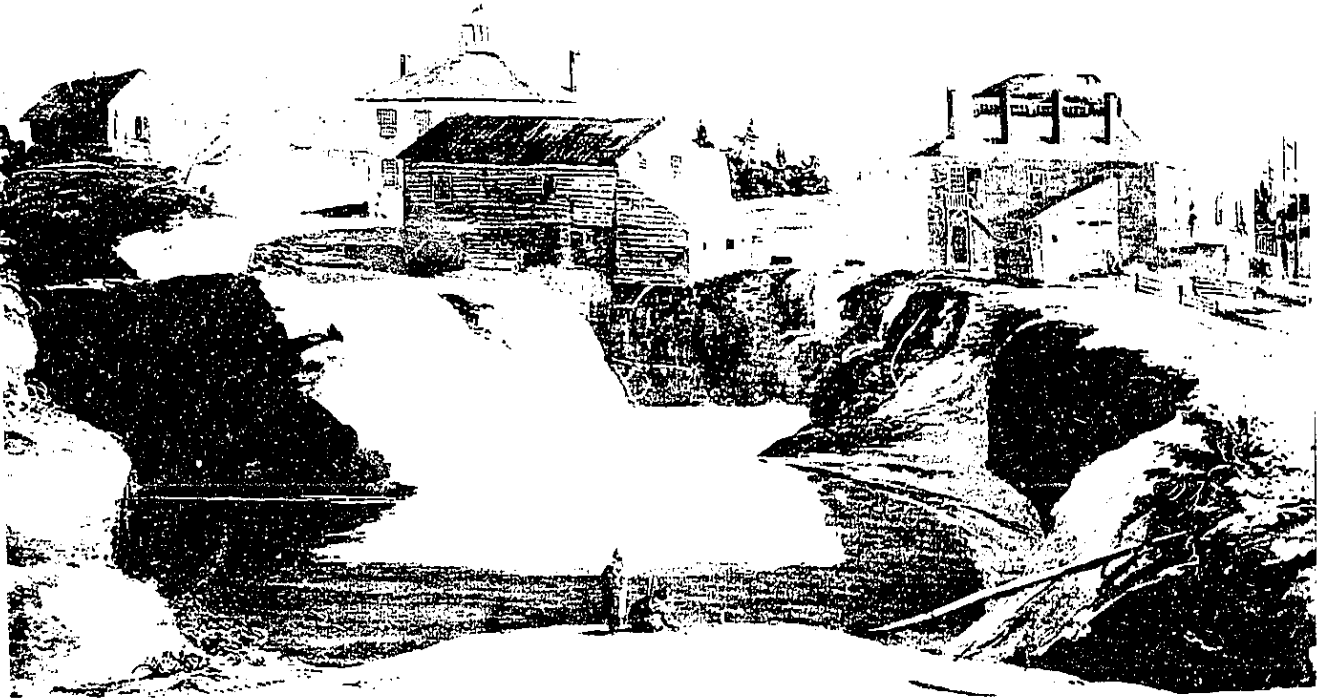
Fig. 5   The Wrights' Mill and their Columbia Hotel at the
Chaudiere Falls, a painting by H. du Vernet, 1823.
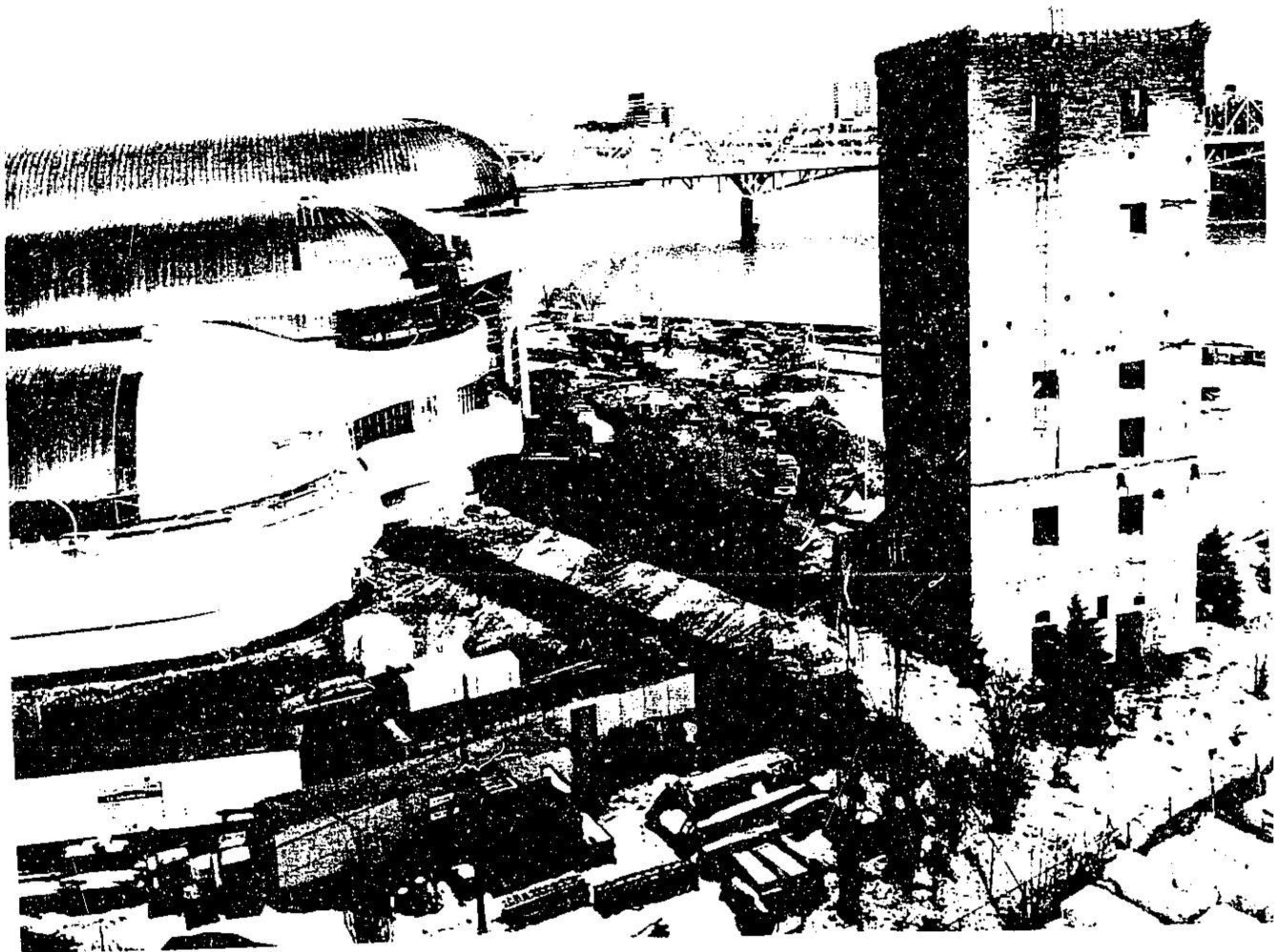(source: Diane Aldred, The Aylmer Road 1994)

Fig. 6 The digester tower, a remnant of the Eddy pulp mill.
Parc Laurier site, CMC.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the
global village, 1989)

government buildings constructed in the 1970's. In the
expediency to draw Hull, Quebec into the center of a
national capital core, little attention was given to
preserving the late-Victorian and early twentieth century
buildings which dotted the downtown sector and created a
particularly flavourful ambience. There is little
architectural context of significance in the area, and
Cardinal's particular design sensibility, which looks to the
surrounding land for inspiration, was crucial in this
instance.

Canadian Cultural Policy

In Canada the link between museums, government
cultural policy and national identity was first officially
embedded in the Massey/Levesque Royal Commission
investigating the Arts, Letters and Sciences in Canada in
1948. Its first public report of 1951 has been the prime
constituent of all later Canadian cultural policy at the
federal level. It advocated a major restructuring of
federal cultural involvement, and recommended the passage of
the National Museums Corporation Act which did not
materialize until 1968.

The Massey Commission recommended more government
involvement in financing culture, and particularly in
promoting an understanding of past historical experiences of

our founding communities. "Founding" communities was given

a particular interpretation, one which had little to do with

the reality of First Peoples. As D. A. Muise describes:

> . . . The Royal Commission recommended more government
> involvement in financing heritage culture, especially in
> promoting understanding of the historical experience of
> our founding communities . . . it was argued, rapid
> urbanization and renewed immigration posed a threat to
> traditional **Anglo/Celtic** values, which had to be
> reinforced if the nation was to survive the post-modern
> world. [emphasis added][8]

The federal government involvement in cultural policy gave

it a role as agent which it had never before aspired to and

which was to set the agenda for cultural politics in Canada

for the future.

The shift in power after the Second World War, from

the British Imperial center to an American one, saw Canadian

cultural alliances torn between identifying with the Old

World and the New. The United States served as a model on

this continent of a self sufficient new international

culture based on American values. But it was also a

motivating force in determining the boundaries of Canadian

identity.

The Diefenbaker era (1956-1964) brought with it

prosperous times and vigorous federal involvement in

cultural affairs leading up to Canada's centennial

celebration of 1967. For the first time in Canadian history

all levels of cultural interest groups were invited to

participate in articulating Canadian identity. Patriotism

ran high as preparations for Canada's centennial involved a large segment of the population. It is during the sixties that a "salvage" inspired heritage preservation movement emerged. This is best typified by restoration schemes such as Ontario's Upper Canada Village. The impact of these substantial projects on the heritage movement had important implications for tour:_m, education, and patriotism.

The bureaucratic army created during the centennial celebrations in 1967, mobilized in 1968 to keep culture moving in the direction of national unity. It is during this period that the Canadian Museums Association gradually emerged as an effective lobbying instrument on behalf of the institutions that came into existence in record numbers in the ensuing decade. It joined a number of other special interest organizations articulating the broader cultural community's perspective on government policies.[9]

This was a time of energetic cultural involvement at the federal level. The patriotic centennial aspirations of 1967, were now restructured to resolve the basic issues facing the nation. **Culture was put in the service of national unity.** Faced with the breakdown of the fabric of Confederation, policy-makers developed a multicultural paradigm within which to describe a Canadian identity. But it was the National Museums Policy of 1972, under Secretary of State Gerald Pelletier, which articulated an expansion of

the museum's role of preservation and interpretation, by focussing on an aspect of Trudeauist ideal known as "participatory democracy". To this end **democratization** and **decentralization** became the buzz words of the museological world in the 1970's and 80's in Canada.

Various dissemination programmes such as the 'Museumobiles' and the 'Unity Train' were sent out from Ottawa and directed toward school audiences, with the intention of dispersing Canadian 'heritage' across a broad section of the country. Generally, museums began to interpret the need to democratize and decentralize their services as a push toward non-elitist programming, which seems to have meant developing interpretive technological formats which fit into a cultural tourism model. Muise emphasizes that,

> As they take more and more of the public's dollars, curators are held accountable by politically centred bureaucrats, making programme funding dependent on conformity to politically arrived at objectives.[10]

Once in this cycle of expensive activity, museums become locked into providing evidence of their validity as tourist sites. They must then rationalize their existence on the basis of public appeal. That they **appear** to be reaching the public within a politically sanctioned discourse is what becomes important. In Canada this has meant linking multiculturalism and National identity to tourism.

The Cultural Tourist

CMC covers a total surface area of 100,000 square meters (four times the size of its previous residence at the Victoria Memorial Museum). The Museum is composed of two separate curving buildings, clad in pale ochre fossilized stone from Tyndall, Manitoba and capped with bulbuous copper rooflines, reminiscent of igloos and longhouses (Fig. 7). It was inaugurated on 29 June, 1989, and is still in the active process of shaping its programme, one which is intended to unify Canadians and is tailored to 'cultural tourism'.

Douglas Cardinal's initial drawing and model for the CMC was a highly refined single structure, almost entirely sited below street level and barely recognizable as a building. It was an elegantly stepped structure, marked only by a triangular, tent-like symbol sculpted above the main entrance (Fig. 8). The splitting and spreading of the building as well as its set-back situation from the Alexandra Bridge were the result of programme requirements requesting view cones to Parliament Hill on the Ontario side (Fig.9) of the River. Traditionally the central axis of a structure is determined by the 'heart' of the building. At the CMC, the central axis parallels that of the Grand Hall and aligns the centre of the Entrance Plaza with the Peace Tower on the Ottawa side of the river, preserving the view of the Parliament Buildings tourists would recognize from

the back of the Canadian one-dollar bill (Fig. 10).[11]   And

it is the tourist who figures most prominently in all

aspects of the development of the CMC.

The Museum visitor is described within the parameters

of a "cultural tourist" and the Museum product circumscribed

within the concept of "heritage". The architecture of the

building had to meet the requirements of the functional

programme and provide a visual symbol which would attract

tourists and make the mandate possible to fulfill. It was

anticipated the Museum would stimulate the tourist industry

in the National Capital Region:

> Buildings that were themselves works of art would be
> an attraction in their own right; more so if they
> provided facilities which allowed major exhibitions
> of international renown into the capital. A growing
> public interest in heritage over the last couple of
> decades has meant that places able to offer a
> quality cultural 'product' are often the most
> successful tourist destinations. Increasingly today
> one encounters references not merely to 'tourism'
> but specifically to 'cultural tourism'.[12]

Robert Kelly of the University of British Columbia was

engaged by the Museum to develop a master plan for serving

the tourist. Kelly's analysis is credited with identifying

a shift occurring in the needs of the museum visitor. This

research appears to have legitimized CMC's theme-park model.

In this study, Kelly suggests that while the museumgoer

presents a relatively stable profile now, by the turn of the

century demographic characteristics will drastically alter

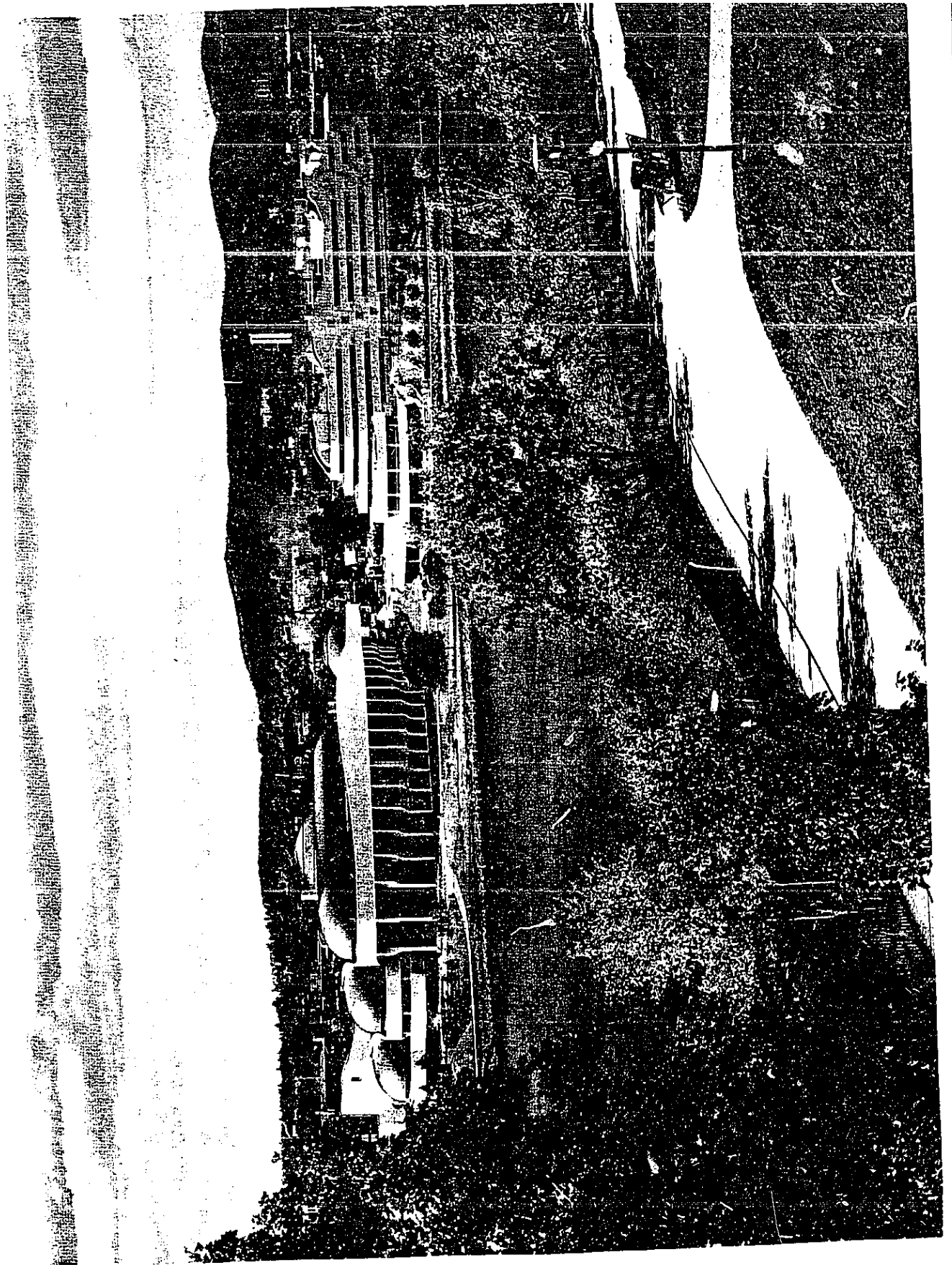the face of the 'new' visitor to the museum. He suggests

Fig. 7 CMC, echoing the Gatineau Hills in the distance.
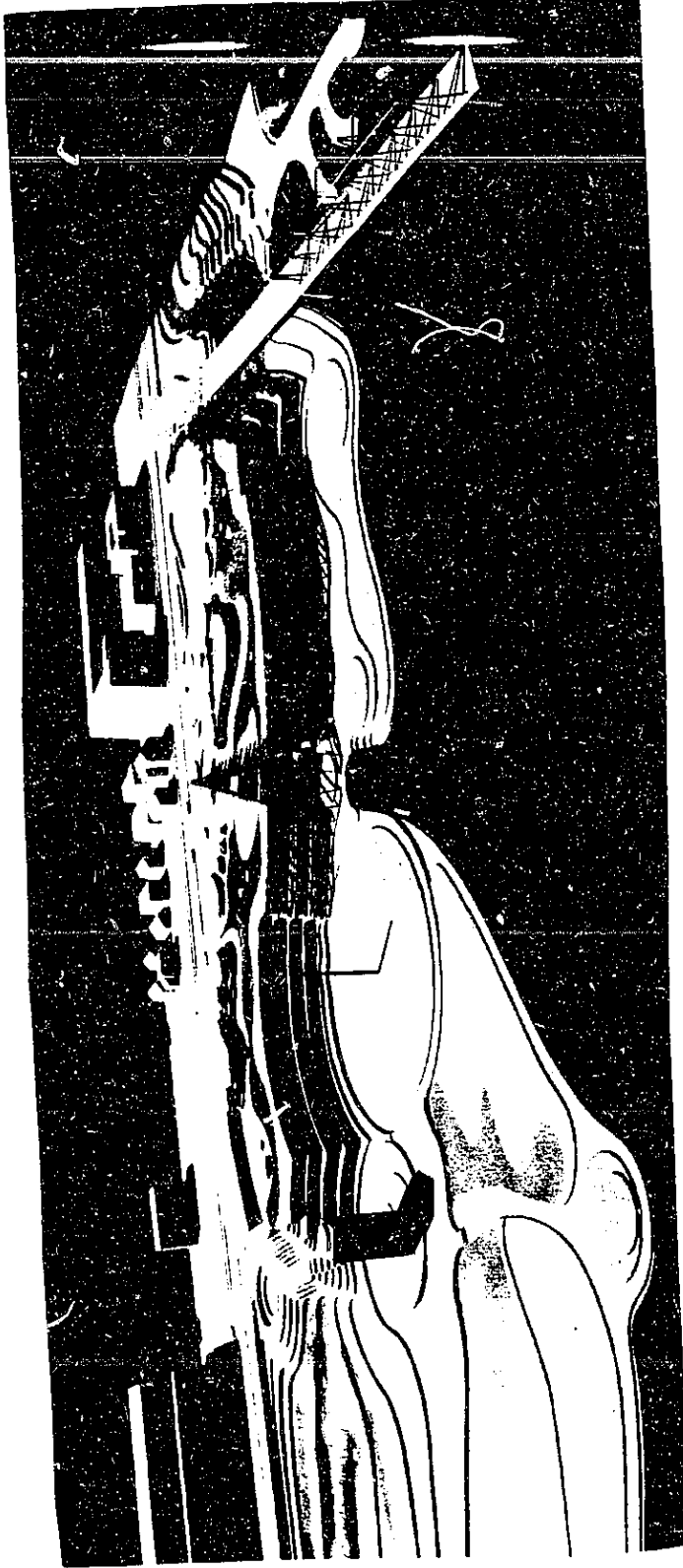 (source: photo by Malak, CMC,1990)

Fig. 8 Cardinal's original concept of a continuous building for
CMC.
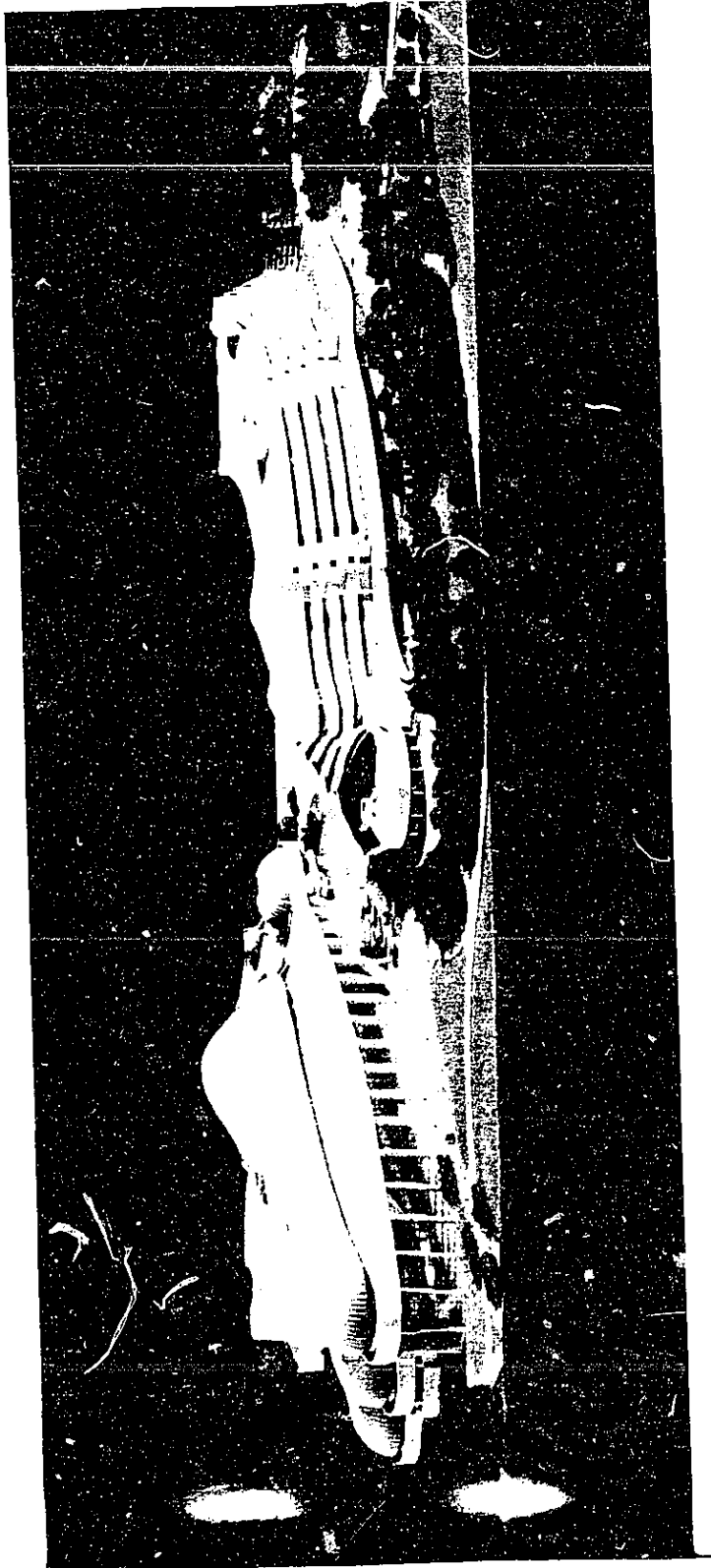(source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the global
village, 1989)

Fig. 9 The final model for CMC showing the building split into two separate wings, to allow for a view through from Hull to Parliament Hill. (source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the global village, 1989)

Fig. 10 The view of Parliament Hill on the back of the
dollar bill.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, <u>A Museum for the global
village</u>, 1989)

that these future visitors will be more highly
technologically trained and that museum visiting will
constitute a symbolic expression of their newly acquired
position in society. They, according to Kelly, will be more
interested in services, restaurants, lounges and cinemas;
because "having been there" will be more important than
having some kind of profound experience. This study was
taken very seriously by CMC in formulating the functional
programme. The main push reinforced by Kelly's work, was
the necessity to appeal to the cultural tourist of the
future.[13]

The Museum site is surrounded by walking paths, bike
routes and outdoor stages, all of which reflect a
rededication of the Museum and the site to tourism (Figs.
11, 12, 13 and 14). This is a drastic departure from both
the architecture and the setting of the previous Museum,
David Ewart's Victoria Memorial Museum Building on Metcalfe
Street close to downtown Ottawa. Ewart's building had
housed the Museum since 1910 when it was still the
Geological Survey, the same year in which a professional
Anthropology Division was added to the Museum's geological,
archaeological, botanical, zoological and ethnological
administrations. (Figs. 15) The Museum opened to the public
in 1911 and continued to remain there until its recent move
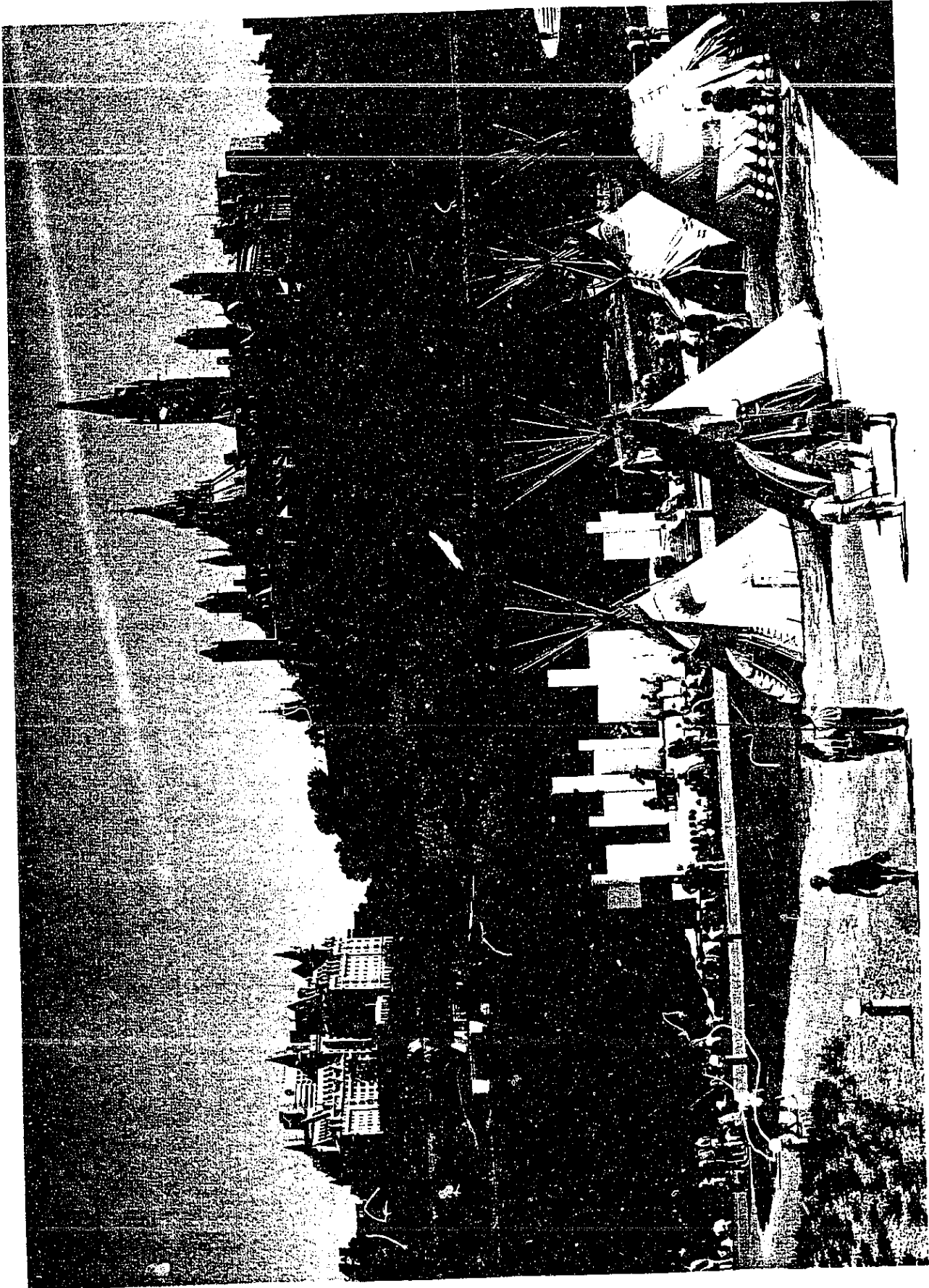to the new CMC site in Hull. During this time, from 1911 to

Fig. 11 CMC Waterfront stage and replicas of Plains tipis, 19th c. (source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)
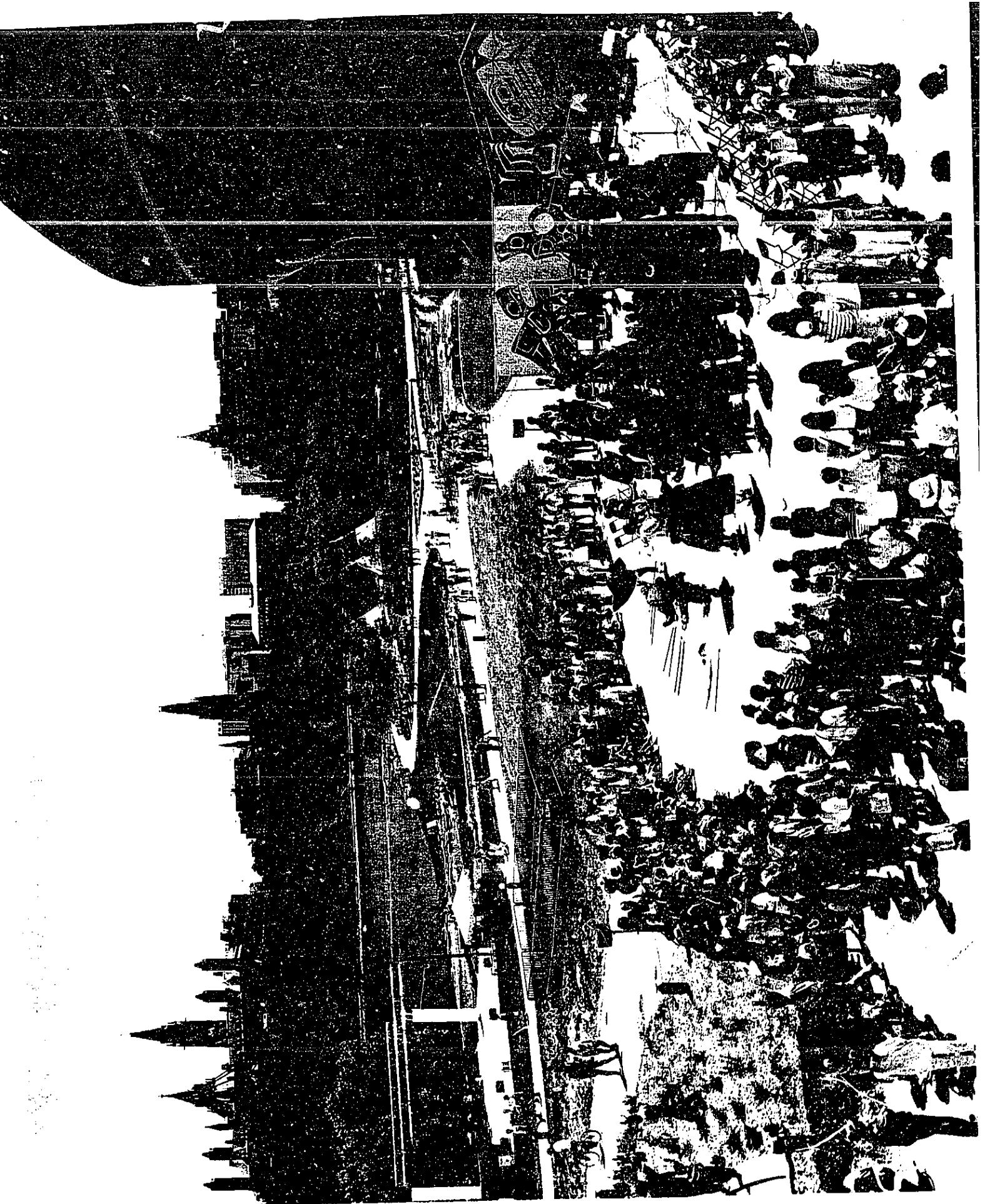
Fig. 12 Tourists viewing Native traditional dancing at CMC
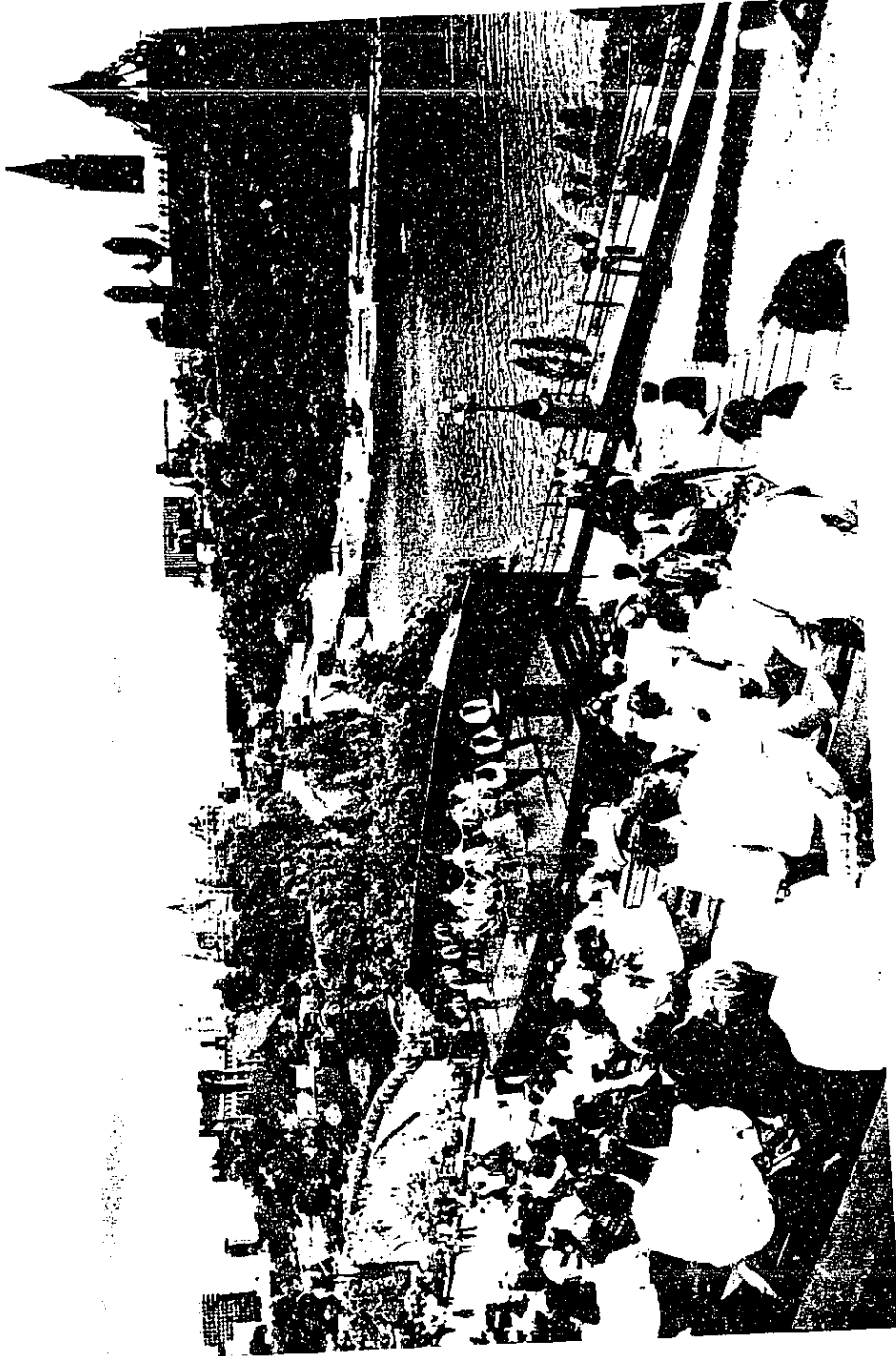(source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)

Fig. 13 Waterfront stage, walking paths in background and
Parliament Hill across the Ottawa River.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the gobal village,
1989)

Fig. 14   A giant puppet of an Indian ". . a form of
  entertainment that delights children and adults alike"
  (source: photo by Malak CMC, 1990)

Fig. 15   The Victoria Memorial Museum Building which
housed the Museum from 1911 until 1989.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the
global village, 1989)

1989, the spectacular and massive collection of Indian artifacts which formed the bulk of the Museum holdings featured prominently in establishing the character of the Museum and its appeal to the public. In its imposing and monumental exterior and dark panelled interior, the Victoria Memorial Building offered a quiet place of contemplation, which required nothing of the visitor and acted as a presentation 'case' for Native artifacts, pioneer items, natural history displays and at one time, paintings. In marked contrast, the new Canadian Museum of Civilization encourages visitor participation and involvement and is geared to a variety of activities and entertainment intended to appeal to the 'cultural tourist'.

The result has been a Museum developed around an enormously complex programme aimed to present a unifying story of the Canadian experience. It has become the object of an intensive marketing strategy to ensure its success. George MacDonald's role in selling the Museum and its programme has been significant. He has written profusely about CMC and its goals, attended museum and communications conferences around the world lecturing on the Museum, made himself available to the Press and provided an open atmosphere for scholarly investigation of museum issues, as well as motivate employees to maintain a friendly site for visitors. All this he has done with considerable

success.[14]

As an undergraduate, MacDonald studied at the
University of Toronto while Marshall McLuhan was developing
his communications theories, and was a student of Edward
Carpenter, a frequent McLuhan collaborator.[15] It was
MacDonald's particular vision which propelled the Museum in
the direction of a Global Village site modelled on theme-
parks such as the Epcot Centre. At the heart of this
utopian idea was the image of a high technology centre,
equipped with miles of fibre optic cable which would
facilitate high capacity data and image transmission across
Canada, and eventually around the world. The blanched
curving clear walls of the interior of the Museum are
expected to serve as projection screens for the simulations
which will pulsate in every area of the exhibit spaces.
Visualized as a place where simulation would be enhanced by
live performances and the Canadian innovation of
IMAX/OMNIMAX ethnographic films, MacDonald saw the CMC as a
way of connecting different cultures and values through the
Museum programme.

Guided by the museological tenor of the 1970's, CMC
developed a philosophy of public programming largely
inspired by the National Museum Policy of 1972, which
stressed increased public access to what became known as
heritage collections. I draw attention to this emphasis in

nomenclature because it is central to the interests of the period, wherein museum collections were seen to be an important factor in describing a particular history of Canada, one which would encourage patriotic allegiance and a sense of national pride and identity. Collection policies increasingly reflected the newly established federal Multiculturalism Policy.

As the Museum built up these expansive collections as well as enormous staffs of museological and scientific experts, the Victoria Memorial Museum Building was seen to be unfit.[16] During this time much was made of the fact that the building was apparently sinking because it had been built on unstable ground. However, it is worth noting that the Victoria Memorial Building still stands and is in constant use, where it continues to house the Natural History Museum.

The Museum acknowledges that its central mandate is an on-going engagement with Canadian national identity, and the need to establish symbols which re-inforce a strong centralist government. As Moira McLoughlin points out, the Canadian Museum of Civilization describes itself as the "glue our multicultural mosaic has lost". Paraphrasing George MacDonald, McLoughlin says, "We can, it is argued, participate and seemingly control the nation's collective memory, for this is how the Museum identifies its

collections." [17]

MacDonald and his assistant Stephen Alsford have written extensively on the mandate of CMC to act as a unifying vehicle in Canada. They define the CMC role in keeping with the Ontario Heritage Policy Review which reads as follows:

> In seeking to define Canada's unique cultural identity, we have become increasingly aware of the need to have a sense of who and what we are as a collective . . . . This sense of self in the individual or in groups is a vital sustaining force in adversity and essential for the mobilization of community resources. But it requires an appreciation of what we have inherited, a collective memory, and a will to cultivate it. [18]

MacDonald and Alsford clearly outline the Museum's intentions to provide an historic bank of "collective memory", to interpret that history, and to play a unifying political role. They write, "CMC offers, both to Canadians and non-Canadians, an initiation into the national identity".

As one of the components in a cultural master-plan, CMC, together with other new museums such as the National Gallery of Canada, the National Aviation Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Photography, is seen as a federal government commitment to an active role in cultural affairs. And this role is located in a particular interpretation of the function of museums as institutions uniting through

common ideals a diverse multicultural country.

> This collective memory, of the many people and
> cultures in the Canadian mosaic, is institutionalized
> in many forms. Canada being a nation of immigrants
> from diverse backgrounds, there is a national tendency
> to look to public institutions to preserve and
> interpret our past experiences. Museums therefore
> have a unifying role.[19]

Multiculturalism

In 1971 the Canadian government issued a
multiculturalism policy. By 1988, this was embedded in law
with the Multiculturalism Act. In its objective of giving
expression to certain values, the Canadian Museum of
Civilization has adopted federal cultural emphasis on
multiculturalism as the basis of its mission. CMC's
position on ethnicity celebrates distinct ethnic origins
within the context of a national identity. This has taken
the shape of performance, exhibits, vignettes and simulated
settings keyed to representing a multicultural ethnic
folkway.

In the process of creating a spectacular display of
Canadian history, traditional museological display
techniques based on ethnological practices combine with
popular culture presentations of ethnic performances. The
complex concerns circulating around ethnological museums and
Indigenous people, however, creates an ethical dilemma in
terms of such museum practices and marketing strategies. To
collapse Native identity with 'Indianness' presents

particular problems for First Nations as colonized people.

Gail Valaskakis points out that cultural tourists have long been interested in representations of 'Indianness'. Postcard Indians are the images produced by non-natives, but they are also Native heritage. These representations enshrined in Canadian cultural products, Valaskakis argues, stand ". . . in silent contradiction to the memories and lived experiences of Indians".

> From the romantic representations of CP ads on the beauty of Banff and the vulgar stereotypes of plastic, pot-bellied Indian banks and cross-eyed, wind-up toys, to the marginalized Indians of historical and political process, Canadian images of Indians have worked to construct a discourse of subordination.[20]

The struggle between Indians and 'others' is played out in the theatre of cultural tourism, she says, where art, artifacts and 'grave goods', stories and films are all contested territories involving negotiations over cultural identity and related to the "ethnological fate" of Indians.

In the marketing strategies of the Museum and the performance and display programmes, the ethnological Indian is very much present and a visible factor at CMC. In the construction of a national-popular symbol which slides Native identity into a stereotype of 'Indianness', there lies a contradiction in the stated core mission of the Museum, which is to mediate cultures and to enhance cross-cultural knowledge. As Valaskakis indicates,

> This struggle to assert control over images, and
> identities and localities is, at another level, a
> dispute about representation, power and identity, and
> the social reality in which these are expressed and
> lived in political process and popular culture.[21]

Annie Coombes in "Museums and the Formation of

National and Cultural Identities" argues that a discourse of

multiculturalism which informs the agendas of ethnographic

museums throughout the Western world is a cultural

initiative mired in a quicksand of contradictions. By

elaborating a case study situated in a comparable historical

juncture, in 1902, when a British education act aimed at

"education for all" was implemented, Coombes draws out the

way in which the museums of the day interpreted this mission

in terms of "attracting a larger and more diverse public".

Walking a tightrope between a position of relative autonomy

and supposedly disinterested ethics, museums at the same

time defined themselves as useful tools in the service of

colonial administration. This position was framed in light

of the political issues of 1902 which centered on

> . . . the renewal of concerted strategies by both
> contending parliamentary parties to promote the concept
> of a homogeneous national identity and unity within
> Britain. Imperialism was one of the dominant ideologies
> mobilised to this end."[22]

How the museums did this in 1902, according to Coombes, was

to draw on the international trade exhibitions of the day

which were designated as "popular entertainment" and

"spectacles". These were extremely well-attended events,

which took place on sites developed especially for the

purpose. They attracted their audience through the same

heady rhetoric of educational and national coherence which

the museum was aiming at. Is it any wonder that

ethnographic curators sought to define their contribution

within the same parameters? As Coombes points out, museum

curators had the enormous obstacles of the museum building

itself, and the debates of the day focused on this as a

major issue.

> In view of ethnographic curators' claims to the popular
> (albeit 'scientific') accessibility of the presentation
> inside the building, it is significant that the external
> 'shell' -- in the case of the larger municipal and
> national collections -- was the 'temple' type. The
> imposing and distancing connotations of this type of
> public building were fully appreciated by many
> contemporary curators and resulted in a series of novel
> architectural schemes which were designed to overcome
> this obstacle.[23]

The international [colonial] trade exhibitions were

known for precisely the absence of such a monolithic

structure and an apparent lack of rigorously imposed control

over the viewing space. Through the rhetoric of "learning

through pleasure", the trade fairs achieved a popularity

that was the envy of the traditional museum.

> Far more successfully than the museum, whose exhibits
> could only signify the colonised subject, the
> exhibitions literally captured these potentially
> dangerous subjects and reproduced them in a 'safe',
> contained and yet accessible and supposedly open
> environment.[24]

It is worth pausing here and absorbing Coombes'

interpretation. In an apparently more inclusive and non-racist environment, the seemingly undirected trade fair format went beyond signifying the other to actually capturing these potentially dangerous subjects. How was this done?

> This usually meant constructing mock 'villages' stocked with items that were purportedly characteristic and representative of a particular culture. Often peopled by troupes of professional performers from different African societies, Ceylon or other participants from Ireland and Scotland, these 'villages' were always favourites for press attention.[25]

Involved in this success was a search for the authentic experience which these villages fostered. As "spectacles" which preserved a "cultural divide", Coombes suggests they made available to the tourist an experience of the exotic which provided both a sense of availability and containability.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization is characterized by precisely this genre of exhibit format, now known under the rubric of theme-park. Expansive streetscapes and villagescapes are expected to provide the tourist with a sense of experiencing Canadian history first-hand. (Figs. 16, 17, and 18). But the history of First Nations as colonized subjects is implicated in the post-colonial critique of the ethnographic model of culture in which the 'other' is captured as an object of study within a category of 'the primitive'. As Marian Bredin writes:
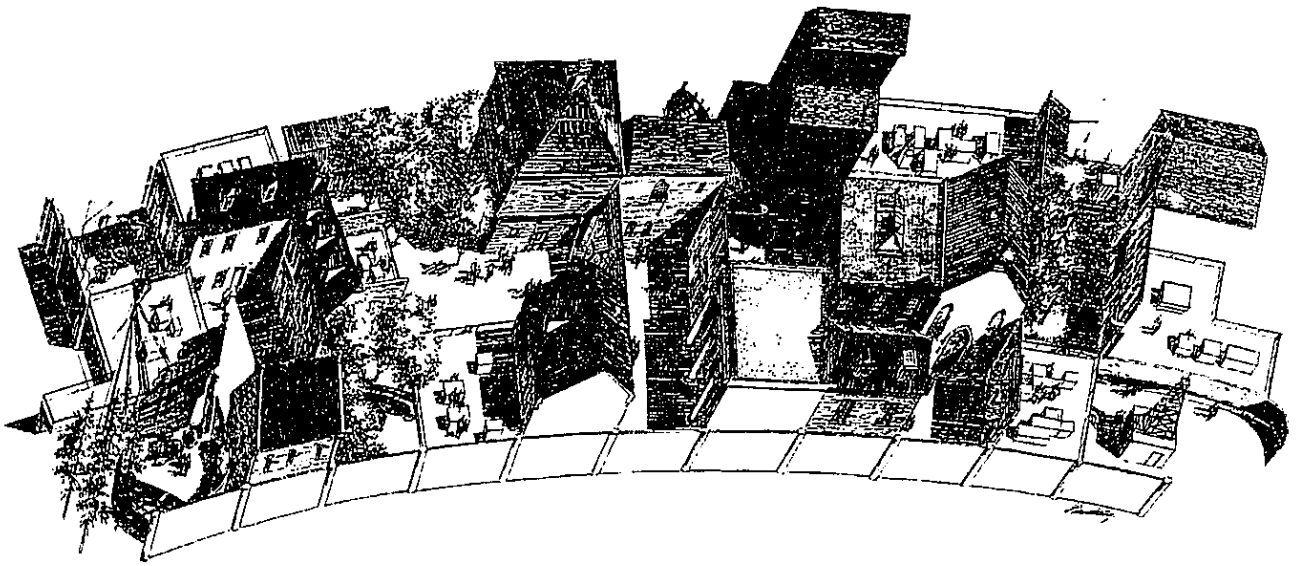
Fig. 16 The History Hall at CMC holds full scale
streetscapes.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, <u>A museum for the</u>
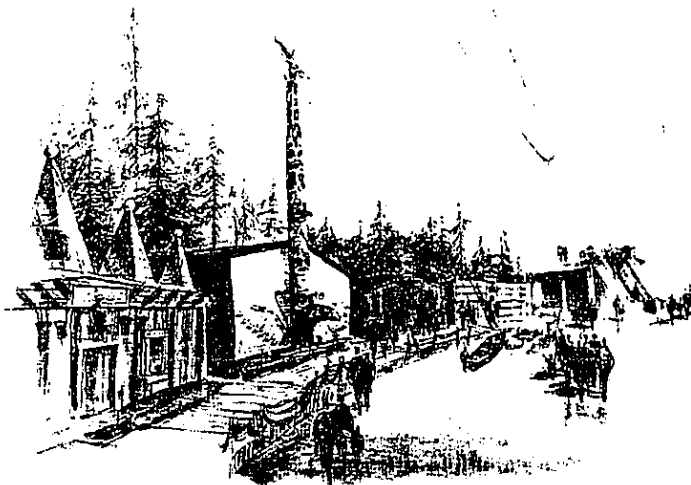<u>global village</u>, 1989)

Fig. 17 The Grand Hall at CMC includes a West Coast
village reconstruction complete with totem poles.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, _A museum for the
global village_, 1989)

Fig. 18 Tourists viewing totem poles in the
Grand Hall at CMC.
(source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)

> These constructions of the primitive are linked to the
> "salvage" mode of early cultural anthropology promoted
> by Franz Boas, with its emphasis on "natural" and
> uncontaminated (i.e. unexploited, undestroyed) Native
> cultures.[26]

This need to describe Native cultures within a static pre-

contact history was encouraged by early cultural

anthropology and worked to support a colonial administration

which viewed subject peoples as ". . . remnants of the past,

and so avoided having to deal with them as historical and

political equals." Bredin emphasizes the following:

> Anthropology helped contribute to the intellectual
> rationalization of colonialism. . . . Yet anthropology,
> despite the Boasian critique of scientific racism,
> developed little or no analysis of the effects of
> conquest and exploitation. A truly critical
> anthropology would examine the ways in which ethnography
> reproduced a colonial hierarchy of domination and how it
> was furthered by, and legitimated, colonial regimes.[27]

If on the one hand the Canadian Museum of Civilization

fell into traditional museological methods which are now

under critical scrutiny at ethnological museums throughout

the world, it did on the other hand, through its discursive

practices, express the intention to act as a vehicle which

would facilitate cross-cultural experiences. As Lorna Kee,

Chief of Education and Cultural Affairs for the Museum

outlines:

> Over the past several years interpretation with the CMC
> had moved from one focused on the dissemination of
> information derived from the institution's collections

and research findings to a function that could be more properly defined as mediation or brokering between objects or experiences and the user. Strongly influenced by the nature of the museum's research disciplines - history and anthropology, the approach to subject matter was often cross-cultural, focusing on the processes of change and seeking context, patterns and interrelationships.[28]

The promotion of intercultural understanding is seen to be the Museum's "core mission". This motivation to facilitate peaceful and lawful harmony is central to the Canadian way. Using the model of the 'eco-museum' where citizens take an active role in identifying and developing the heritage of their territory, the Museum is expected to act as a catalyst wherein the public, through different interest groups becomes the manager, curator, animator and consumer of the Museum's product.[29] It is a position which is to a large extent based in a belief that the Museum can play a mediating role not only at home in Canada but on a global scale, through its advanced technological facilities. Using the concept of the 'global village' in deference to " that great Canadian communication and media pioneer, Marshall McLuhan, [who] has so influenced the direction of the Museum's development that he deserves to be considered an honorary mentor of the Project!"[30], CMC is seen to have the technological capability and the will to mediate cultural differences, allowing it to connect with other nations.

This perspective reflects Canada's image of itself as a
nation which seeks to promote world peace. If Canada is
not a melting-pot, it can be seen as a crossroads where
valid cultural forms can be exchanged and built upon.
. . . As Canada in microcosm, CMC uses the crossroads
model to provide an arena in which different cultures
meet for their better mutual understanding.[31]

Indians and National Identities

As Gail Valaskakis reminds us "Indians are

deeply implicated in this politicized struggle over national

culture and its ethnocentric or pluralist extensions."[32]

Issues of history, cultural conquest, Aboriginal title,

identity and sovereignty are central to the conjunctural

point at which Canada finds itself. Valaskakis says,

"Native culture is living traditionalism: the practice of

everyday life experienced collectively and individually as

heritage, a multi-vocal past re-enacted daily in the

ambiguous play of power and identity."[33]

In keeping with the paradigm articulated by

Valaskakis, this thesis argues that there is no essential

correspondence between being a First Nations person and a

traditionalist Native world-view. However, it should be

acknowledged that there exists a large body of art,

literature, film, oral and written history which would

indicate that contemporary artistic practices are infused

with traditional Native spirituality, myth and history.

While there is a real danger in articulating Native to a

spiritual belief system linked to nature in an essentialist way, it would seem important to recognize that threaded through cultural change is a strength of belief in the circle which unifies nature and culture in Native tradition.

Within the cultural and political struggle of contested identities among Indian women and men, the unity of culture and nature is grounded in the constant reality of the elders and the Land. As Valaskakis emphasizes, "It is the land -- real and imagined, lived in heritage and current political process, and expressed in discourse -- which constitutes the connection between nature and culture for Indians."[34]

If CMC cannot describe a Canadian identity rooted in a single image of the people, it has chosen instead to define a national identity linked to an implicit homogenization of experience, as immigrants coping with the Land. This does not in any way bring into question the different historical experience of First Nations people as colonized 'other'. In the search for a totalizing narrative of Canadian history, the counter-narratives of the nation have been avoided. Issues of contact, subordination, unethical government practices, and particularly land use and land claims are absent in this version of the 'history of the people'.

Homi Bhabha describes a Third Space of national identity. Here, the nation is defined as a temporal space of

narration. It is the moment when "the differential
temporalities of cultural histories coalesce in an
immediately readable present".

> The present of the people's history, then, is a
> practice that destroys the constant principles
> of the national culture that attempt to hark back to
> a 'true' national past, which is often represented in
> the reified forms of realism and stereotype.[35]

Bhabha places the people on the limits of the nation's
narrative, the spaces where colonized people emerge as
citizens of a community whose identity cannot be signified
through the fixed singular national narrative of a liberal
discourse of nation which legitimizes a simple unchallenged
national history. In his call for a renegotiation of the
terms of history, Bhabha is taking account of the
"incommensurability" of a totalizing history which does not
consider the living reality and emergent power of diverse
peoples.

> The aim of cultural difference is to re-articulate
> the sum of knowledge from the perspective of the
> signifying **singularity** of the 'other' that resists
> totalization - the repetition that will not return
> as the same, the minus-in-origin that results in
> political and discursive strategies where adding-to does
> not add-up but serves to disturb the calculation of
> power and knowledge, producing other spaces of subaltern
> signification.[36]

In the urgency to accomodate a multicultural discourse
at the Museum, described in terms of immigration, the
disparities in the Native experience of Canadianism had to
be veiled. First Nations people had to be seen to fit into

the discourse marketing the Museum and one of the few ways was through the symbol of the Land, whitewashed of its real conflictual implications where First Nations are concerned. In this process, the relationship of colonizer to colonized has been erased.

The Land as contested territory, as representative of Native spiritual beliefs which have been smothered, the Land as a sign of Canadian unethical behaviour does not fit well with Canadians' feelings about themselves as a humanitarian and egalitarian society. Yet, as this chapter indicated, it is precisely this signification which has been attached to the Canadian Museum of Civilization in spite of its contradictory meaning in relation to people of the First Nations.

Endnotes - Chapter II

1. Trevor Boddy, <u>The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal</u> (Edmonton, Alberta: NeWest Press, 1989), 83.

2. George F. MacDonald and Stephen Alsford, <u>A museum for the global village: The Canadian Museum of Civilization</u> (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989), 8.

3. <u>National Capital Region: Heritage</u> (Ottawa-Hull, Canada: National Capital Commission, n.d.- Purchased 1976): 222.

4. T.W.E. Sowter, "Algonkin and Huron Occupation of the Ottawa Valley," <u>The Ottawa Naturalist</u> XXIII, (July and August, 1909): 63, 71, 73, 79.

5. MacDonald and Alsford, Ibid., 22.

6. Diane Aldred, <u>The Aylmer Road: An Illustrated History</u> (Aylmer, Quebec: The Aylmer Heritage Association, 1994), 13, 16.

7. Ibid.

8. D.A. Muise, "The Museum and the Canadian Community: A Historical Perspective," in <u>Toward the 21st Century</u>, ed. Leslie H. Tepper. (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization Mercury Series Directorate Paper No. 5, 1989), 17.

9. Ibid., 19.

10. Ibid., 23.

11. MacDonald and Alsford, Ibid., 6.

12. MacDonald and Alsford, Ibid., 8.

13. Robert Kelly, "Museums as Status Symbols II: Attaining a State of Having Been," in <u>Advances in Non-Profit Marketing</u>, ed. R. Belk, (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1984), 4.

14. The bibliography at the end of this study indicates the profuse output MacDonald has generated surrounding the CMC.

15. Boddy, Ibid., 94.

16. MacDonald and Alsford, Ibid., 6.

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CHAPTER III

INDIANNESS AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF

THE CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

This chapter establishes the correspondences between
the early history of the Canadian Museum of Civilization,
its ethnological practices, and the development of Canadian
identity in the nineteenth century. I indicate some of the
historical precedents which precipitated an understanding of
CMC's role in the present. And I point to the ways in which
this is a troubling discursive site with ramifications which
resonate in contemporary life.

Though the National Museum of Canada was not formally
established by Parliament until 1927, it began its
unofficial activities in the nineteenth century on the waves
of colonial expansion which swept over the New World.[1]
Spurred on by the activities of the Americans and the
Smithsonian Institution in anthropological and archeological
field work, Canadians became more aware of the expanding
role of museums as solidifiers of national identity. Based
in a belief in science and the need to preserve the material
artifacts of supposedly disappearing Indigenous cultures,
particular emphasis was placed in Canada on collecting
artifacts which reflected to a large extent a

colonizer/colonized relationship. How these were acquired is now in dispute; some would say illegally, others would say unethically. The acquisition process and the institution of the museum itself, which now appears problematical, was within the context of early colonialism seen to be normal and even moral practice.

The Spirit Sings was an exhibit prepared for the 1988 Calgary Olympics and sponsored by Shell Canada. It was actively boycotted by the Lubicon Cree whose territorial rights are the subject of a claim against Shell's oil drilling practices. The ensuing controversy around the exhibit demonstrated that contemporary Native voice and presence will no longer be silenced behind an ethnological mask of colonial history.

The relationship between contemporary Native life and the stereotypical colonial concept of 'Indianness' is directly woven into the institutional structure of ethnological museums. This is not to suggest that anthropologists and museologists are not actively seeking just resolutions. But as Moira McLoughlin argues in "Of Boundaries and Borders: First Nations' History in Museums", museums are by their very nature political institutions, whose fundamental premises are rooted in colonial practice. "The museum's mandate - to collect, preserve, interpret, and educate - is inherently an assumption of power: of the

power to define and limit the meanings of those objects, and those cultures. . . ." [2] In the creation of an anthropological 'other' within the boundaries of a supposed neutral, objective and scientific discipline, the ethnographic museum of the nineteenth century validated colonial collecting and conserving as a reinforcement of a particular system of values on which imperialism was founded. The early history of CMC is located at this nexus of science, progress, nationalism and preservation of material culture. It is an historical conjuncture which slides forward into focus in the postmodern present of everyday life for Native people.

Significantly the early history of the Canadian Museum of Civilization began with the founding of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada in 1842. Development and management of Canada's natural resources was central to a eurocentric industrial economy. While on the one hand Canadian identity developed in the nineteenth century through an iconography of Land and Primitivism, the general philosophy of the colonizers was embedded in an exploitative economy. The 'call of the wild' may have attracted immigrants from Britain and elsewhere, but once in Canada theirs was a notable and concerted effort to use the natural resources to make a better life than they had experienced in the Old Country. This ruling entrepreneurial class has held

an important position in Canadian history. Their early
interest in the geological finds of William Edmund Logan
were to be the cornerstone on which the CMC was founded.

The first united parliament of Canada met in 1841 and
the following year it appointed William Edmund Logan to the
position of Provincial Geologist. Logan's research into the
origin of coal deposits had attracted international
recognition. His interest in science and Canadian natural
resources proved to be so useful to early economic
exploration and development that he was able to muster the
government funding needed to establish a public museum.
Initially it was his own personal investment in a repository
on Montreal's St. Gabriel Street which facilitated the
cataloguing and labelling of various specimens. However, by
1845 the Legislature supported his endeavours and approved a
sum of five thousand pounds annually for the ensuing five
years with the understanding that: "The Geological Survey
will furnish a full and scientific description of its rocks,
soils and minerals ... together with a selection of
specimens to illustrate the same." [3] To these samples
would later be added every conceivable 'specimen' of First
Nations' material culture.

The economic value of this Survey was understood both
by Logan and by government. It was intended as a source of
information and in some ways a marketing tool for Canadian

development. By mid-century entrepreneurs were visiting Logan's exhibit site which had moved to larger premises on St. James Street in Montreal in search of information which would guide them in new development programs. Economic development under the initiative of these new Canadians was linked to geographic explorations and what they saw as resource management through industrialization.

With the advancement of the Canadian Pacific Railway into the West, increased activities took place on the economic front and created an urgent need for the accumulation of ethnographic information. Simultaneously while Canadians exploited the Land and created the extinction of migrant herds of bison on which the tribes of the Prairies lived, anthropologists were collecting documentation and artifacts from the very cultures being exploited. There were no professional anthropologists at this time in Canada. Most of the dedicated and industrious amateurs collecting ethnological and archaeological material out in the field did so in an unsystematic, individualized, and often ethnocentric manner. It should not be surprising that for the most part these early field workers were geologists, lawyers, military people, government agents, physicians and administrators. They were a collection of people who had a stake in industrial development and nation building.[4]

Aside from the early missionary and explorer journals, the most notable of which is The Jesuit Relations, a pseudo-professional stage emerged in the 1850's with people like Daniel Wilson and Horatio Hale. But it was not until after the founding of the Royal Society of Canada in 1882 that a more prestigious and scientific forum existed. The early work of the Geological Survey was carried out by people like George M. Dawson, a geologist who had a particular interest in the collection of ethnographic data on the "Aboriginal tribes" of the Dominion. Beginning in the late 1870's, he published a number of reports on the Haida, the Kwakiutl and the Shuswaps. It is a work he carried out from 1875 to the turn of the century becoming the director of the Geological Survey in 1895. Dawson was instrumental in founding a Division of Anthropology with the Geological Survey, where it remained until 1920. Dawson's disdain for the people he was studying is significant, as was his confident belief that Native culture could not survive.[5] Horizons were expanded westward between 1886 and 1893 by the explorations of Joseph Tyrrell into the Prairies and the Barens, and the Jesup North Pacific Expedition which was organized in 1897 by Franz Boas under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History. Harlan Smith, expedition archaeologist, worked on shell mound sites and burial cairns of the British Columbia coast and adjacent interior. In 1911 he became the

first archaeologist with the Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey. At about the same time William Wintemberg, a self-taught scholar, was recording Iroquois and Algonquian sites in southern Ontario. Henry R. Schoolcraft was an Indian agent when he first became involved in ethnology, and was to devote a lifetime to the Ojibwa community where he gathered data on magic, taboos, social organization and folk-lore.[6]

These scholars were successful in securing philanthropic or government support for the study of Indian tribes and for collecting artifacts for museums.[7] As the United States and Canada grew, there were increased opportunities for field research funded through government aid and specifically the museums and their associations, who wanted to expand their collections. The American Museum of Natural History and the United States National Museum sent investigators out into the field a few weeks at a time to collect museum pieces, and record myths, elicit texts and describe Indian customs. "This pattern continued until they returned to their homes, sold their artifacts to the organization under whose auspices they had conducted their research, and wrote up their field data."[8]

Since its earliest days, one of the minor charges of the Geological Survey had been to collect ethnographic data on the Aboriginal tribes of the Dominion. The

epistemological validation which permitted the justification for a collapse of scholarly investigation, collection, and land exploitation in the name of science and nationalism was rooted in certain shared colonial beliefs. Native people were seen as a human laboratory thought to represent a stage in human and cultural evolution through which Europeans had passed. The fact that the bulk of the British population was hovelling in greater London, in the shadow of smokestacks, fumes, filth and hunger seems to have escaped notice of the elite and powerful of the nineteenth century.

As a diffuse and unstructured discipline at this stage the work of anthropology and archaeology was highly individualized. However, all affirmed the unity of mankind, either as 'psychic unity' or in the belief that all humans derived from a common origin. All of this work was to a certain degree covertly ethnocentric and in some cases overtly so. There was a sense of urgency in these early studies, of running ahead of the great railroad incising its way through the country from East to West. Like some forceful virile tornado, it systematically sucked up everything in its wake. The ancient ways of life of the once independent Indian tribes of Assiniboine, Chippewa, Ojibwa, Cree and Blackfoot were forced by 1881 to cede title to the vast lands of the North-West and swear allegiance to the Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, in order to survive

as **dependents** of the Canadian Government.[9]

With the adoption of the British North America Act and the formation of Canada in 1867, there was an increasing awareness of the expanding role to be played by culture in nation building. Museums owned by the public were seen as reflections of particular beliefs and values. The nationalization of major collections meant the nationalization of image-making as well. It is a role which was well understood by a certain elite segment of the Canadian population, and as Maria Tippett has documented in Making Culture, these people were to have enormous influence on the development of public cultural institutions.[10]

One of the most effective of this group of early culture makers was the Marquis of Lorne and his consort Princess Louise (Queen Victoria's fourth daughter). With the advent of Confederation, Lorne actively campaigned for cultural development to parallel the economic one. He astutely harnessed an emerging Canadian nationalism - -in the name of the Empire that is. Lorne was Governor General from 1878 to 1882. While in Canada, he and his wife would organize the Royal Society of Canada in 1882 from which emerged the later National Gallery of Art as well as the National Museum of Canada.

During this time he went on a grand tour of the West accompanied by British journalists who later reported the

encounter with Native peoples. While Lorne was in the field
he collected Sioux and Blackfoot artifacts. Many of these
can still be found in the storage rooms of the British
Museum. Jeanne Cannizzo, of the Royal Ontario Museum,
describes such objects as a Blackfoot warrior's horned
headdress hung with ermine skins, and a smaller headdress of
hawk feathers, which were seen to belong to the British
crown. Lorne is recorded as saying, "I was provoked the
other day to find that one carved stone had been carried off
by Americans to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington,
and these things are sure to happen until we have some
association of our own."[11] When Lorne returned home, he
made sure this would not happen again, hence the foundation
of the Royal Society of Canada to protect the ownership of
these material artifacts in the name of Britain and its
colony.

The founding of the Royal Society of Canada in 1882
began to pave the way for the professionalization of
anthropology in Canada and provided a more prestigious forum
for the science. The initial terms of reference of the
Geological Survey gradually expanded to include natural
science and history thus accomodating the interest generated
by ethnological field work with First Nations. In 1884 the
British Association for the Advancement of Science spawned a
sub-group called the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of

Canada. It advocated the recording of the characteristics
and conditions of the Native tribes of the Dominion. This
was the same group which financed the early research of
Franz Boas among the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia,
and their interests would further enhance scientific
research and the collection of data, testimonies and
material culture of First Peoples.[12]

Boas' influence was to have long range effect in
relation to the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The bulk of
Boas' work in Canada was funded by the British Association
for the Advancement of Science (1888-94) and the Jesup
Expedition (1897-1901). While Boas did not create an
intellectual tradition in North American ethnology or
ethnography, the impact of his ideas regarding methodology
would be imprinted on the field by others after his death.
He urged inclusion of the viewpoint of Native peoples and
acknowledged the value of intensively studying a single
people over an extended period of time. He questioned
theories of cultural evolution, and turned the interest
toward more regional impacts and away from sweeping
universal schemes. It was to be Boas' student, Edward
Sapir, who was the first professional anthropologist hired
as chief of the Anthropology Division of the Geological
Survey of Canada in 1910 who was to direct the early years
of the National Museum of Canada, where he remained until

1925.[13]

In "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum: Erasing the Stereotypes", Deborah Doxtator contends that the birth of the ethnographic museum in the nineteenth century was based on a belief that Indian cultures were incapable of surviving in competition with Euro-Canadian society. The image of Indians as inferior and disappearing had direct implications for the museum in three basic ways: it determined how and what objects from Native cultures were collected. It influenced the way in which these cultures were presented in museums; and most importantly, it placed the museum in the role of guardian of authentic symbols of 'Indianness'.[14] Moira McLoughlin writes "In making an object one's own, through its acquisition into a collection the object is removed from a potentially threatening environment and provided a safe, and seemingly comprehensible, meaning."[15]

The editor of the The Edmonton Journal wrote a review of The Spirit Sings exhibit in which he argued that "It has long been clear that we [Canadians] actually prefer our native culture in museums. We certainly do not prefer it running the Department of Indian Affairs. Nor do we prefer it announcing the news on national television or determining its own political destiny."[16] As obvious as this statement may seem at first glance, the effects of colonial policies

which assume the power to represent Native culture within
the ethnological museum is often veiled behind the sensual
pleasures of the museum experience and the ignorance of the
general public in relation to the effects such practices
have on the lives of First Peoples. This insidious
relationship between colonial culture makers, museums and
Native people has long-standing roots in the practices of
the modern world.

Feathers and Furs

European exploration of the world had filled the
collections of the rich and powerful with exotic treasures
from various foreign exploits. In continental Europe, these
Cabinets of Curiosities were owned primarily by royal
families, while in England it was wealthy travellers and
scientists who amassed the bulk of the treasures. These
private collections were to form the foundations of the
first public museum holdings throughout the western world.

Indian artifacts had been among the first curiosities
brought to European courts as souvenirs of Canada.

> According to numerous letters, travel-logs and private
> diaries, there were three types of articles to be
> acquired while visiting Canada - furs, Indian artifacts,
> and photographs, either of magnificent Canadian
> landscapes or native peoples.[17]

Snow-shoes, moccasins, birch-bark boxes and baskets
were all considered collectibles as well The link between

collecting, Native, and Canadian identity has been longstanding.

It was in fact the Native population which was to provide the first archetype for Canadian iconography and by the second half of the nineteenth century Indians themselves were considered a tourist attraction.[18] Idioms of Canadian identity became synonymous with a primitive way of life and that became personified through the icon of the Indian. This image of Indian and 'Indianness' was two-sided. On the one hand it was a romantic view of the spiritual nobility of primitive peoples as in the concept of the 'Natural Man' and the 'Noble Savage' formalized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in eighteenth-century France. Here the Indian was seen to provide a counterbalance to the growth of an alienating industrial society. On the other hand, in Canada 'Indianness' became a sign of a particular identity formation of those early immigrants to Canada who became acculturated to Indian ways of interraction and survival with the Land. The native way of life and the technology developed by Native people in order to survive the harsh climate and terrain of Canadian soil was taught to these newcomers and adopted by them as part of life in Canada. These included snow-shoes, toboggans, canoes and kayaks, sports such as lacrosse, furs and skin clothing, foodstuffs such as corn, squash, wild rice, as well as herbal

medicines, the geography of the land and its animal and natural resources.

To be Canadian meant to be acculturated to Indian ways, particularly in country life. It also meant appropriation of signs of 'Indianness'. Souvenir photographs produced in the second half of the nineteenth century support this view of Europeans 'gone Indian'. Indian regalia complete with headdress and covered in skins and furs were intended to show what it was to be Canadian. In this selective appropriation from the world of First Nations, Canadian identity was linked with the iconographic features of 'Indianness', defined through material culture. It is as though by taking on the signs of the 'other', the 'other' became less foreign, less alienating. That is, appropriation can be seen to work as a form of connecting with the 'other'. However, its negative side is that it occurs at the level of material signs removed from the reality of lived experience and responsibility for hierarchical institutional structures which privilege some and exploit others.

When Europeans first came to Canada, Indians were indispensable partners in the fur trade. It was their knowledge of the Land and their active participation as trade partners which allowed the early colonial populations not only to survive, but also to flourish economically.

Early Canadians were in fact a hybrid population. Country intermarriage was a reality of life in pre-confederation Canada, for traders, trappers, guides and explorers. The economic stability of Hudson's Bay, for instance, was supported by a complete social structure based on family units centered on 'country wives' who were Native. This is not to deny the history of exploitation, colonization and subsequent dis-empowerment of Native peoples, but to suggest that the construction of self and 'other' on which anthropological museums thrive was to a large extent the fabrication of a privileged and elite segment of the population for whom life in Canada was still closely linked to patterns of culture and society 'back home'. The reality of everyday life in early Canada meant survival based on cooperation with Native people.

Post-colonial theory now makes very clear that entire cultures, ways of thinking and doing things have been buried through colonial domination. It has been emphasized for instance that colonial discourse dismisses the complexities inherent in different cultures and cultural identities. In order to dominate, it was essential to bind the 'other' within a manageable framework (i.e. stereotype), one which ignored the subtleties of identity and culture. This resulted in increased visibility of the subject as an object of surveillance, tabulation, enumeration, and indeed,

paranoia and fantasy.[19]

   While it would seem pleasant enough to be able to say this has nothing to do with contemporary society, that is, what my great-grandparents did is of no consequence now, it must be recognized that the reverberations of colonialism are very much implanted in social and political structures which work to favour certain segments of a society, and which still affect Indian people in negative ways. The foundation of knowledge and the epistemological boundaries recognized by institutional educators and based in colonial practices create a contemporary society which continues to be unjust and undemocratic. The fabrication of Indian as 'other' means in a sense, 'other' to Canadian. The anguished voices of First Peoples being jostled by police and documented in Alanis Obomsawin's film of the Oka crisis, Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance, screams to us across the hundreds of years of repression "... this is **Canada,** this is my home,.. **my** home and native land.." [20]

   In the second half of the nineteenth century the only Indians living within their original culture as defined by the eighteenth century concept of the 'Natural Man' were the tribes of the Prairies soon to be disrupted, displaced and dispersed by westward expansion and development. Yet the romantic image of the brave prairie Indian lingered on, perpetuated in literature and the fine arts.

The reality of the poverty of the body and spirit induced by colonization was masked by paternalistic government policies which favoured sanitized and sterilized signs of Indian culture. Removed from any real power and control over the direction of their lives, late nineteenth century First Peoples, be-feathered and be-furred, were reduced to a mimicry of cultural rituals, paraded out to perform war-dances and lacrosse games to entertain visiting dignitaries.[21]

Souvenir photographs of Indians at this stage were seldom depicted in a natural environment. François-Marc Gagnon has pointed out that Native people were typically presented with no distinctive racial features and made to look like unclothed Europeans; thus rendered "invisible" in their cultural and physical specificity.[22] Fig. 1 is a photograph of the Band Chiefs of the Lorette Hurons, taken in 1885. The Chiefs are posed in ceremonial garb in a mixture of European and Native clothes, sporting moustaches and traditional headdresses. In Fig. 2 a photograph of two Sarcee Indians taken around 1885, is staged in a Victorian photo-studio and depicts a long-outmoded way of life.[23] These studio Indians were part of the popular iconography on which Canadian identity was to develop. Illustrations and engravings based on such photographs of romanticized natives appeared in popular literature and continued to perpetuate a

colonial imbrication representing an earlier Indian way of life. Somehow distanced from the sordid reality of European colonization and its effects on Aboriginal cultures and peoples' lives, these representations fed into the disappearing "real Indian" fantasy. In this construction of 'Indianness' there was a refusal to accept the reality of the poverty and deprivation that the development of Canadian industrial economy has brought to a formerly proud and independent group of nations. While popular iconography substantiates the theory that Canadian identity was closely linked to the Land and 'Indianness', this was at the level of material signs understood from a colonizers point of view.

With Native people now visibly bounded on reserves and their material culture secured in the institution of the museum, Canadians could reformulate their identity by inflecting Canadianism with a differently charged notion of 'nature'.

That the National Gallery of Canada built up an entire image of Canadian identity through the support of artists whose work embodied the rugged and mystical aspects of the Canadian wilderness, supports the argument that Canadian identity in the early years of the twentieth century was still a romantic concept linked to the Land. It was now in many ways an empty sign which romantically mirrored its

Fig. 1 Band Chiefs of the Lorette Hurons, c. 1885, Livernois
Bequest, Archives nationales du Québec, Quebec City.
(source: Jana Bara, Images of Canada, 1991)

Fig. 2 Sarcee Indians, c. 1885, NPA Ref. 206.
(source: Jana Bara, Images of Canada, 1991)

iconographic identity in the nineteenth century.

In 1903 a survey of Canadian museums which was undertaken by New York State, describes the Canadian National Museum as having one of the most complete inventories of specimens illustrative of Canadian geology, zoology, botany, archaeology and **ethnology** in the world.[24]

In the construction of 'Indianness', Canadian identity connected with a romantic concept of First Peoples and the Land, at the level of material sign disengaged from a cultural and political reality brought on by contact with European peoples. The Canadian Museum of Civilization and its institutional practices came into being precisely because of a political reality, that is the formation of a new British colony. The position of contemporary First Peoples within the framework of the Museum is a visible and readable site of Canadian culture at the end of the twentieth century. No longer a colony, Canada must now make sense of its history within a framework which is representative of its diverse people.

In this section, I have endeavoured to indicate the historical determinants which allowed popular consent for the construction of a new museum of history and ethnology, and its discursive signification as a unifying symbol of Canadian identity linked to the Land. In the following chapter, my intention is to highlight the way in which

Cardinal's identity as a Western Canadian, of mixed and Native ancestry, affects his architecture as expressive form. The intention is to draw out the relationship between identity and the art object, thus establishing a correspondence on which to elaborate an identity specific iconographic analysis in Chapter VI.

Endnotes - Chapter III

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20. Alanis Obomsawin, <u>Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance</u>, National Film Board of Canada, Studio B, Montreal, 1993.

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CHAPTER IV

IDENTITY AND THE ARTISTIC SUBJECT

Chapters I, II, and III introduced a wide-angle view of the way 'Indianness' as a symbol becomes involved in a Canadian national identity. In a photographic pan, they perused the interrelationship between the ethnological museum, nationalism, and First Peoples. Chapter IV inverts the process and shifts the focus to a close-up view of the role of the artistic subject, Douglas Cardinal. The intention is to understand more fully the role identity plays in the production and signification of his art, specifically the architecture of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. This section works towards that goal by de-stabilizing the conventional architectural paradigm within which Cardinal's architecture has been studied and critiqued. The voice he has been given within a Euro-centric framework has ignored an analysis of his architecture in keeping with influences which would connect with Cardinal's identity. My intention is to provide another trajectory for looking at identity and expressive form, one which is more locally specific and identity related.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization has from its very earliest days been accompanied by ambivalent press reception. In its undulating, synergistic massing, the CMC

stands out as different in the National Capital Region. It
distances itself from the orthogonal grid designs of the
surrounding architecture, and chooses instead, in its
curving and moving forms, to relate to the surrounding
natural environment. Described by Peggy Curran as a high-
tech shrine of undulating lines cast in glass and stone, the
architecture of the CMC was seen as a distinctive presence
from its very early construction days.[1] Its size, and
apparently "unedited" structure were points of criticism by
Joseph Baker of Laval University in Quebec City. In The
Gazette, Montreal (30 June 1989), Baker says, "This is
without question the worst piece of public architecture -
certainly on such a vast scale - ever to be realized in this
country. It is the architecture of the thick greasy pencil,
of the smudgy inspirational sketch . . magnified .
.engorged . . swelling . . . ", writes Baker. But central
to his position is the following bias:

> Canadian architecture has its roots in the traditional
> structures and forms of western European towns and
> buildings, and calls upon a grammar evolved over
> centuries. Carried to the New World, the language was
> modified, extended, adapted to new conditions and
> building types, producing many fine buildings that we
> earnestly protect as heritage.[2]

What becomes important in Baker's critique is the
underlying assumption that there exists a singular type of
architectural source which is European and which matters in
the same way to all who are Canadian. Whose heritage is

this all encompassing **we** protecting? And, precisely which architectural sources is Baker referring to? Would he exclude Internationalist Modernist styles for instance? German Expressionism? Art Deco? Significantly, Cardinal has consistently designed buildings which were derivative of architectural sources on this continent. He has consciously supported this position through his lectures and writings, which draw analogies between his architecture and the natural environment. Also, many of the characteristic features of Cardinal's architecture correspond to an adaptation of German Expressionist architecture unique to Alberta.

The main monograph on Cardinal was written by Trevor Boddy.[3] Though Boddy is aware of German Expressionist architecture in Alberta, since he has written a book including examples of this genre,[4] he chooses instead to compare Cardinal's work to sources outside of Canada. While on the one hand, this could be interpreted as a will to place Cardinal within the framework of great masters and great masterworks; on the other hand, it neglects to bring forward Cardinal's more local sources, specifically those of Alberta. This is a factor which comes to play in the press coverage of the Museum, which generally had difficulty seeing Canadian architecture beyond the confines of the Victorian Houses of Parliament in Ottawa. Cardinal has

repeatedly emphasized the importance to him of sources

rooted in North America; to ignore this seems paradoxical,

and does not help to elucidate his work adequately to other

Canadians. Instead Boddy panders to the critics of

Cardinal's architecture, who are principally positioned in a

central Canadian geo-socio-political frame. Boddy writes:

> Cardinal's work fits into none of the variously arrayed
> camps in contemporary design. This may account for the
> vehemence with which his work is disliked by fellow
> practitioners, especially in Canada.[5]

Boddy chooses to interpret Cardinal's work as

"idiosyncratic" and Cardinal as an "outsider" "resented for

his nonintellectualism" and "his Howard Roark stance". He

describes Cardinal as self-pitying and suggests that "[his]

work does not for a moment bear comparison with the greatest

and most mercurial of the modern masters of architecture,

[i.e. Frank Lloyd Wright]", who was the principal model for

Ayn Rand's Howard Roark character in her novel, The

Fountainhead. Boddy validates his comments:

> This is not to damn Cardinal, only to say that Wright
> invented four major architectures during a long and
> productive career, two of which have transformed
> the look of buildings around the world, and for the
> better.[6]

Somehow Boddy cannot see the way in which Cardinal's

architecture will impact on Canadian culture by providing a

model for postcolonial architecture in Canada.

CMC

Cardinal's original conception for CMC (Fig. 1) was in certain ways more closely related to his proposal statement which linked its signification to the stepped topography of the Land at the end of the ice age. As MacDonald describes it, "CMC symbolizes a Pan-Canadian landscape - Canada at the end of the Ice Age..."[7] The requirement to split the buildings, thus spreading them out over the surface as well as the need to accommodate such an enormous square footage resulted in a more extended structure than one would expect from Cardinal's previous work (Fig. 2). If the programme had been carried through in closer harmony with his initial concept, the result would have been lower and less swelling, barely standing out as a building, actually an extension of the existing landforms similar to his favoured form of architecture at Teotihuacan in Mexico (Figs. 3 and 4).

The curatorial wing preserves many of the features of his original design submission and relates directly to Teotihuacan in its stepped format. Teotihuacan was a great religious nucleus of Middle America. Its ruins lie 40 kilometers (25 miles) north-east of Mexico City in the high, semiarid Valley of Teotihuacan and are considered by many architectural historians as a match for the grand temples of the Old World, Giza, and Persepolis. The Teotihuacan pyramids, which appear monumental up close, when viewed from
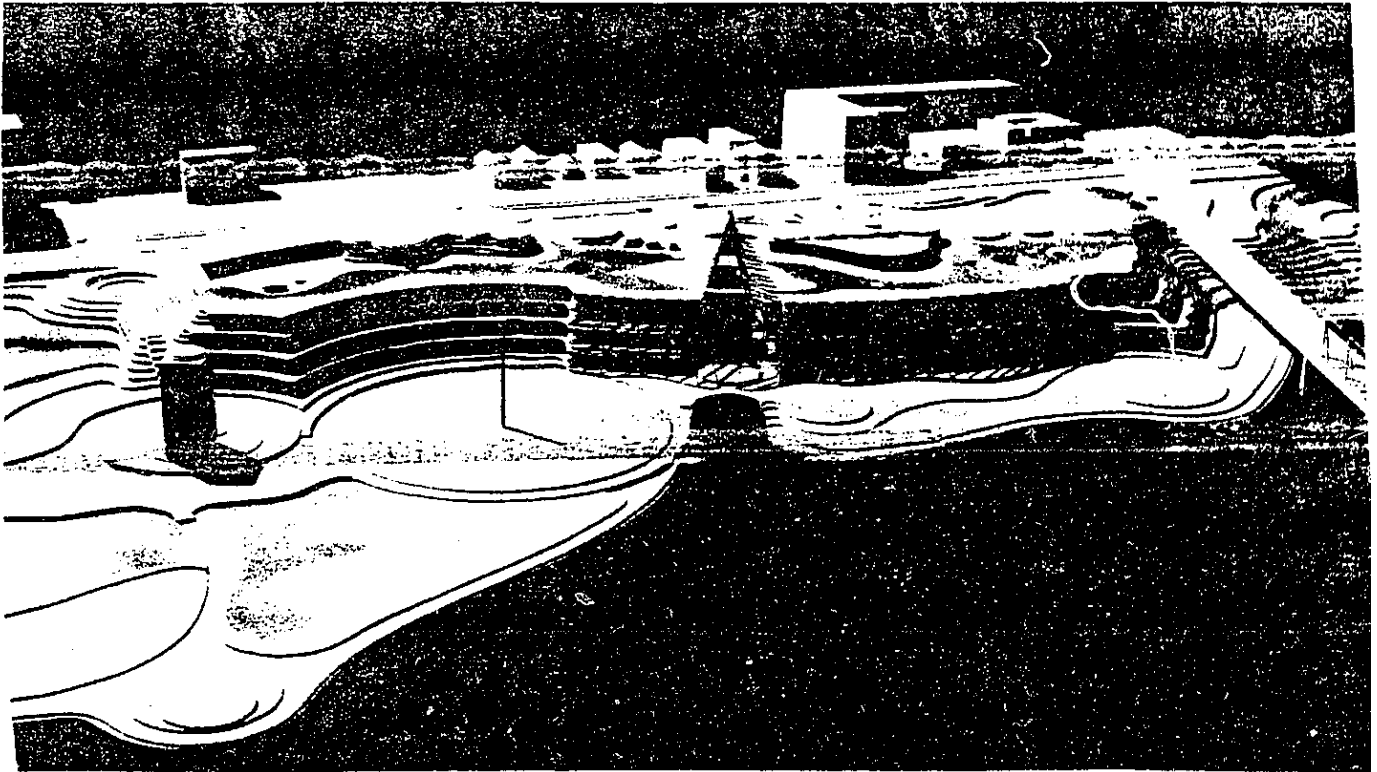
Fig. 1 Original Model of CMC submitted by Cardinal with
Proposal Statement.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the global
village, 1989)
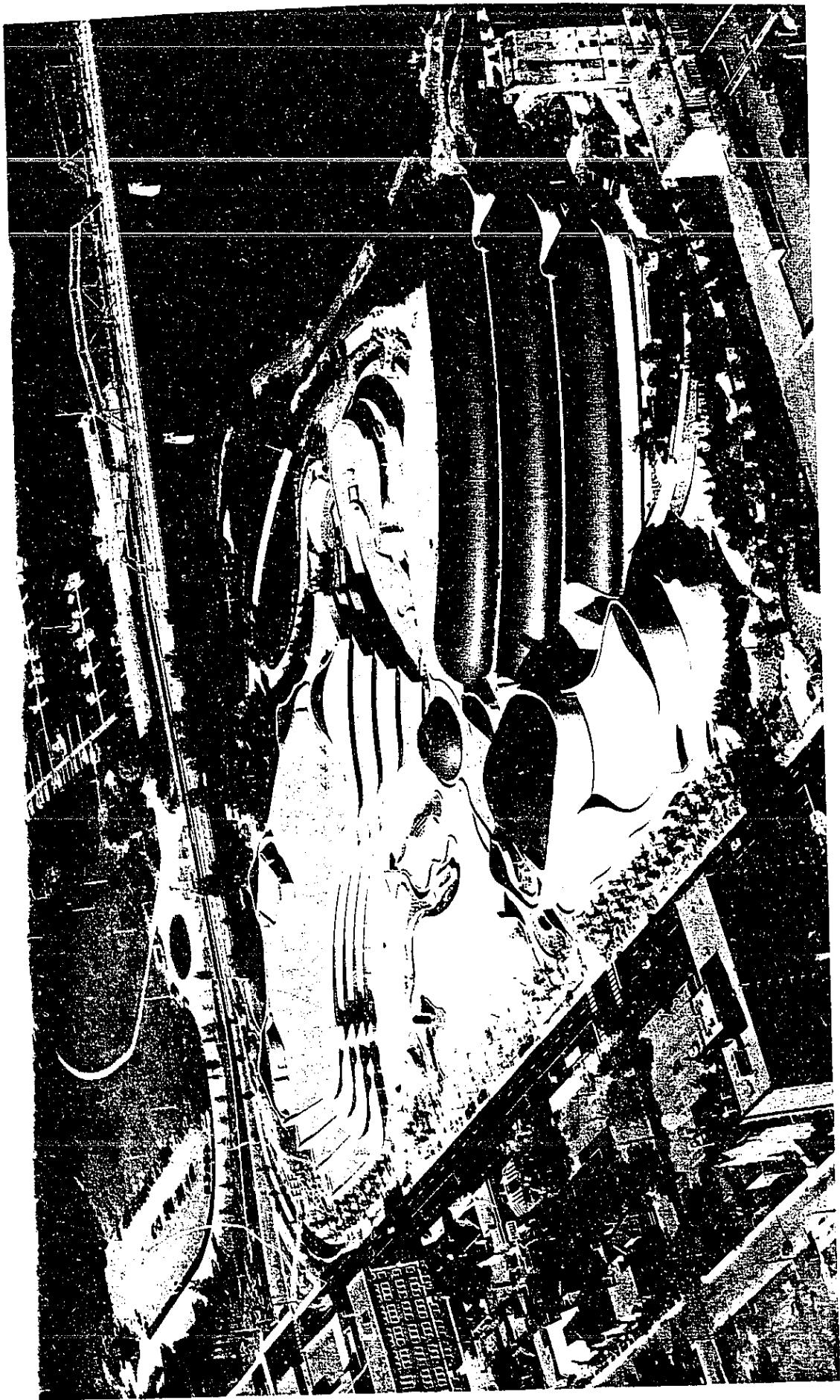
Fig. 2 Bird's-eye view of the CMC
(source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990.
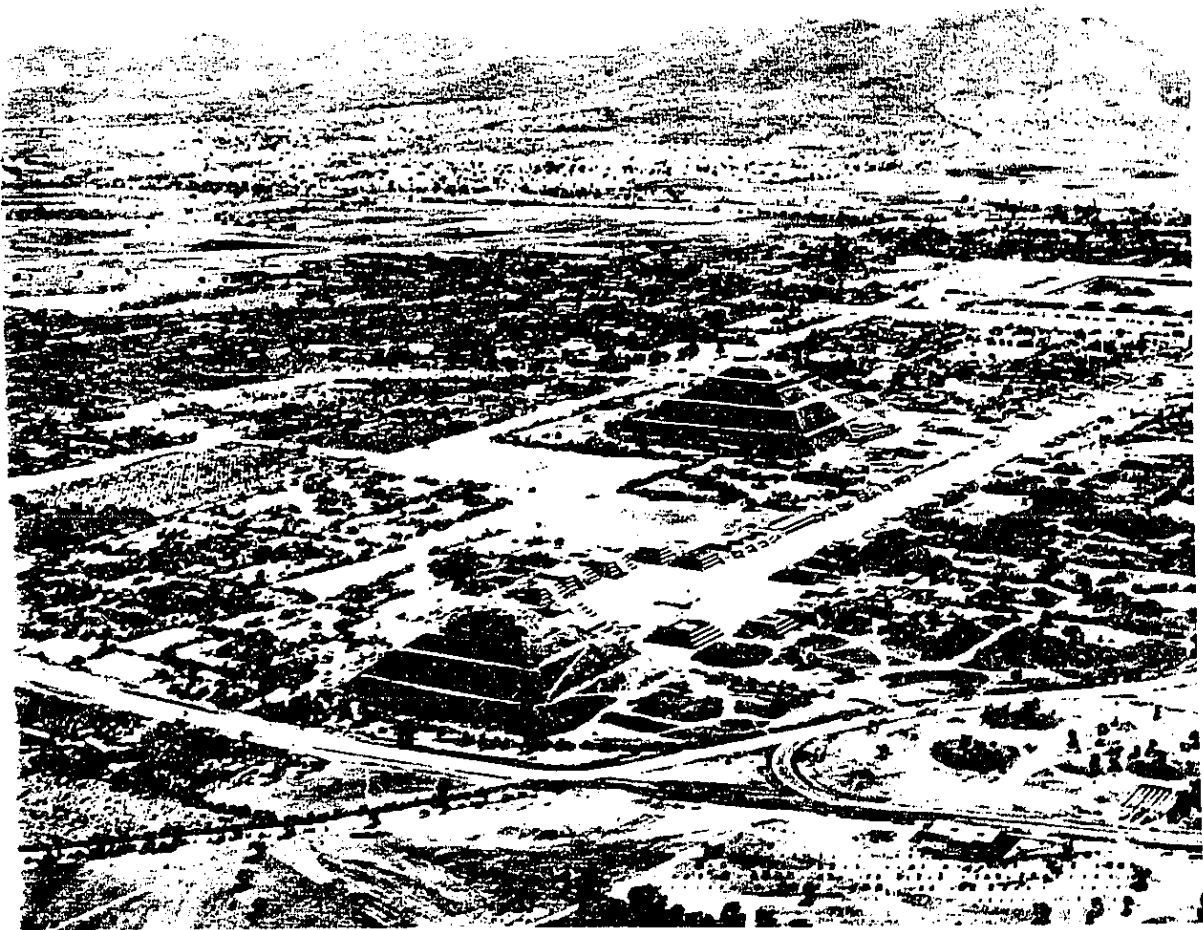
Fig. 3 Teotihuacan (Mexico), First c. B.C. - Eighth c. A.D.
(source: Spiro Kostof, <u>A History of Architecture</u>, 1985)
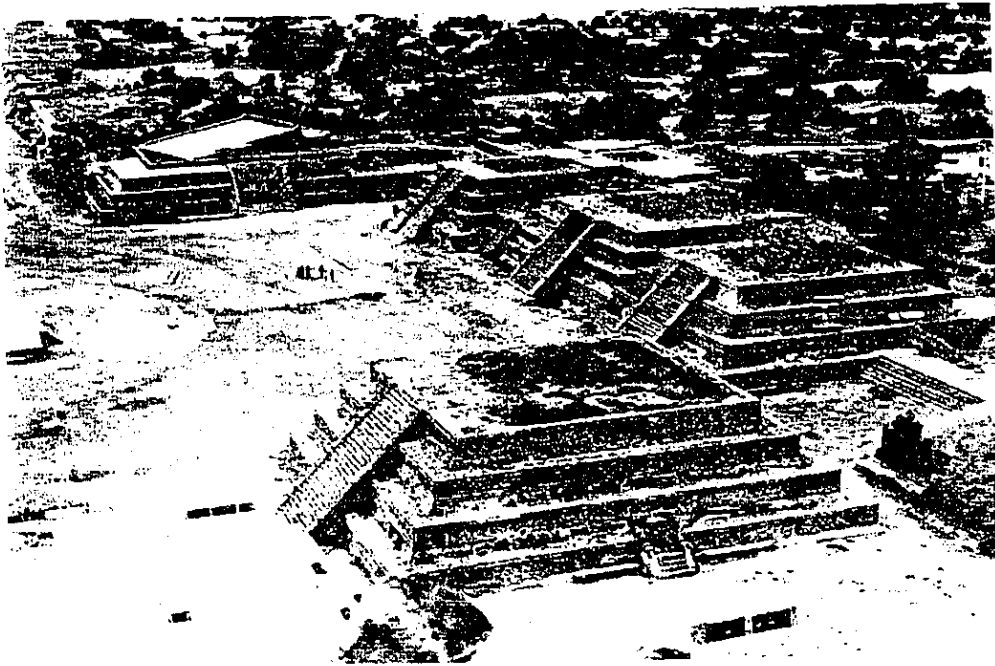
Fig. 4 Teotihuacan (Mexico), platforms as seen from the
Moon Pyramid.
(source: Spiro Kostof, A History of Architecture, 1985)

a distance become part of the mountainous terrain which is
their natural setting. Teotihuacan is directed to the moving
paths of the sun and the moon, with the three pyramids and
the hundreds of smaller platforms so precisely situated that
they provide specific cosmic alignments.[8] Here we have
complete integration of the built and natural environment a
factor which Cardinal has greatly admired in this ancient
architecture.

Cardinal's own studio-house in Stony Plain, Alberta,
is set into a hill facing a lake. The only visible facade
is a massive sheet of angled glass. There are no exterior
walls, no other fenestration and only spire-like sculptural
markings at various points which resemble the rock
formations known as Hoodoos and located in the Badlands of
southern Alberta. These are thought to be spiritual places
by the Native peoples of the area (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10).

This method of topographical siting is predominant in
Alberta where the Land takes precedence over the
architectural display. Many contemporary structures of
importance have been completely integrated with the site and
are barely visible as buildings (Figs. 11). Erikson's
design for the University of Lethbridge and Blondin's
creation at the Head-Smashed-In-Buffalo-Jump Museum, south
of Calgary, are two typical examples of this style of
design, a feature which is most uncommon in the architecture
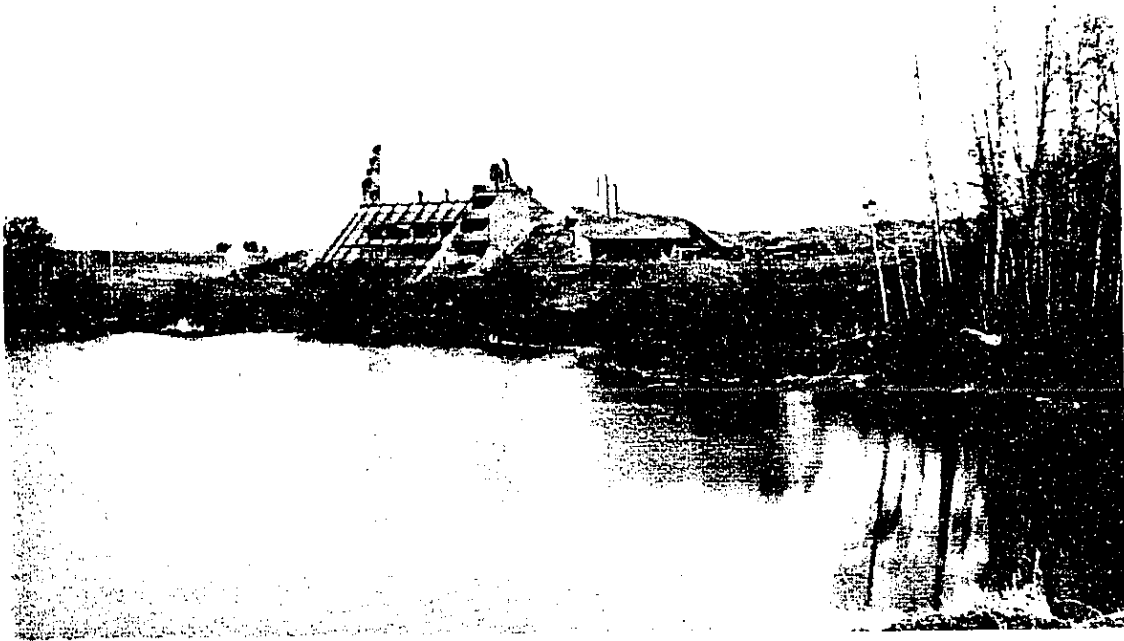
Fig. 5 Douglas Cardinal's Studio-House, Stony Plain,
  Alberta, 1979-84.
  (photo by author)
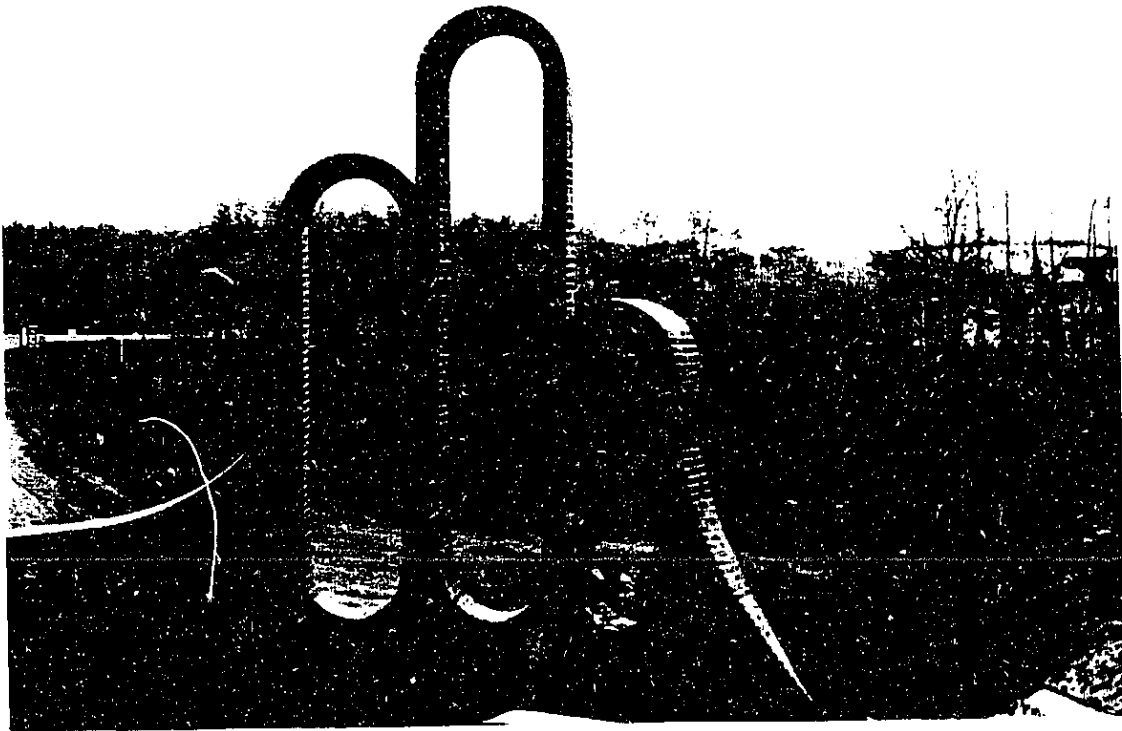
Fig. 6 Decorative Towers, Detail of Studio-House, Stony
 Plain, Alberta, 1979-84.
  (photo by author)
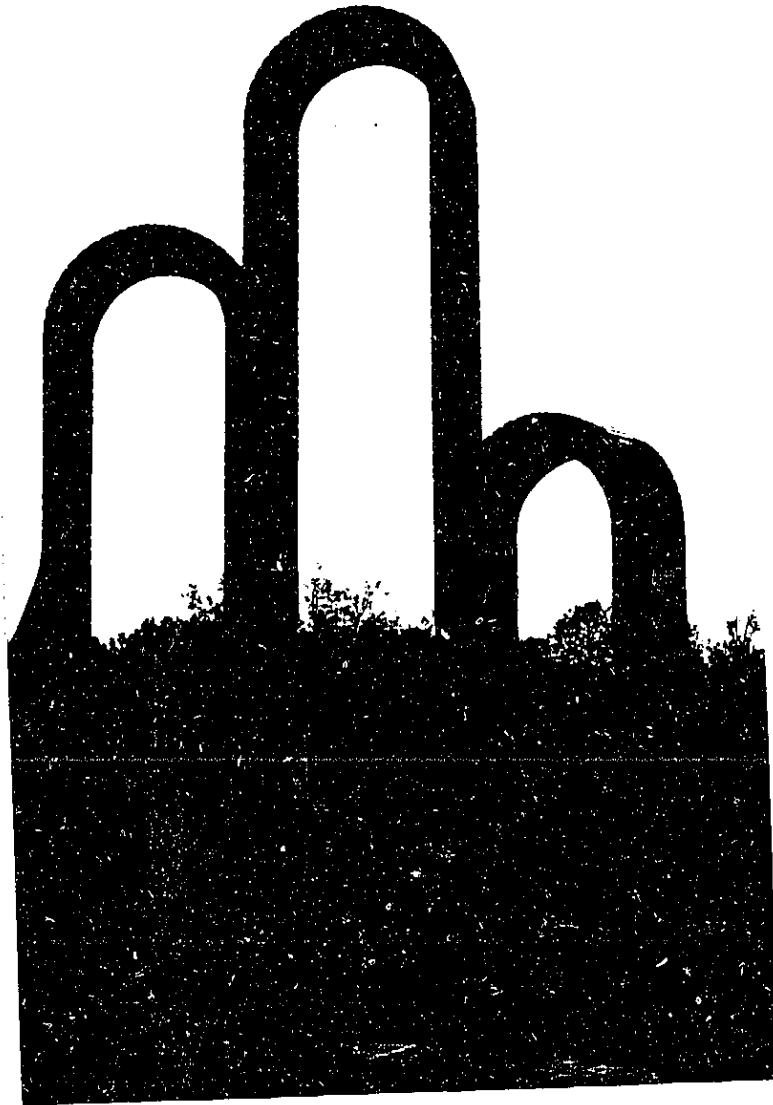
Fig. 7 Decorative Towers, Detail of Studio-House, Stony
  Plain, Alberta, 1979-84.
  (photo by author)
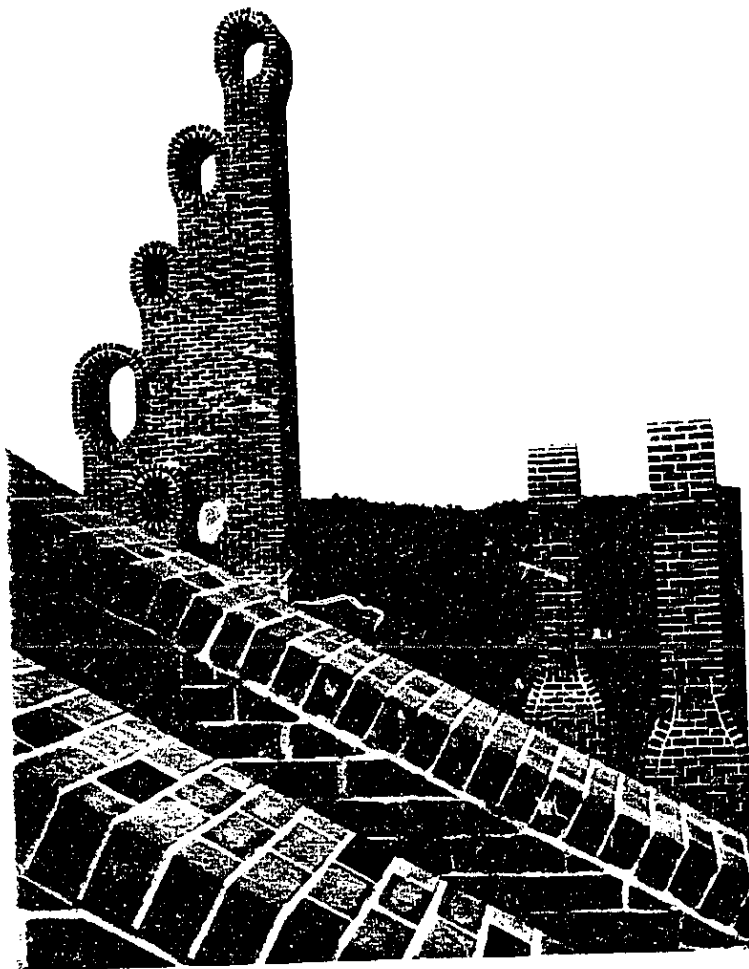
Fig. 8 Decorative Towers, Detail of Studio-House, Stony
 Plain, Alberta, 1979-84.
  (photo by author)

Fig. 9 Hoodoos, Badlands, Alberta - rock formations thought
to be spiritual places by Plains Natives.
(photo by author)

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Fig. 10 Hoodoos, Badlands, Alberta.
   (photo by author)
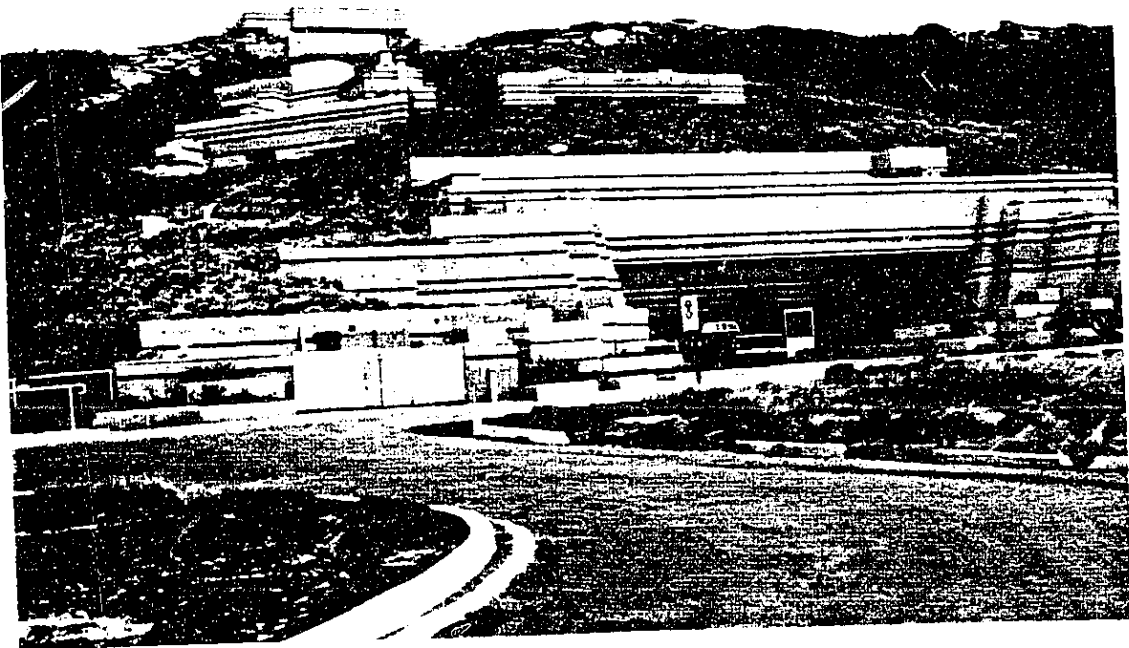
Fig. 11 Head-Smashed-in-Buffalo-Jump Museum, Alberta.
(photo by author)

of the National Capital Region, where constructing monuments
to government has produced a city of bastion-like structures
sited as prestigiously and visibly as possible.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization is in certain ways
a drastic departure from Cardinal's previous architecture,
and this is due in large part to the request for high
visibility as a tourist site. What separates this building
most dramatically from his other work are the bulbous,
fermenting roof lines of the public wing, and
their pronounced display of copper. There is a doughy,
yeasty feel to this wing, which is in sharp contrast to the
rigorousness of the curatorial block. A trademark of
Cardinal's architecture has consistently been his
marginalization of the roof (the visible roof that is). It
is interesting that Cardinal's next commission in Canada,
immediately following the Museum, was for a Jehovah's
Witness temple, constructed five miles west of the Museum on
the Aylmer Road. Here Cardinal has returned to his previous
design style. There is no visible roof, minimilized
fenestration, clean gently curving lines which follow the
topography, and references to pan-American/Canadian Indian
forms in the long narrow triple assemblage, similar to the
Iroquois long-house design. While these shapes would lend
themselves to barrel vaulting, Cardinal has chosen instead
a line of quiet restraint. His work prior to CMC has

consistently been tighter, tending towards a hardness and thinness of line; surfaces which appear stretched over supports, uncluttered and less emotive.

It is precisely the recognition of difference in Cardinal's architecture which has produced certain negative responses, and that difference is as much rooted in a binary of central Canadian architecture and western Canadian architecture as it is in Native/Mainstream and North-American/European dichotomies.

Unlike all the other architecture on the National Capital Ceremonial Route, CMC was **not** constructed within an orthogonal grid plan. It is impossible to capture this architecture from one standing perspective. There is no obvious facade, and one is propelled around the buildings by the movement of the wall surfaces which direct the body around them. Trevor Boddy in his monograph on Cardinal relates the organic undulating curves of his architecture to the mainstays of architectural history. References range from the curving Baroque style to the turn of the century master of form, Antonio Gaudi and the later organic architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright. Boddy also emphasizes the similarities between Cardinal's work and European German Expressionism of the 1920s, such as Erich Mendelshohn's Shaubuhne Theatre in Berlin.[9] (Fig. 12)

I think it is essential to recognize that a modified

form of German Expressionism exists closer to home. Two Calgary Texaco service stations, constructed around 1929 provide remarkable and early adaptations of the streamlined forms of German Expressionist architecture (Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16). The curving entrance of the Big Chief Texaco station is strikingly similar to the campanile of St. Mary's Church in Red Deer in its proportions, massing and relation to the main part of the structure. The juxtaposition of curving forms protruding from the central building so evident in the architecture of the Big Chief Texaco station and The New Thorsby Theatre (Fig. 17) is repeated at Cardinal's Provincial Treasury Building in Ponoka, Alberta, of 1977 (Fig. 18).

Unique to Alberta is a rich variety of building technologies due to its ethnic diversity. The Bridgeland and Renfrew neighbourhoods of north-east Calgary were the sites of eastern European immigration. The newcomers brought with them a tradition of stucco vernacular building easily adaptable to a modernist aesthetic developing in Europe (Figs. 19). The Brekke house in the area known as 'Germanstown' provides a wonderful example of the early modernist style (Fig. 20). The use of curved corner glass, modified ribbon windows, inset glass blocks, flat roofs, and rounded corners are characteristics used in Calgary and Edmonton between 1925 and 1945 by German
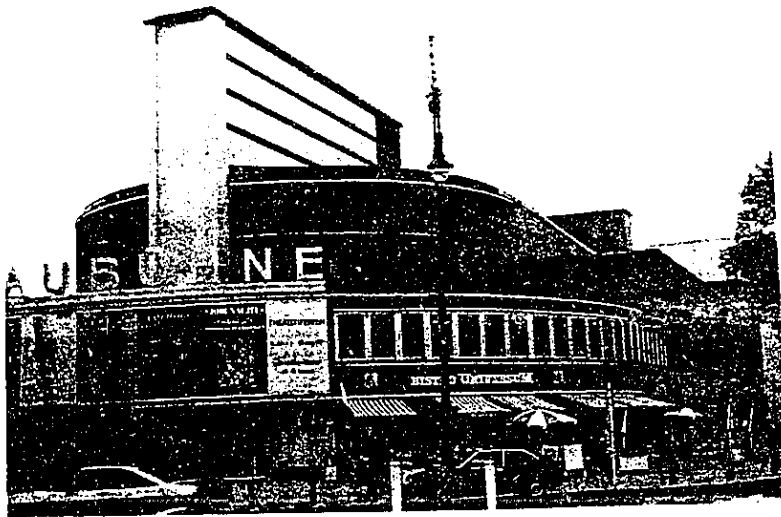
Fig. 12 Erich Mendelsohn's Shaubuhne Theatre,
 Berlin, 1926.
 (source: Trevor Boddy, <u>The Architecture of Douglas
 Cardinal</u>, 1989)

Fig. 13 The Red Indian Service Station, Calgary,
Alberta, c. 1929.
(source: Trevor Boddy, Modern Architecture in
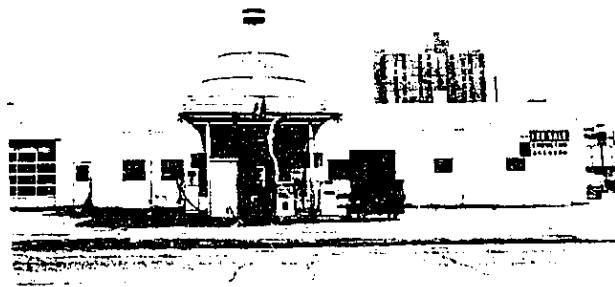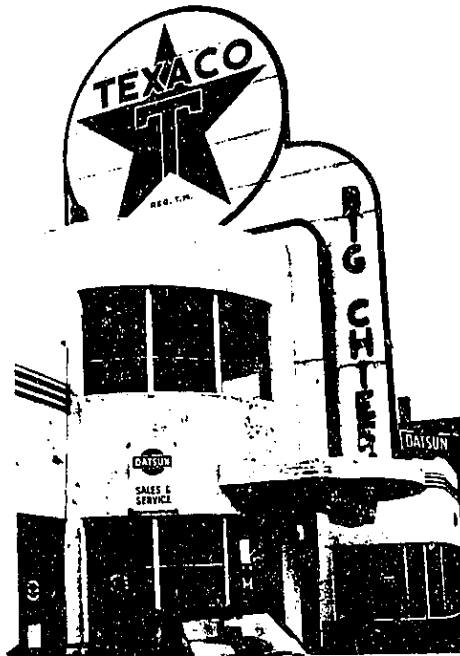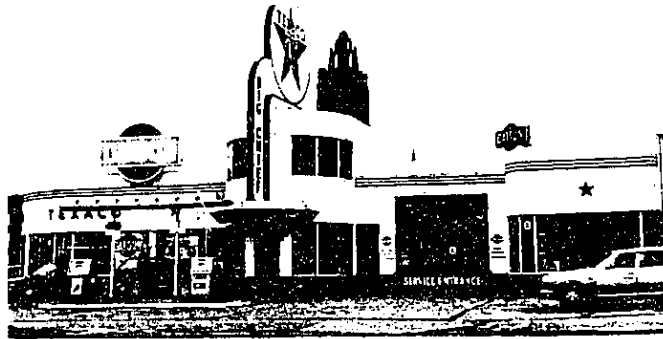Alberta, 1987)

Fig. 14 Interior Detail, Texaco Station, c. 1929.
(Source: Boddy, Architecture in Alberta)

Fig. 15 The Big Chief Service Station, Calgary,
  Alberta, c. 1929.
  (source: Trevor Boddy, <u>Modern Architecture in
  Alberta</u>, 1987)

Fig. 16 Detail of the Big Chief Service Station, c.
  1929.
  (Source: Boddy, <u>Architecture in Alberta</u>)

Fig. 17 The New Thorsby Theatre of 1940 featuring
Stucco Vernacular architecture, Thorsby, Alberta.
(source: Trevor Boddy, <u>Modern Architecture in
Alberta</u>, 1987)
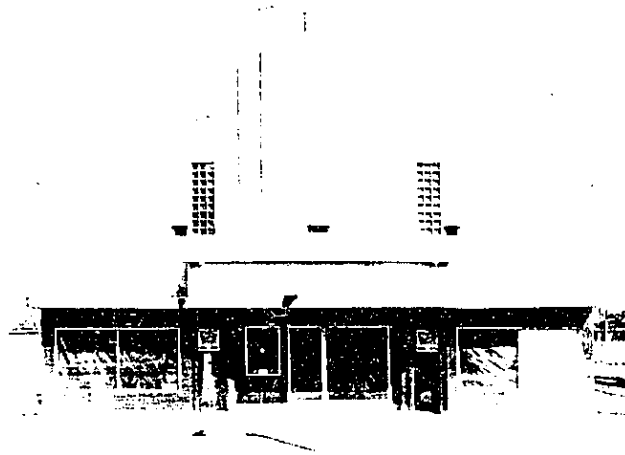
Fig. 18 Douglas Cardinal's Provincial Treasury
  Building, Ponoka, 1977.
  (photo by author)
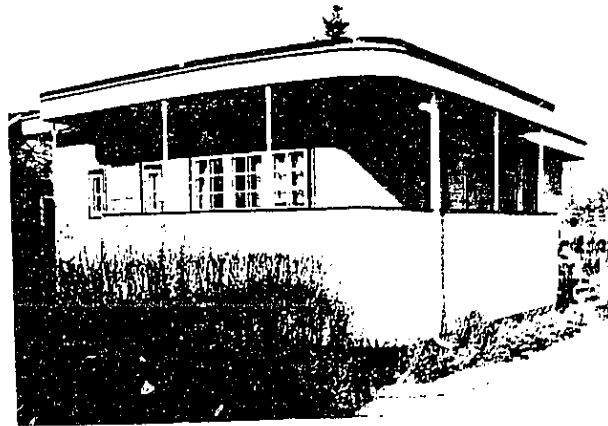
Fig. 19 Stucco Vernacular house, Calgary, c. 1944.
(source: Trevor Boddy, <u>Modern Architecture in</u>
<u>Alberta</u>, 1987)
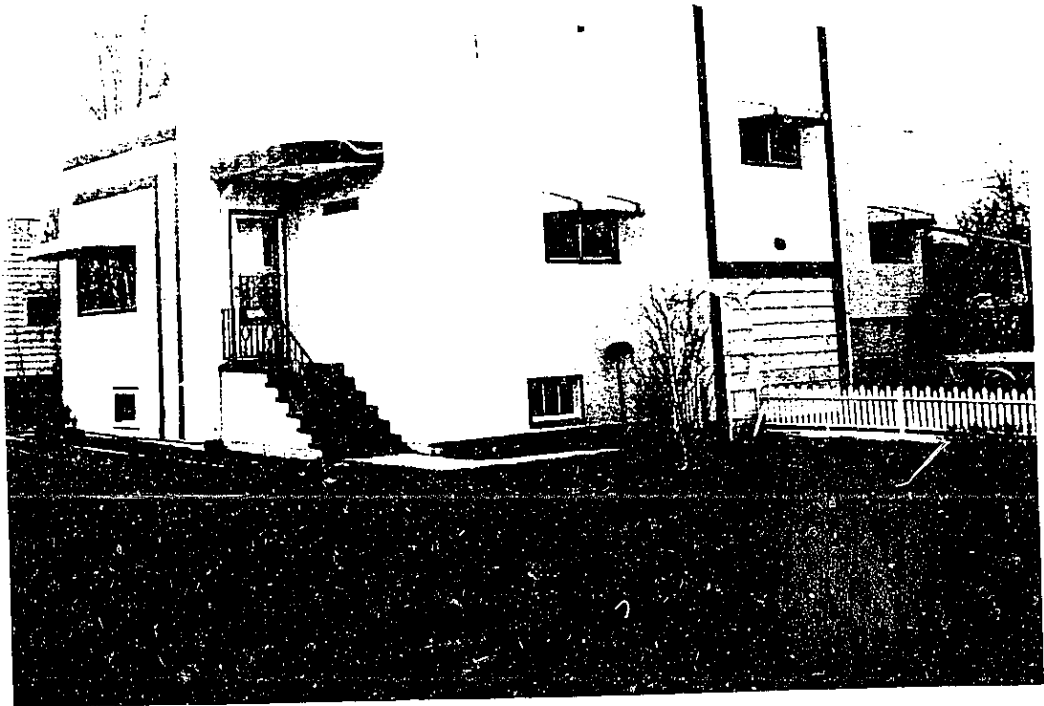
Fig. 20 The Brekke House in Ponoka, Alberta, 1942.
The builder was inspired by a magazine
illustration. (source: Trevor Boddy, Modern
Architecture in Alberta, 1987)

and Dutch immigrants who would have had the opportunity to see German Expressionist architecture in Europe first hand, as well as through publications sent from the Old Country.[10] These buildings emphasize the rounded corners and a smooth and curving wall surface. The traditional roof is eliminated, fenestration is minimalized and decoration kept simple allowing the massing to predominate.

While it is possible to cloak Cardinal's unique forms under the same blanket as other great architectural masters, as Boddy has done, there are significant differences. Baroque architecture was based on curving forms, but the movement is emphatically concave and convex in contradistinction to Cardinal's forms which wrap around the supporting structure, emphasizing the wall surface as opposed to the cavities in the massing. This aspect of wall treatment, is combined with a textured surface which is smooth and even, displaying no rustication, faceting or projections.

This cladding reflects the harsh terrain of a rock-cut landform such as is found in the Alberta Badlands. The rock formation in this area is packed in layers of strongly contrasting broken lines of dotted stratification creating a pattern similar to the surface brick textures Cardinal captures in his exterior materials, particularly where he uses variegated brick such as at Ponoka (Figs.21,22,23,24).

While Cardinal's walls, interior and exterior undulate, this is primarily an architecture of control. The surfaces are stretched taut, and the fenestration hidden. St. Mary's Church in Red Deer stands as a typical example of this attenuated wall massing, its smooth brick exterior completely free of decorative detailing and defined primarily by the silhouette of its massing shape (Fig. 25). The relationship to early Mexican Baroque architecture is much closer than to the European counterpart, particularly in the curving forms and smooth sun-bleached wall surfaces[11] (Fig. 26).

Cardinal's encounters with the physical environment of Alberta are inscribed throughout the his architecture. The kind of roll and counter roll which is designed into the massing shape is unique to his architecture. This tumbling and counter tumbling is similar to the rolling land of the Alberta Prairies, and my travels to Alberta confirmed this relationship. The experience of moving on the highway viewing the surrounding landscape between Edmonton and Red Deer, Alberta, a voyage Cardinal made hundreds of times during his commission for the church of Saint Mary's, is unique to this part of Canada (Figs. 28 and 28).

While the curving, undulating wall has been a signatory element in Cardinal's work during his thirty year career, it is crucial to recognize the degree of maleability

Fig. 21 The Badlands, southern Alberta.
(photo by author)

Fig. 22 The Badlands, southern Alberta.
(photo by author)

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Fig. 23 The Badlands, southern Alberta.
(photo by author)

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Fig. 24 Cardinal's Provincial Treasury Building,
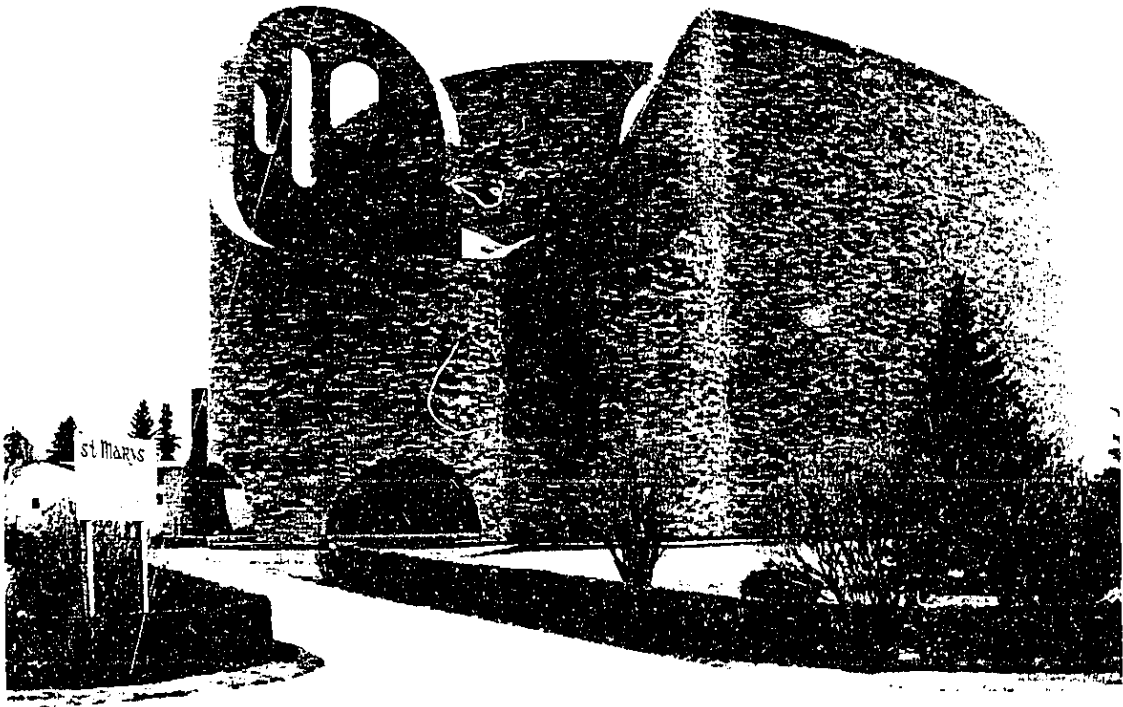 Ponoka, 1977.
  (photo by author)

Fig. 25 St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church by Douglas
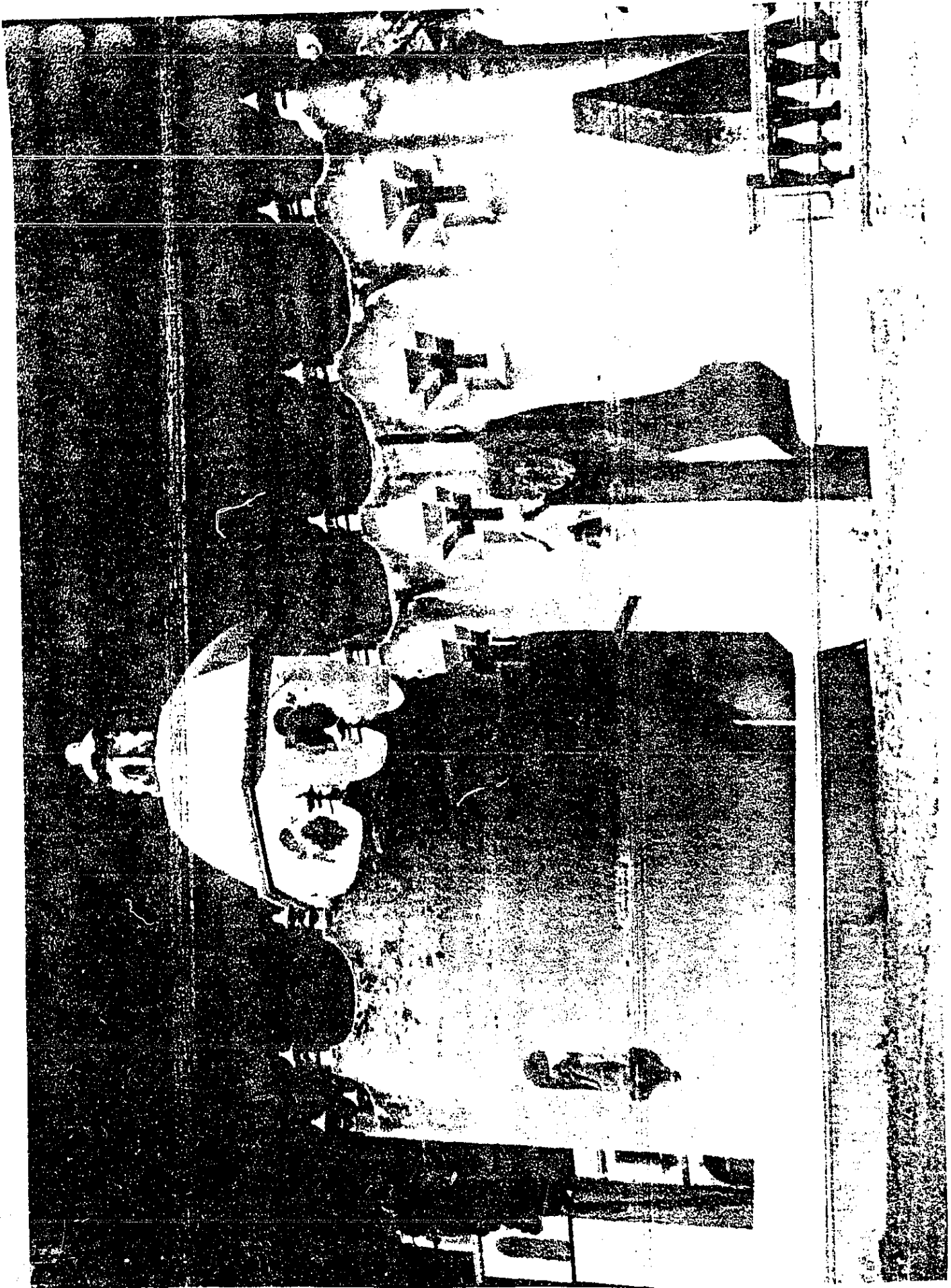 Cardinal, 1968, Red Deer, Alberta.
 (photo by author)

Fig. 26 Early Neo-Baroque Mexican Church.
(source: Trevor Boddy, The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal,

Fig. 27 Rolling Prairies of Alberta, between Edmonton and
 Red Deer.
 (photo by author)

Fig. 28 Rolling Prairies of Alberta, between Edmonton and
   Red Deer.
   (photo by author)

inherent in this design device. With the aid of 78,000 computer calculations for the ceiling alone, Cardinal produced at St. Mary's Church one of Canada's most poetic contemporary architectural expressions. The dim mysterious circular interior is protected by an irregular and gently flowing concrete ceiling which drapes inward like the walls of a tent (Fig. 29). It is the sharp distinction between this sensual interior and the resolutions for the Canadian Museum of Civilization which would suggest that at CMC, Cardinal has emphasized the quality of movement beyond practical necessity and towards a communication system which can be likened to the mature work of the painter Lawren Harris. In Cardinal's case, the line becomes the mode of communication and what it communicates is movement. Movement is the essence of the shamanic experience which is central to Native traditional beliefs.

My intention here has been to challenge a particular genealogy which forces a consideration of the artistic Native subject within a specifically Euro-centric paradigm. To this end, I worked to destabilize the **voice** Cardinal has been given within the framework of a particular art historical discourse and to draw attention to the relationship his architecture carries to various sources and influences specific to his identity as Native, Albertan and Canadian. In the following chapter, these observations are
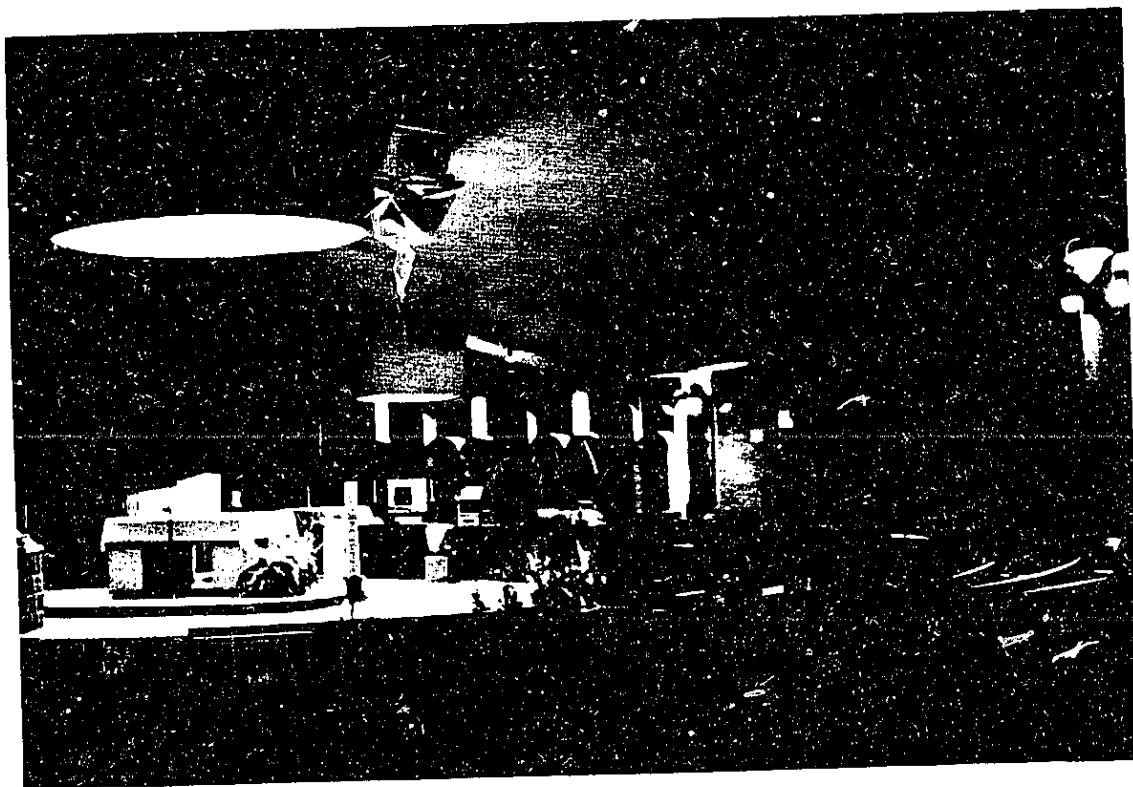
Fig. 29 Inward Flowing Ceiling of St. Mary's Church,
 Red Deer, Alberta.
 (photo by author)

tuned to a very particular aspect of Cardinal's worldview, his spiritual beliefs.

Endnotes - Chapter IV

1. Peggy Curran, "Civilization comes of age: 'Musty mausoleum' soon to re-emerge as high-tech shrine" The Gazaette, Montreal, 3 June 1989, B-7.

2. Joseph Baker, "Museum of Civilization throws architecture a curve" The Gazette, Montreal, 30 June 1989: J-12.

3. Trevor Boddy, The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal (Edmonton, Alberta: NewWest Press, 1989).

4. Trevor Boddy, Modern Architecture in Alberta (Regina, Saskatchewan: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism and the Canadian Plains Research Center, 1987).

5. Boddy, The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal, Ibid., 102.

6. Ibid., 103.

7. George F. MacDonald and Stephen Alsford, A museum for the global village: The Canadian Museum of Civilication (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989), 20.

8. Spiro Kostof, A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 235.

9. Trevor Boddy, The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal, Ibid., 25.

10. Trevor Boddy, Modern Architecture in Alberta, Ibid., 23, 24, 25.

11. Trevor Boddy, The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal, Ibid., 22.

CHAPTER V

SHAMANISM IN CONTEMPORARY ARTISTIC PRACTICES

In their article "If It's Not Shamanic, Is it

Sham?...", Valda Blundell and Ruth Phillips describe a Euro-

Canadian misunderstanding of Native artists' efforts to

found their practices on beliefs and values pertinent to

their identity as Indian **and** Canadian.

> They [Canadians] have assumed that only two alternatives
> are available to contemporary native people - - either
> they must conform to an earlier way of life, or they
> must assimilate into the dominant Euro-Canadian
> lifestyle.[1]

Blundell and Phillips suggest that this limited view of

Indian cultural options is based on the old notion that the

only change for Indian cultures is progress toward a Euro-

centric lifestyle.

> This viewpoint has important implications for the
> perception of contemporary Indian-produced art because
> it maintains that if Indian art is not recognizably
> "tribal", it cannot be considered authentic, and is
> instead the art of an assimilated person who has lost
> his or her sense of Indian identity.[2]

Conversely, I would suggest that if Indian art appears

to be modernist or postmodernist in form, it is not expected

to be related to traditional spiritual values, which are

linked to the Land. While Douglas Cardinal's architecture

is often referred to as 'land-architecture' and 'organic',

this inflection is removed from a spiritual foregrounding
which is central to Native beliefs.

A review of Native contemporary expressive forms
supports the view that religion and art are interconnected
in the experience of First Peoples. There appears to be an
emerging movement in the artistic community to relate this
spirituality specifically to a Native worldview, which is
linked to an ancient tradition known as shamanism. I am
suggesting that many artists, including Douglas Cardinal,
are consciously articulating meaning and form to shamanism
at this particular historic juncture.

There are powerful implications in this choice of
discursive investment. Significantly, it provides a public
affirmation of Native traditional heritage, as well as a
site from which to examine the concerns and struggles
surrounding hybrid forms of shamanic beliefs and values.
But it also carries the dangers implicit in a discourse
which links First Peoples with a religion of nature. As a
social category the Native/nature dyad is a repository of
what historically has been an area of contestation
surrounding stereotypical views of Indians, and has been
used by the dominant society to freeze First Peoples into a
'Noble Savage' context, which worked to rationalize
exclusions and disenfranchise Native people from the power
structures of society.

How this retrieval of ancestral beliefs is understood
in the present, its discursive constitution and the shape it
takes in expressive forms, is the focus of what follows.

Shamanism historically provided the framework for the
spiritual beliefs and rituals of First Nations. Buried
under colonial practices, it survived underground and in the
residual traces which informed peoples lives in a more
general way, often mediated by other religions.

Since contact with missionaries and colonial
administrators, First Nations people have been most hesitant
to even discuss shamanism. Rituals related to it were
banned in colonial Canada and practitioners were strongly,
and at times forcefully, discouraged from following its
precepts. As the central core of cultural practices of
First Nations, the attempted destruction of shamanism was
the key-stone in dismantling a traditional Native way of
life. In a life-way permeated by spiritual consciousness,
erasing that core worked to destroy the framework of meaning
for people. It should not be surprising, therefore, that
there has existed great hesitation on the part of Native
people to even discuss shamanism. Discourse within an
anthropological, historical paradigm was somehow more
acceptable, both to many Native people and to the general
population.

Ancient Shamanism

Shamanism is pre-eminently a religious phenomenon of
Siberia and Central Asia. The word comes through the
Russian from the Tungusia **saman**, and was a name applied by
Europeans to the ritualistic practices of the Indigenous
people of North America after contact. Because of its
widespread use it will be applied in this study, but it
should be acknowledged that for many Native people this name
carries a foreign connotation somehow distanced from their
philosophical and healing traditions. Since shamanism as a
word appears to be in general use to describe Native
worldviews, it will be adopted in this research with some
reservation.

Shamanism has historically been rooted in
interpretations of sensory experiences understood within the
context of specific tribal myths and rituals, much in the
same way that the ecstatic experiences of Christian mystics
have supported a particular belief system. Belief entailed
adherence to rigorous rules unique to particular
communities. In societies inextricably linked to wildlife
and the environment for survival, myths arising from
shamanic interpretations worked to support a cosmology
favouring an ecological standard of cooperative living. The
belief in a soul and its connectedness to the rest of the
universe is intricately woven into complex systems of ritual

and mythology which permeate every aspect of daily life.

Shamanism historically has always innovated and in
societies which have been impacted upon by industrial and
now post-industrial economies and philosophies, it has
adapted to a different way of life, often surviving hand-in-
hand with other religions. It is beyond the scope of this
chapter to trace those innovations, rather my intention is
to focus on their manifestations as they appear in art forms
at this moment in time. My purpose is to provide a
particular understanding of shamanic symbolism in the
contemporary, prior to presenting the iconographic analysis
of the CMC which is developed in the following chapter.

The shamanic experience throughout the world is
situated in dreams, hallucinations and images of death,
dismemberment, ascent or flight which appear as central
themes in myths, legends and symbols of religious practices
universally.[3] It is these experiences translated into
complex mythological structures which have informed the
content of much of the 'art' of First Nations in Canada and
elsewhere.

Historically Native representational practices have
always emphasized the importance of shamanic symbolism. Most
ethnological museums are founded on holdings of Native
artifacts which in some way are linked to shamanic practices
and symbolism. Mainstream understanding of shamanism has

been within the parameters of archaeology, fragments of
presumably deceased cultures. This has been the result of
belief that the artifact is an aesthetic object removed from
any **living** spiritual meaning, and that it belongs to a
distant past. For the same reason, the replication of
traditional mythology transcribed into contemporary forms of
printmaking and sculpture were also understood by non-Native
people as historic narratives. Inuit graphics and sculpture
are particularly popular as representations of antiquity and
a 'primitive' world.

Emik's stone, ivory and bone carving of a shaman
harpooning himself, 1949, captures the essence of the
shaman's submission to a higher order (Fig. 1). Pudlo's
stonecut print (Cape Dorset, 1963), depicts an eagle
carrying a man to unearthly realms, a key mythical theme in
shamanism (Fig. 2). Similarly a stonecut print of 1970 by
Baker Lake artists William and Marth Noah and Barnabas
Oosuaq portrays an Eskimo shaman spirit with leg bones and
inner organs exposed. The face mask reveals the
transcendental nature of the spirit's mission (Fig. 3).
The Anishinabe people have been particularly influential in
central Canada in a resurgence of Native heritage
transcribed and adapted to contemporary art forms. Norval
Morriseau's painting titled Man Changing into Thunderbird
of 1977, (Fig. 4) is drawing on Ojibwa sources to depict a

Fig. 1 Carving of a shaman harpooning himself.
Grey stone, ivory and bone by EMIK, Payne Bay, 1949.
(source: Joan Halifax, <u>Shaman: The wounded healer</u>, 1982)

Fig. 2 Stonecut print by Pudlo, Cape Dorset, 1963.
Eagle carrying a man to unearthly realms.
(source: Joan Halifax, Shaman: The wounded healer, 1982)

Fig. 3 Stonecut print by William Noah, Barnabas Oosuaq and
Martha Noah, Baker Lake, 1970. Depicting a shaman spirit
with leg bones and inner organs revealed. The deer mask
face indicates the transcendental nature of the spirit's
mission.
(source: Joan Halifax, <u>Shaman: The wounded healer</u>, 1982)
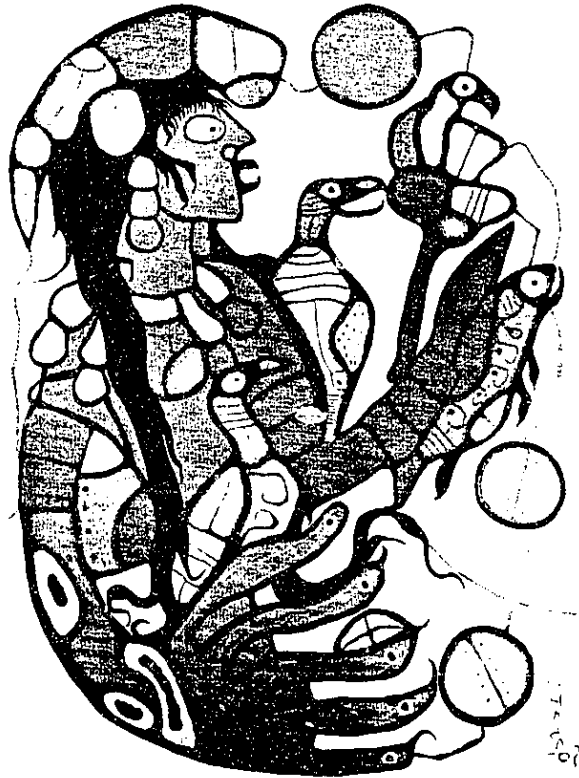
Fig. 4 Acrylic on canvas by Norval Morrisseau, 1977.
Man Changing into Thunderbird (Transmigration).
(source: Carol Podedworny, Woodlands: Contemporary Art of
the Anishnabe, 1989)

figure in transmigration. He used formal qualities from traditional beadwork and applied rich flat areas of colour in a modernist style but reminiscent of Christian icons and stained-glass.

The popularity of Indian and Inuit work has remained that which is rooted in what is perceived to be a past way of life. But as Blundell and Phillips have suggested, the Native artist reaches beyond a salvage mentality, and towards a ". . . renewed sense of **communitas** which was formerly eroded by centuries of oppression and domination". The double-bind situation which results is difficult to bypass, both for Native people and for others. It requires a different understanding of the primitive/civilized dichotemy. Woodland artists such as Daphne Odjig,(Fig. 5) for example, have worked to provide a model for what Blundell and Phillips describe as a "new Indian social order".

To shape a new Indian social order is the mission at the heart of many Native practices, including Douglas Cardinal's. As George Melnyk explains in his introduction to Cardinal's writings contained in <u>Of the Spirit</u>, Cardinal has a vocation to provide by example " a strategy for the creation of an alternative society."[4] What is meant by "example" here, according to Melnyk, is a series of models for bridging Native life and mainstream life, which might be
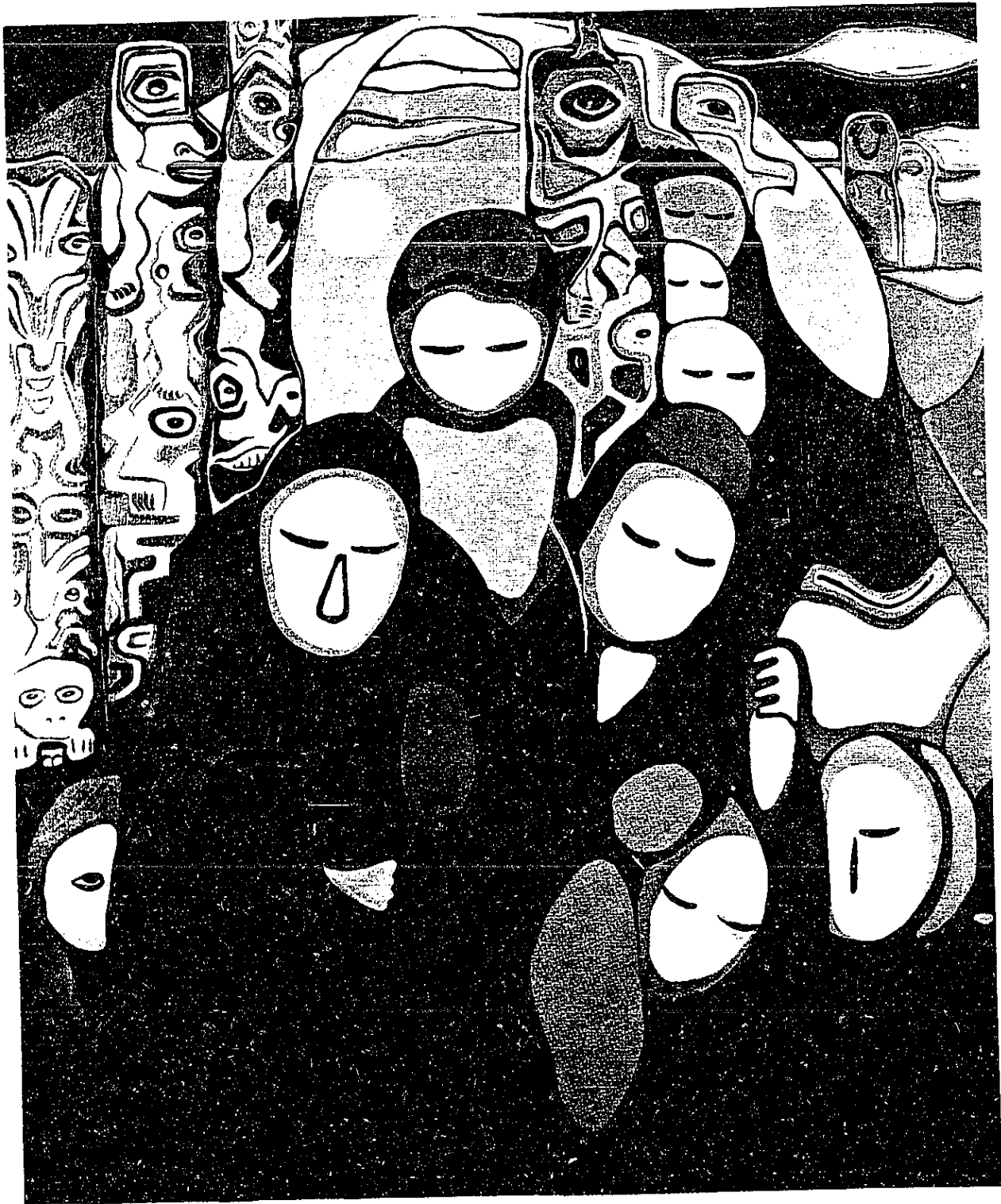
Fig. 5 Acrylic on canvas by Daphne Odjig, 1983.
Blending of Cultures, 'Ksan.
(source: Carol Podedworny, Woodlands: Contemporary Art of
the Anishnabe, 1989)

defined as hybrid forms of practice. In the case of architecture these would encourage the maintenance of traditional ways in the contemporary world. This struggle to preserve Native identity and reclaim a heritage, which to a large extent has been buried, is a recurring theme in contemporary Native art practices.

George Littlechild's Spirit Guide of 1989 is a mixed media painting on paper which insists on the direct reference to spirit guides in its title (Fig. 6). Jane Ash Poitras' large mixed-media canvasses of 1992 are superimposed collages of shamanic symbols. These are again titled explicitly to make the reference clear, and the texts surrounding the art work are intended to support the view that shamanism remains central to contemporary Native spiritual belief systems in the present. (Fig. 7)

The methods used by these artists work to mesh the transcendent and cosmic realms with history, politics and the highest level of technology and artistic skill. This conjuncture is difficult and not without its critics. There are some within the community who question what they deem to be misuse of sacred symbols for an art market geared to the predominantly white society.

As a case in point, George Favel in a review of Jane Ash Poitras' paintings for the exhibit Who Discovered the Americas, 1992, finds the work offensive particularly in
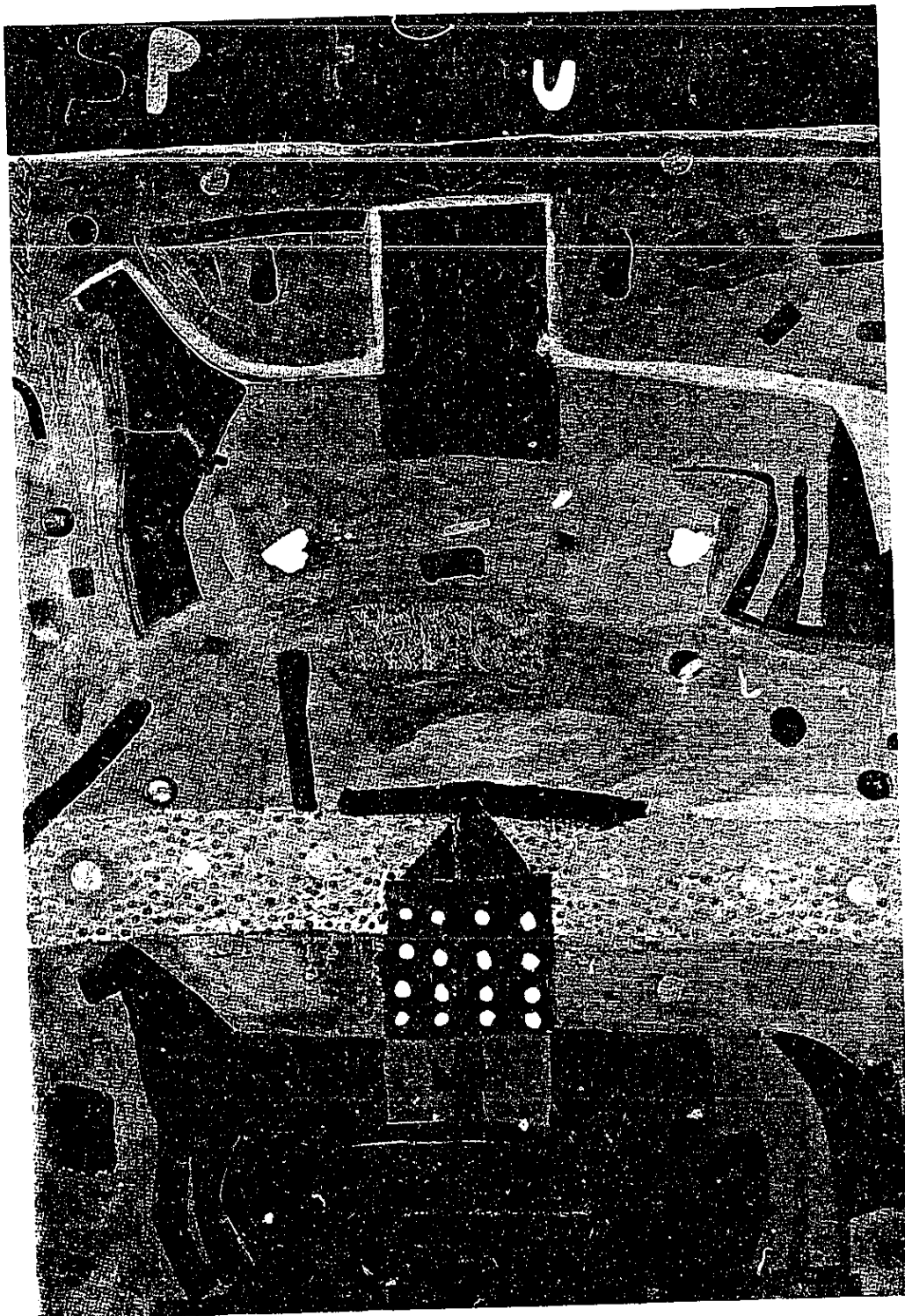
Fig. 6 Mixed media on paper by George Littlechild, 1989.
Spirit Guide.
(source: Janet Clark, <u>George Littlechild: Red Horse/</u>
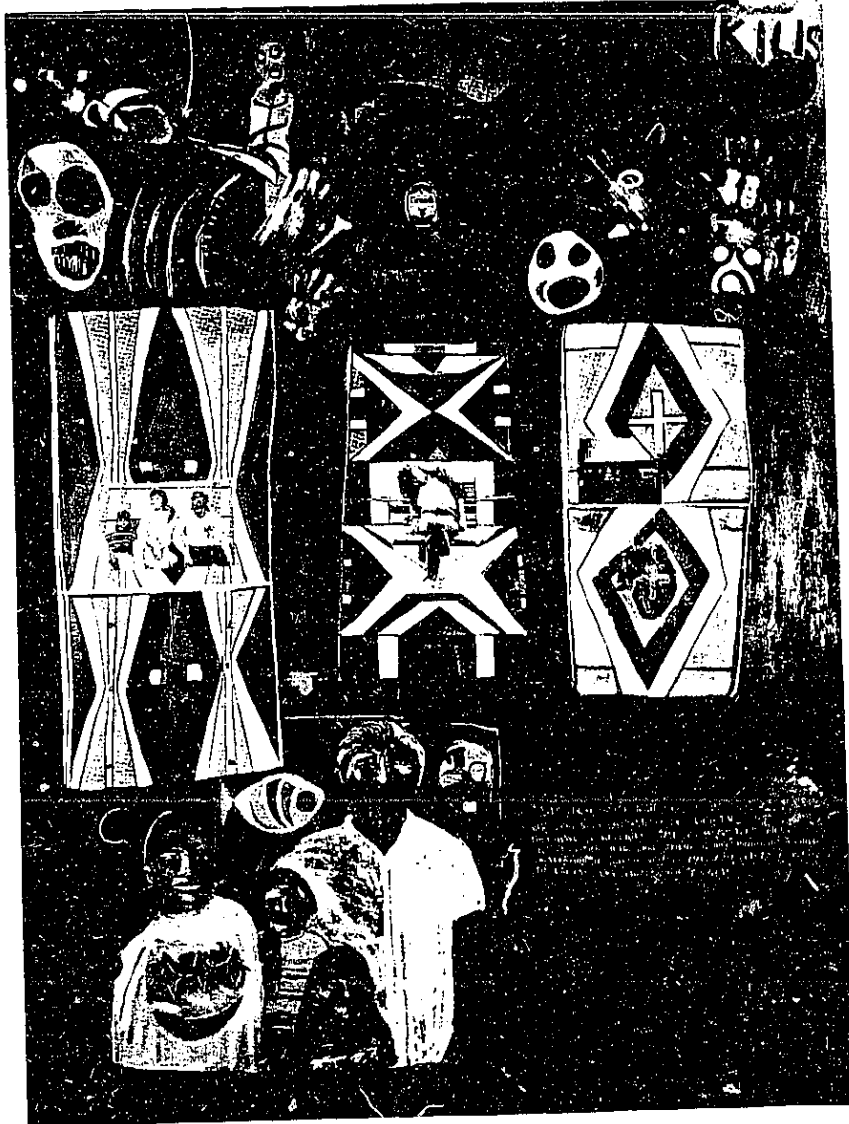<u>Red Indian</u>, 1990)

Fig. 7 Mixed media by Jane Ash Poitras, 1992.
Detail of Shamanic Journey.
(source: Janet Clark, Who Discovered the Americas: Recent
Work by Janes Ash Poitras, 1992)

what he sees to be a disregard for sacred items, which
should traditionally be handled only by persons designated
to do so and certainly not without "ceremony". Even though
Ash Poitras' exhibit was intended as a healing vehicle
recalling the struggle of North American Indian people since
the discovery of America in 1492, Favel described her work
as "not representative of many traditional Indian people but
rather of the contemporary, confused, new-age Indians".[5]
What appears to be of concern to Favel, as I interpret him,
is the use of sacred 'signs' removed from their **former**
sacred meanings. That is, the signs become re-invested with
a differently charged meaning which is being 'constructed in
the present', and does not adhere to the rigorous
specificity of unique tribal interpretation.

In the narratives of cultural struggle which mark out
the space of mediation between Indians and Indians and
between Indians and 'others', Gail Valaskakis reminds us of
the problematical issues surrounding appropriation and
authenticity.

> How is cultural practice formed and transformed in
> interwoven experience and memory: historical and
> current, real and imagined, collective and individual,
> ambivalent and prescribed, remembered and lived? How is
> identity negotiated, appropriated , enacted, and acted
> upon in the discourse of competing representations and
> narratives? What is the nature of cultural struggle, of
> power and resistance, exclusion and cultural
> persistence?[6]

Valaskakis suggests that in attempting to work through competing narratives, the will to find ways to express and act upon cultural and political differences can reach points of connectedness, expand our concepts of inquiry and "access the subaltern experience". The stories we use to describe the world identify us but beyond that, cultural narratives "compose our identity" as social subjects. As Valaskakis suggests identity is built and re-built in the ". . . discursive negotiation of complex alliances and relations within the heterogeneity of community."[7]

Douglas Cardinal

During the construction of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Cardinal continued to maintain the traditional ritual of the sweat-lodge. His sojourns in the Gatineau Hills and at home in Alberta centered on this Indian legacy and the practices of fasting, chanting, burning sweetgrass and prayer. He consistently consulted with the elders of the Native community, and struggled to make the architecture of the Canadian Museum of Civilization meaningful to people of the First Nations.

Douglas Cardinal's father Joseph Treffle Cardinal was part Blackfoot but grew up in a predominantly Mormon area near Cardston, Alberta. He was one of the first forest wardens in Alberta, who at various times also worked as a

hunting guide and fish and game warden. Throughout his
lifetime, Joseph Cardinal lived in close connection with the
Land, continuing to trap in the fall and winter. It was a
full life which combined operating a farm in Red Deer,
building his own houses, and running a motel business. Even
though his Indian ancestry had been submerged, Joseph
Cardinal led a life which bridged mainstream economy and an
Indian way. Similarly Douglas Cardinal's mother, Frances
Marguerite Rach, seldom acknowledged her native ancestry.
Trained as a nurse, she was the daughter of a German
immigrant father and a Metis mother, and grew up in the
small Alberta town of Madden.[8]

While it was common practice in the middle decades of this
century for Canadians of mixed ancestry to veil their Native
identity, it is difficult to account for the effect
ancestral worldviews have on the belief systems which filter
their way through generations.

Trevor Boddy suggests that Douglas Cardinal was
unaware of his Native ancestry and that when his father took
him to visit his paternal great-grandmother, an ancient
Blackfoot woman living with Stony people on an Alberta
reserve, Cardinal did not realize who she was. Boddy
describes Cardinal growing up "in a conspiracy of silence
regarding his Indian roots".[9] These are
issues which are difficult to assess. Cardinal himself may

not be aware of the traces of Indian belief which have been part of his formation and identity.

After a brief teenage marriage which was split-up by the young girl's parents, Cardinal undertook his first voyage outside of Western Canada in 1957 travelling to Mexico with the young woman who would later be his second wife Carole. The expansive reservations of Arizona and New Mexico were his first exposure to Native American culture. Boddy describes the influence and impact of the northern plains and deserts of Mexico on the young Cardinal. It is here the cowboy culture that shaped Cardinal's youth was invented centuries earlier, he says.

> From rodeo to stetson to plaintive cowboy song, Mexico was the seldom-acknowledged mother culture of the plains. Metis . . . mestizo, there was far more in common than different . . . It was as if Louis Riel had won, and that magically, impossibly the Metis hybrid had become the dominant culture. . . Even Mexico's Catholicism was tinged with native ritual and symbolism; the Day of the Dead on Nov. 1st was a hybrid of All Saints Day and Aztec rite.[10]

The experience of Mexico and of architectural school in Texas, from which he graduated with honours in 1963, can be seen to have filled out Cardinal's professional and personal identity. This period of growth was to bring him, more fully Indian and architect, to the point of crisis which would precipitate his transition into maturity and spiritual awareness.

Back in Canada, in 1963, and totally immersed in an

active architectural practice, Cardinal was abruptly thrown into the most catastrophic period of his life. The strain of bankruptcy after the Grande Prairie Regional College Project; a second divorce, estrangement from his children who moved with his wife Carole to Arizona, and the open conflicts of his growing high profile position as a Native activist were compounded by his father's early death. Overloaded, Cardinal's health deteriorated. The result was stress-related kidney failure which completely debilitated him.

His friends Harold Cardinal and Saddle Lake Chief Eugene Steinhauer took him to the now famous Smallboy Camp established on the Kootenay Plains in the shadow of the Rocky Mountains. Boddy describes it as a "spinoff" settlement from the troubled Hobbena Reserve in central Alberta. The new camp was established by Chief Robert Smallboy in an attempt to return to a traditional lifestyle. Here, Cardinal is said to have been laid before the Smallboy camp circle and a healing ceremony of many hours was performed. According to Boddy, Cardinal remembers the incessant drumming and chanting of the ritual and the experience of slipping in and out of consciousness disengaged from his body.[11] Following his illness, Douglas Cardinal began to reconnect with Native culture at a spiritual level which has informed his life ever since.

Under the guidance of Smallboy and his healer, Cardinal regained an equilibrium of life which he has sought to maintain in the ensuing years.

This encounter with death and illness followed by being healed appears to be culturally interpreted by many Native artists within the archetype of the shaman. Retrieval of ancestral identity in conjunction with a spiritual awakening is paralleled by the experiences of many other contemporary Native practitioners in the arts.[12] As Joan Halifax recounts, historically, the recognition of a shaman has been closely tied in with the concept of "the wounded healer". That is, by overcoming an illness an initiate is thought to have acquired the power needed to heal and guide others.[13]

The Shamanic Archetype

The shamanic vocation is a role which is assumed either consciously, as in the ritual of a vision quest, or at times accidentally and unconsciously, as in the case of a serious illness. Often described as a sick person who has been cured, the shaman is thought to have acquired the power to lead and to heal. The shaman historically does not monopolize the religious experience of the community and exists simultaneously with other technicians of the sacred and with other forms of religion and medicine. It is a

privileged position within the community, one which is
generally manipulated in such a way as to be a matter of
concern to others in the society. The cultural
interpretation given to the shaman's experience
characterizes it in a way specific to the ideology of the
group which uses the experience to support a complex belief
system. "The shamans did not create the cosmology, the
mythology, and the theology of their respective tribes; they
only interiorized it, 'experienced' it, and used it as the
itinerary for their ecstatic journeys." [14]

Traditionally, the shaman was viewed within the
paradigm of the unknown. His/her ability to cure and guide
is based on the cultural belief that the shamanic experience
has endowed the person with the ability to transcend the
body. The shaman's ability to enter into cosmic realms and
thus acquire the guidance of ancestral and animal spirits
was the method used to gain the wisdom needed to guide the
community.

The contemporary shaman can in some ways be viewed as
the politically engaged person, guided by the elders of the
community to forge his/her life mission in an ethical
direction. As Cornel West has pointed out, the fundamental
aim of the new cultural politics of difference is to
preserve people's agency and increase the scope of their
freedom in order to expand the operations of democracy.

"This is why the crucial questions become: What is the moral content of one's cultural identity? And what are the political consequences of this moral content and cultural identity?"[15]

West sees the role of the artistic subject specifically within an ethical framework:

> In the recent past, the dominant cultural identities have been circumscribed by immoral patriarchal, imperial, jingoistic and xenophobic constraints. The political consequences have been principally a public sphere regulated by and for well-to-do White males in the name of freedom and democracy. The new cultural criticism exposes and explodes the exclusions, blindnesses and silences of this past, calling from it radical libertarian and democratic projects that will create a better present and future. [The new cultural politics of difference aims to locate] the structural causes of unnecessary forms of social misery . . ., depicting the plight and predicaments of demoralized and depoliticized citizens caught in market-driven cycles of therapeutic release – drugs, alcoholism, consumerism – and projecting alternative visions, analyses and actions that proceed from particularities and arrive at moral and political connectedness. This connectedness does not signal a homogeneous unity or monolithic totality but rather a contingent, fragile coalition building in an effort to pursue common radical libertarian and democratic goals that overlap.[16]

Douglas Cardinal's philosophical writings are synthesized in <u>Of the Spirit</u>.[17] He outlines a holistic worldview which is linked to the Land in an ethical ecological way. As George Melnyk explains in the introduction:

> At a time when the traditional Indian and Métis cultures of Western Canada have been safely ethnicized, Cardinal's thoughts on society and his architecture

> point to the evolution of a radical new identity based
> on the land and a new equality between immigrant and
> native culture.[18]

It is a vision which is both "Native and modern" and as

Melnyk points out "Because we live in a European immigrant

dominated society, his [Cardinal's] vision, simply because

it is indigenous, is radical".

> It is the dialectical irony of history that the
> people of the land, who under white domination have
> become the wretched of the earth, should in
> preserving their ancient culture lay the basis for a
> new relationship with the land which far surpasses
> that of the white conquerors.[19]

Cardinal's voice is not alone. It is part of a

community plea which resists the call of Greco-Roman

'civilization', of the man-made and man-centered world and

turns instead to a more holistic philosophy. Current

artistic practices suggest an open declaration of beliefs

which are rooted in a different philosophy of the Land, one

which reaches beyond "conquering" and "mastering".[20]

Indications are that the symbols of shamanism are

being used as a vehicle through which to communicate a

Native identity in the **present**. These become re-interpreted

to forge an alliance between traditional beliefs and the

recovery of cultural stability for Native peoples. But more

than that, it is my belief, that these can guide the way to

more cooperative governments, higher ecological standards

and a retrieval of healing knowledge which has

been lost to the dominant society.

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This revitalization of shamanism and a re-negotiation of its meaning in the present is similar to the experiences of other previously disenfranchised peoples.

Cultural Identity: Symbols and Negotiated Meanings

Stuart Hall suggests that the creation of pertinent forms of representation is a crucial part of affirming identity for marginalized peoples.

> Cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history.[21]

Emergent forms which symbolically can be recognized as belonging to a particular group can provide a powerful motivating bond off which people can work-out some of the issues central to contemporary life.

> In post-colonial societies, the rediscovery of this identity is often the object of what Franz Fanon once called a "passionate research . . directed by the secret hope of discovering beyond the misery of today, beyond self-contempt, resignation and abjuration, some very beautiful and spendid era whose existence rehabilitates us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to others".[22]

But Hall amplifies this point with the suggestion that the project is not simply the rediscovery of identity but more particularly the "production of identity". He asserts that this is "Not an identity grounded in the archaeology, but in the re-telling of the past . . .". It is this act of

imaginative re-discovery which steps outside of the notion

of a stereotypical identity.

> Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of
> 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the
> future as much as to the past. It is not something
> which already exists, transcending place, time, history
> and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere,
> have histories. But, like everything which is
> historical, they undergo constant trans-formation. Far
> from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past,
> they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history,
> culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere
> 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found,
> and which, when found, will secure our sense of
> ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we
> give to the different ways we are positioned by, and
> position ourselves within, the narratives of the
> past.[23]

Hence identity is not simply fixed in "the endless

desire for lost origins", but is a negotiated re-

interpretation of that which is recovered from a smothered

history.

By making this struggle and negotiation a site of

artistic production, First Nations artistic subjects, like

Cardinal, begin to unravel the stereotype of 'Indianness'.

The effects of colonization become more visible as does the

struggle to regain stability. Shamanism is the key, the

healing device, used by many of them. This is not to suggest

that shamanism becomes an advertising sign, but rather that

it is an affective site of allegiance among Native peoples

which is both a paradigm of mystery and the unknowable and a

site of political struggle in which the issues of cultural

identity, colonial history and the Land are implicated.

The way in which Douglas Cardinal has reclaimed the symbols of shamanism and re-interpreted them through the architecture of the Canadian Museum of Civilization is the essence of the following chapter.

Endnotes - Chapter V

1. Valda Blundell and Ruth Phillips, "If It's Not Shamanic, Is it Sham? An Examination of Media Responses to Woodland School Art," Anthropologica XXV (1) (1983): 124.

2. Ibid., 124.

3. Mircea Eliade, Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, (New York: Pantheon Books, Bollingen Foundation, 1951, revised 1964). Eliade has been the general source on the history of shamanism used in this study.

4. George Melnyk, "Introduction" Of the Spirit: Writings by Douglas Cardinal (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1977), 10.

5. George Favel, "Tradition and interpretation at odds in Ash-Poitras show," Ironbow Arts Today I (December 1992): 6.

6. Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, "Parallel Voices: Indians and Others -- Narratives of Cultural Struggle," Canadian Journal of Communication 18 (3) (Summer 1993): 285.

7. Ibid., 285.

8. Trevor Boddy, The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1989), 20.

9. Ibid., 11.

10. Ibid., 20.

11. Ibid., 65.

12. Jane Ash Poitras, among others, describes similar re-awakenings to spiritual life and a commitment to Native justice and spiritual beliefs. see Janet E. Clark, curator, Who Discovered the Americas: Recent Work by Jane Ash Poitras, catalogue (Thunder Bay, Ontario: Thunder Bay Art Gallery) March 27 - May 10, 1992.

13. Joan Halifax, Shaman: The Wounded Healer (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982).

14. Mircea Eliade, Ibid., 266.

15. Cornel West, "The New Cultural Politics of Difference," in <u>Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures</u>, eds. Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-ha and Cornel West (New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art. Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1990), 35.

16. Ibid., 35.

17. Douglas Cardinal, <u>Of The Spirit: Writings by Douglas Cardinal</u>, ed. George Melnyk, Ibid.

18. George Melnyk, "Introduction", Ibid., 10.

19. Ibid., 10.

20. Ibid., 10.

21. Stuart Hall, "Cultural identity and cinematographic representation," <u>Frame Works</u> 36 (1989): 69.

22. Ibid., 70.

23. Ibid., 70.

CHAPTER VI

AN ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CMC

TRACING ITS SOURCES TO THE SYMBOLISM OF SHAMANISM

. . . every genuinely shamanic seance ends as a
spectacle unequalled in the world of daily experience -
lived out in the dramatic structure of a ritualistic
performance which at times required highly elaborate
'staging'. . .magical feats of all types reveal a
fabulous world, the world of the gods and magicians, the
world in which everything seems possible, where the dead
return to life and the living die only to live again,
where one can disappear and reappear instantaneously,
where the 'laws of nature' are abolished, and superhuman
existence is exemplified by a dazzling present.[1]

The Canadian Museum of Civilization is also a
spectacular display of magical and entertaining feats. It is
wired with 1,345 miles of fibre-optic cable, and outlets are
located at more than a thousand spots in the building (each
able to receive and transmit independently). Equipped with
laser-disk image banks which can produce instant vibrating
backgrounds for theatrical performances, CMC oscillates with
dramatic simulated effects. Television and video screens are
built-in everywhere, and an impressive OMNIMAX projection
dome which is 76 feet in diameter, made of aluminum alloy
panelling and weighing 33 tons, curves across the entire
front wall of the theatre and rises seven stories high
(Figs. 1 and 2). Thirty-two speakers encircle the room with
extraordinary sound vibrations. Computer memory banks and
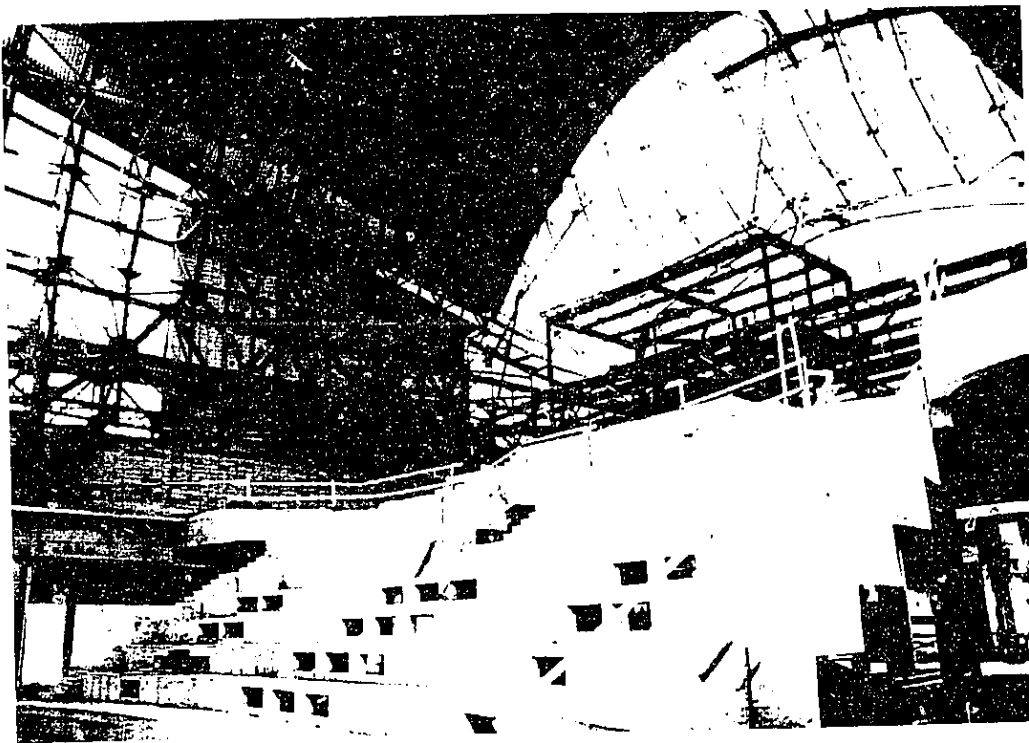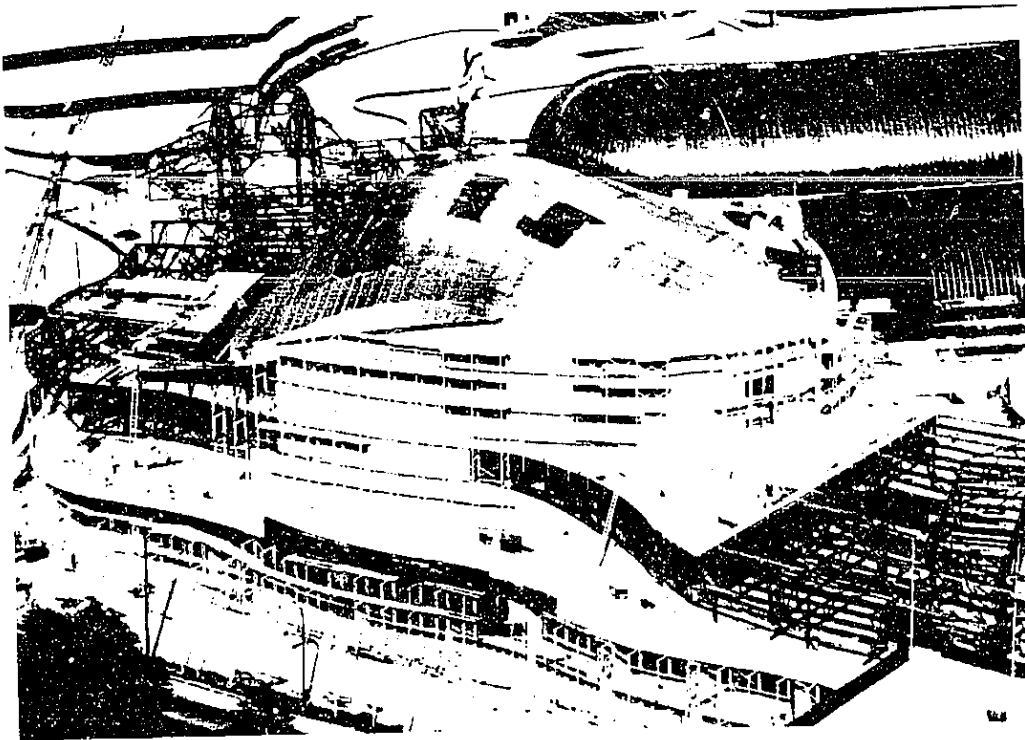
Figs. 1 and 2 CMC incorporates the world's first combined
Imax/Omnimax theatre.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the global
village, 1989)

satellite hook-ups are expected to make CMC the centre of
the universe. Like a mystical Cosmic Axis, information is
to move in and out from this mythical cer..re on a journey
unparalleled in Canada's history.

The architecture is a simulation of another kind, a
symbolic journey, drawing the visitor through another time
and another heritage. In its free-form curvilinear design,
variously labelled "organic", "post-modernist" and
"expressionist", Martin Bressani suggests CMC "becomes
quasi-hallucinatory when seen in contrast to the alignment
of the small gable houses [on the adjoining St.-Jean-
Baptiste and Papineau streets]".[2] Growing out of its 24
acres site by the Ottawa River, CMC has the effect of an
interlude both in the surrounding city and in the active
high-density information impact of the Museum project. It
demands a turn-around, its ochre guillotined stone from
Manitoba encrusted with thousands of tiny fossilized
creatures stands as solid memorial to more ancient times
(Fig. 3). A move into the imagination, the architecture
takes the visitor on a different journey -- a simulation of
the shamanic experience.

In Algonquian tradition, the setting for the
spectacular drama of the shaman's voyage is known as the
Shaking Tent or **Koosabachigan**. The earliest reference to
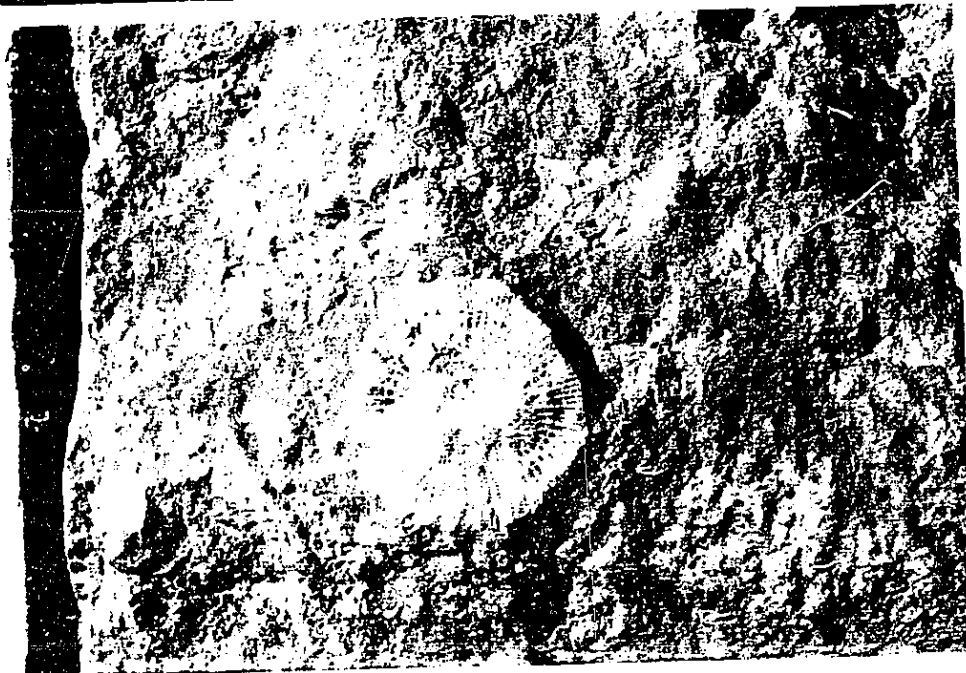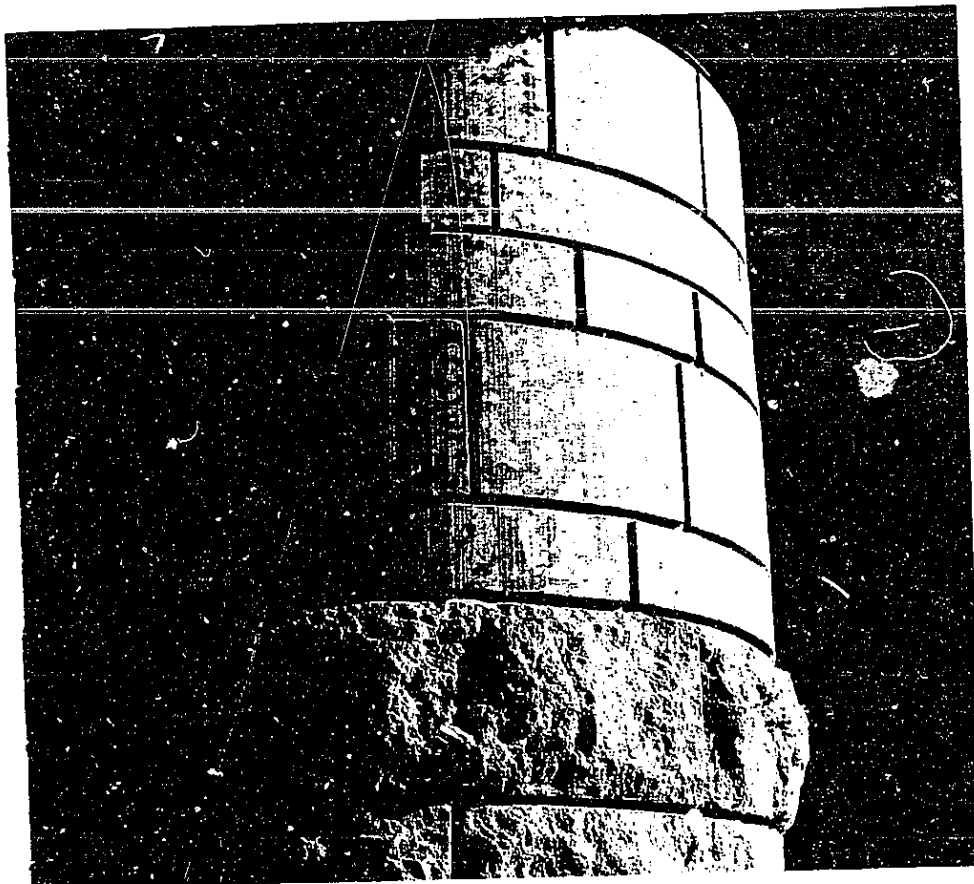the ritual of the Shaking Tent is entered in the journal of

Fig. 3 Tyndall limestone quarried in Manitoba
  contains fossils.
  (source: photo by Malak, <u>CMC</u>, 1990)

the explorer, Samuel de Champlain and dated 12 July, 1609. The entry describes the custom of the Algonquians whom he encountered on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River near the island of Ste-Therese, just west of Montreal.[3]

The Mystery of the Shaking Tent is a distinctive cultural possession of the Algonquian peoples of Canada and was probably practiced on this continent in pre-historic times. However, its origins and evolution remain a matter of conjecture, and are not within the scope of this research. The Shaking Tent rite has been documented for close to four centuries, beginning with Champlain in 1609, and most recently in a journalist's account of a 1991 ritual occurring in northern Quebec.[4] As a structure in movement it embodies the essence of shamanic belief, understood through the shaman's experience of the soul transcending the body and voyaging to other cosmic realms.

This chapter proposes a model for interpreting the iconography of the architecture of CMC within the sensibility which the Shaking Tent represents. The correspondences draw on Native heritage sites, such as the Peterborough Petroglyphs, the Serpent Mounds of Rice Lake, Ontario, and the earth works of the Adena mortuary in the Ohio Valley, among others. These are supported by the literature on shamanism. My purpose is to elicit a narrative which interprets the iconographic sources of the

architecture within the context of Native sources, which
would be appropriate to Cardinal's inflection of the Museum
architecture. My objective is to direct attention to
'another' heritage, one which is meaningful to First
Peoples.

I contend that, in the same way that CMC is a Museum
enlivened by simulation, which aims to present a particular
heritage, so can the architecture be read as a simulation of
the experience of shamanism. The architecture of the
Canadian Museum of Civilization is interpreted here as a
virtual reality experience, moving the body in and out and
through a massive symbol representing a dense cultural
heritage.

Drawing on a Heritage of Cultural Significance

The mystery of the Shaking Tent and all that it
represents, the myths, cosmology, rituals and symbols are
part of the significant cultural heritage of Algonquian
peoples, and was practiced by other groups as well, such as
the Inuit. Speakers of the Algonquian languages are to be
found across more than one-third of the North American
Continent, and form the largest Native language group in
Canada. These include Abenaki, Algonquin, Blackfoot, Cree,
Micmag, Montagnais, Muskogee, Naskapi, Ojibwa, Odawa,
Potawatomi among others.[5] It is the Anishinabe people

(i.e. Algonquin, Ojibwa, Chippewa, Cree, and the Odawa) who were part of the extensive trading system which pivoted around the site on which the Canadian Museum of Civilization is built.

The rite of the Shaking Tent has been interpreted in various ways depending on the observer and the historic framework. It is most often described in terms of theatre, theatre of the sacred, and like the mystery of the Mass for Catholics, the mystery of koosabachigan can be thought of as a symbolic re-enactment intended as a representation of transcendence. While this ritual theatre had a fundamental role as a vehicle of support for the community's values and as a healing agent, it was also intended to entertain.

As Jennifer Brown recounts, "it is no accident that, when television reached some northern Manitoban communities in recent years, it was designated **koosabachigan**, the same word used for the shaking tent."[6] It seems important to point out, however, that some Native people find this analogy offensive.

The sites of the ritual range from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, from the Great Plains and Prairies of the Midwest to the shores of the Arctic. It is a ritual which has survived contact and baffled the many journalists who have written about it; from the Jesuit missionaries, clerics such as Father Paul Le

Jeune and Father Jerome Lalemant, to explorers, traders,
travellers, antiquarians, historians, anthropologists,
ethonologists, psychologists and various other scholars.

Thor Conway is an archaeologist who, as an employee of
the Canadian government, interacted closely with Ojibwa
residents in the Upper Great Lakes area. Much of his
ethnographic fieldwork was conducted with the few surviving
Wabeno shamans in the 1980's. The bulk of his data was
drawn from the Anishinabe people of the area, among whom
several ancient forms of shamanism are preserved.
Algonquian mythology, which historically has been supported
by shamanic rituals and beliefs, is closely tied to
astronomy. Since much of this star-lore was directly related
to rituals and beliefs which missionaries perceived as
pagan, it was discouraged and banned. While it appears that
its religious features continued underground, in public only
the more acceptable aspects of celestial weather
forecasting, for instance, were spoken about.[7] Because of
this, much of the knowledge pertaining to the environment
and to healing has been lost to the general population.

As a cultural icon of significance to Algonquian
peoples, the Shaking Tent is representative of a particular
worldview which in essence can be thought of as a holistic
philosophy, wherein "everything is alive" and
interconnected.[8] It is a belief system which places great

value on a 'caring' interaction with the Land and an
ecological standard of living which recognizes humans as one
part of an integral and complex whole.

The retrieval of shamanism is part of the struggle
which First Nations artistic subjects encounter in being
both Indian and Canadian. Cardinal's willingness to enter
into a public discourse which frames his work within a
spiritual context is a gesture supported by other members of
the artistic Native community. These actions are politically
charged, motivated by the will to find an equitable position
as Indian and Canadian in a multicultural society. The way
in which shamanistic symbols are re-interpreted through a
futuristic Museum geared to a 21st century audience is the
context of what follows.

Movement as Symbolic of the Shamanic Voyage To Other Worlds

A characteristic of the shamanic experience is that of
travel, of the voyage, hence the sense of movement, related
in certain ways to the kinetic theory of matter in physics
which hypothesizes that matter is composed of small
particles, all in random motion. The theme of movement is
re-enacted in all forms of ritual related to shamanic
practices. As a representation of other realities, it
reinforces the non-concrete aspects of the visible and
apparently objective world. It would seem to bring into

question the very solidity and fixed boundaries of the 'real' world. It is this theme of movement which is associated particularly with Douglas Cardinal's architecture and is also found in Alex Janvier's paintings which adorn the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

The architecture of the CMC cannot be captured and restrained by the eye. There is a vertiginous effect on the body particularly on the interior of the building. Elements of balance, symmetry, edges, boundaries do not apply. There is no facade. Fenestration is to a large extent masked and secondary. It does not present itself as a building of exterior-interior. Instead it is a volumetric organic mass, an expansive sculptural symbol (Fig. 4). It must be travelled around, gone in and out of, climbed up to and even then there is no one point of view from which to capture the building and know it in its entirety. The only knowledge which becomes certain is an experience of movement which the expressive form requires, the essence of the shamanic journey, and the most characteristic formalist feature of CMC. Memory of aerial shots propel the visitor into flight circulating the building in order to comprehend this symbol. From above, swooping luxuriantly around the forms, it is possible to recognize the layout as a map of a shaman's journey, labyrinthine curving shapes (Fig. 5, 6 and 7)). The relationship between these "maps" and Cardinal's early
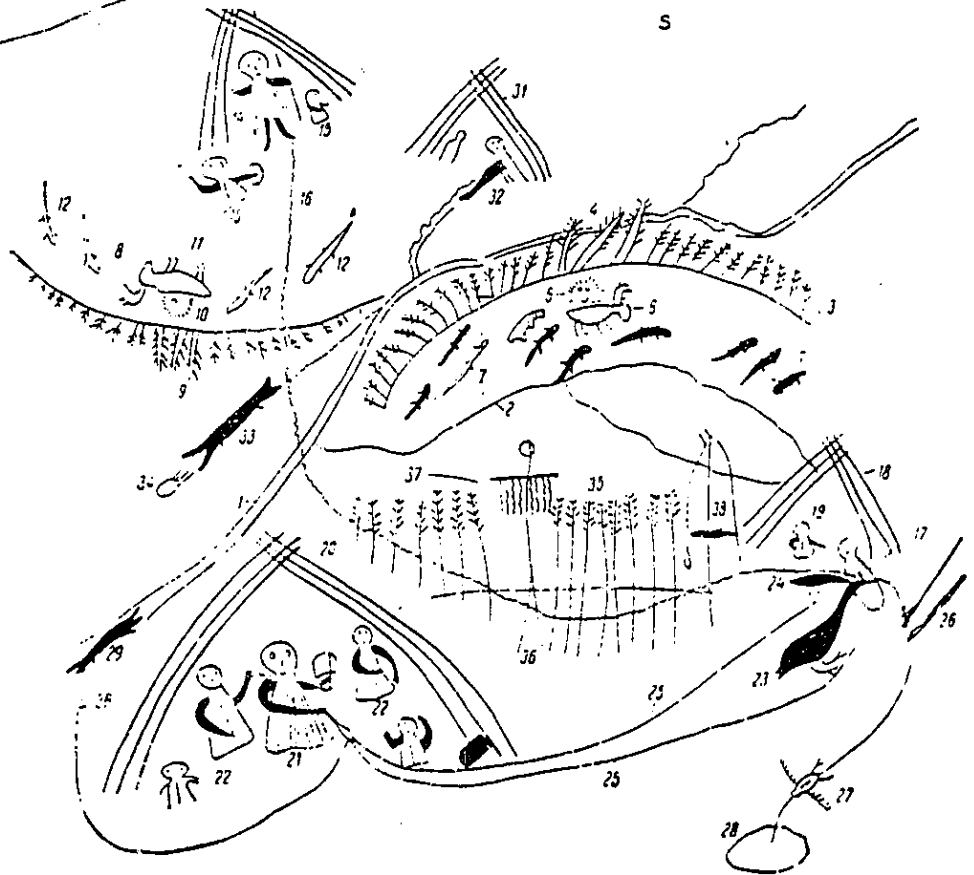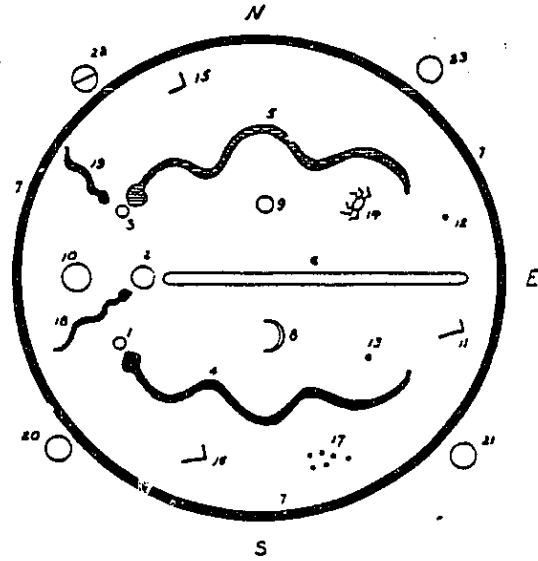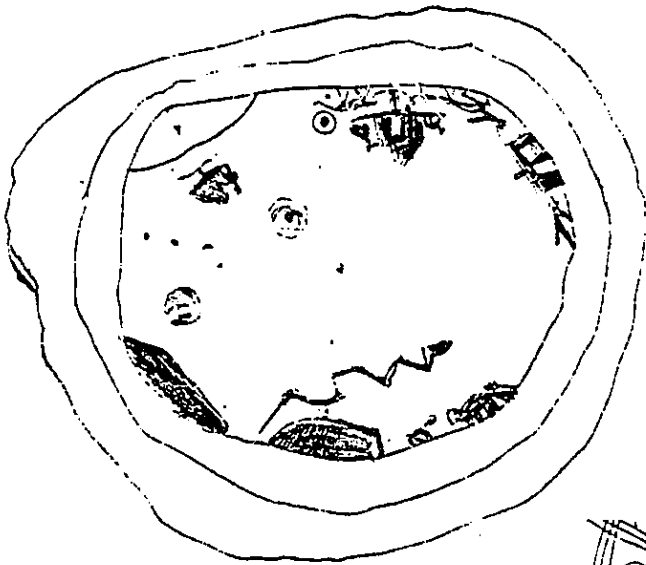
Figs. 5, 6 and 7 Shamans' Maps.
(source: Joan Halifax, Shaman: The wounded healer, 1982)

massing drawings for the Museum is remarkable.[9] (Figs.8 and 9).

As a generalized model, shamanism holds to the theme of movement, the voyage. Historically, the emphasis on flight and molecular transubstantiation has been well documented in anthropological literature, and preserved in traditional rituals and oral histories, not to mention through the museum's involvement with the ethnological artifact. Objects such as Ivory Bear, a carving from the Dorset culture, depict skeletonized figures in flight, icons of the shamanic journey (Fig.10). These ancient myths of shamanic experience have been preserved in the work of many artists. For instance, Oonark's graphite drawing of 1970 depicts a <u>Shaman in Flight</u>, (Fig. 11) and is accompanied by the following narrative:

> When the moon rocket went to the moon and some of the young kids were trying to tell the old people about this, they were getting really frustrated because the old people were saying, "oh, that's nothing, my uncle went to the moon lots of times". [10]

Myths of transmigration and flight are central to the beliefs of shamanism, and in numerous ways these correspond to the accounts of Christian mystics which also work to support a belief in a soul.[11]

Algonquian mythology and cosmology elaborate the shamanic experience of "leaving the body" (brought on during starvation-induced vision quests or illness) within a
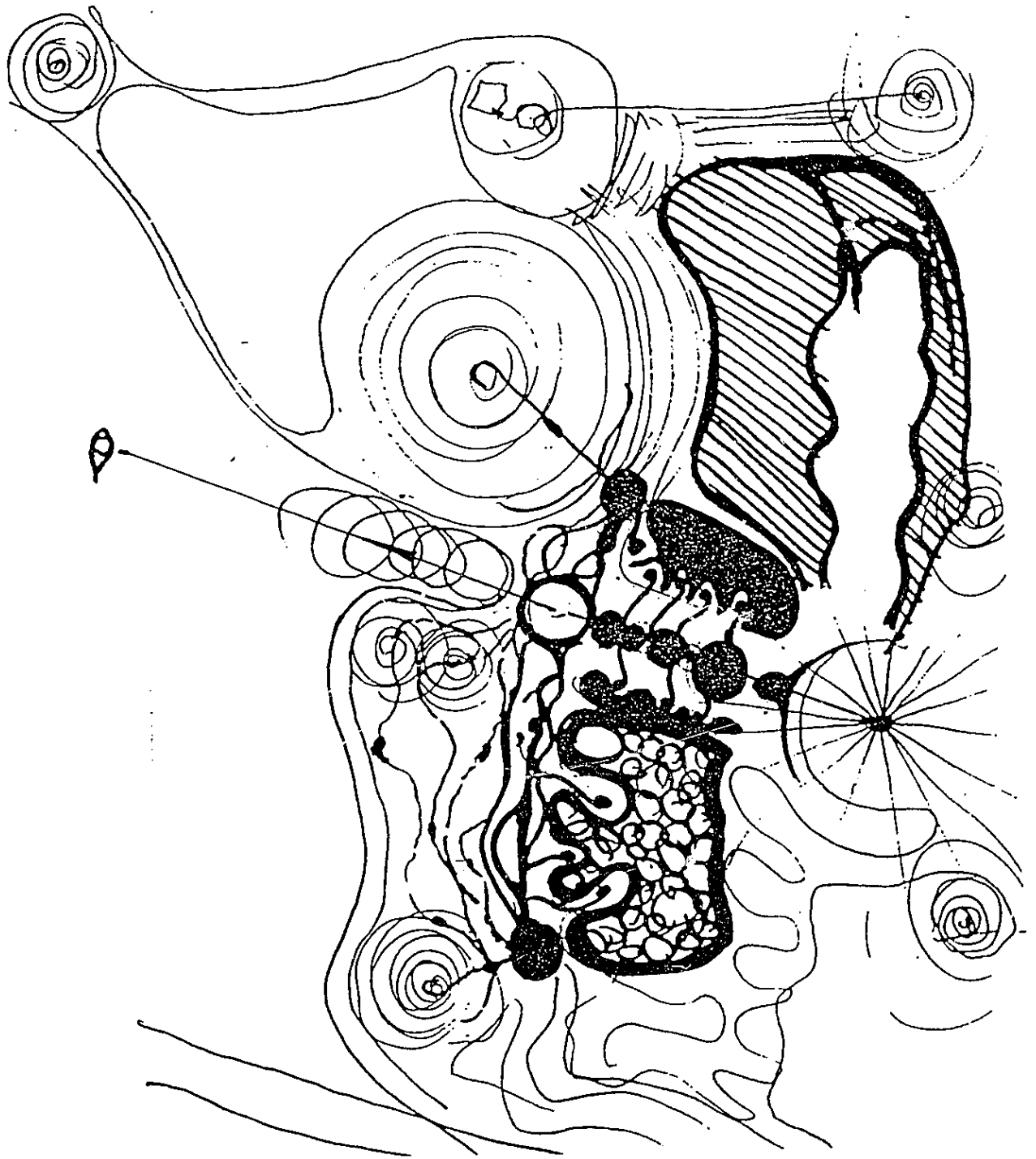
Figs. 8 Douglas Cardinal's first impressions, contained in
his initial submission for CMC.
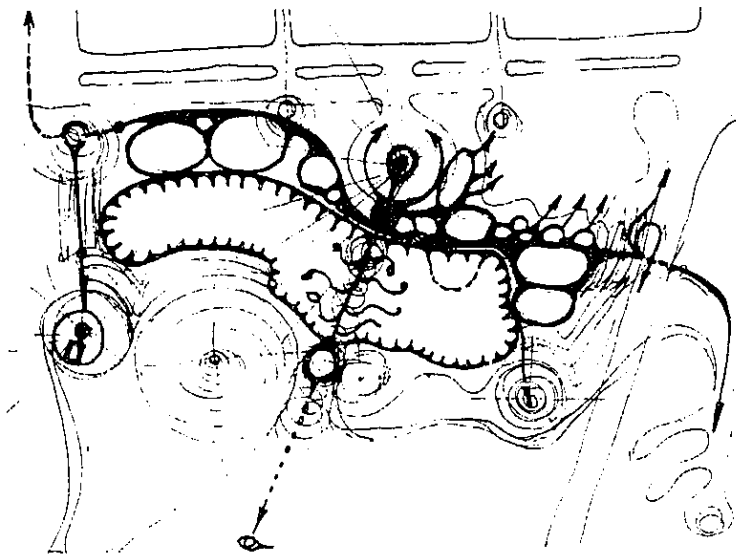(source: Courtesy of Douglas J. Cardinal)

Fig. 9 Douglas Cardinal's early massing sketch
 for CMC.
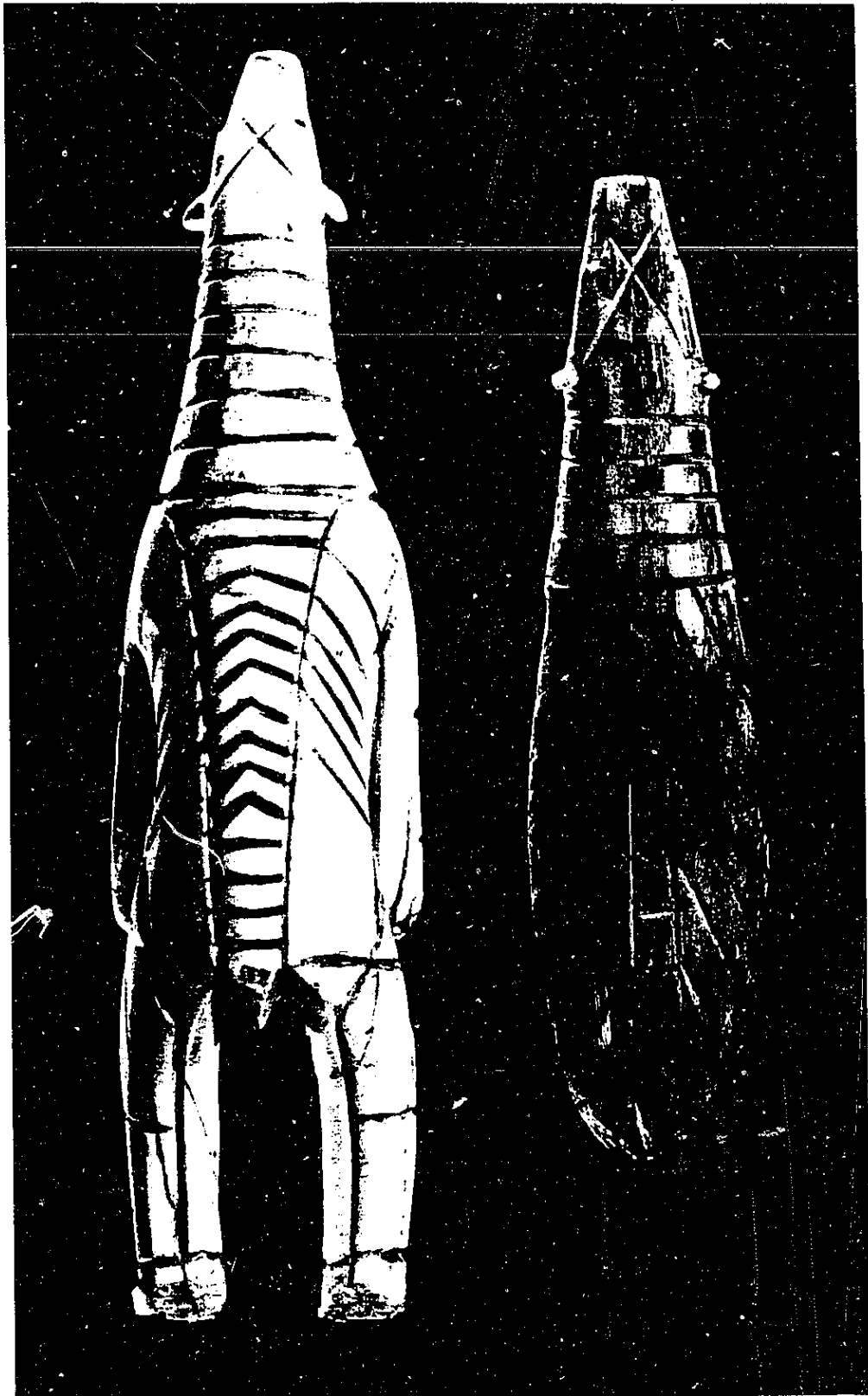 (source: Courtesy of Douglas J. Cardinal)

Fig. 10 Bears, Dorset culture, Igloolik area on left
and Belcher Island on right. Ivory.
Incised bears are thought to represent shamans floating
or flying.
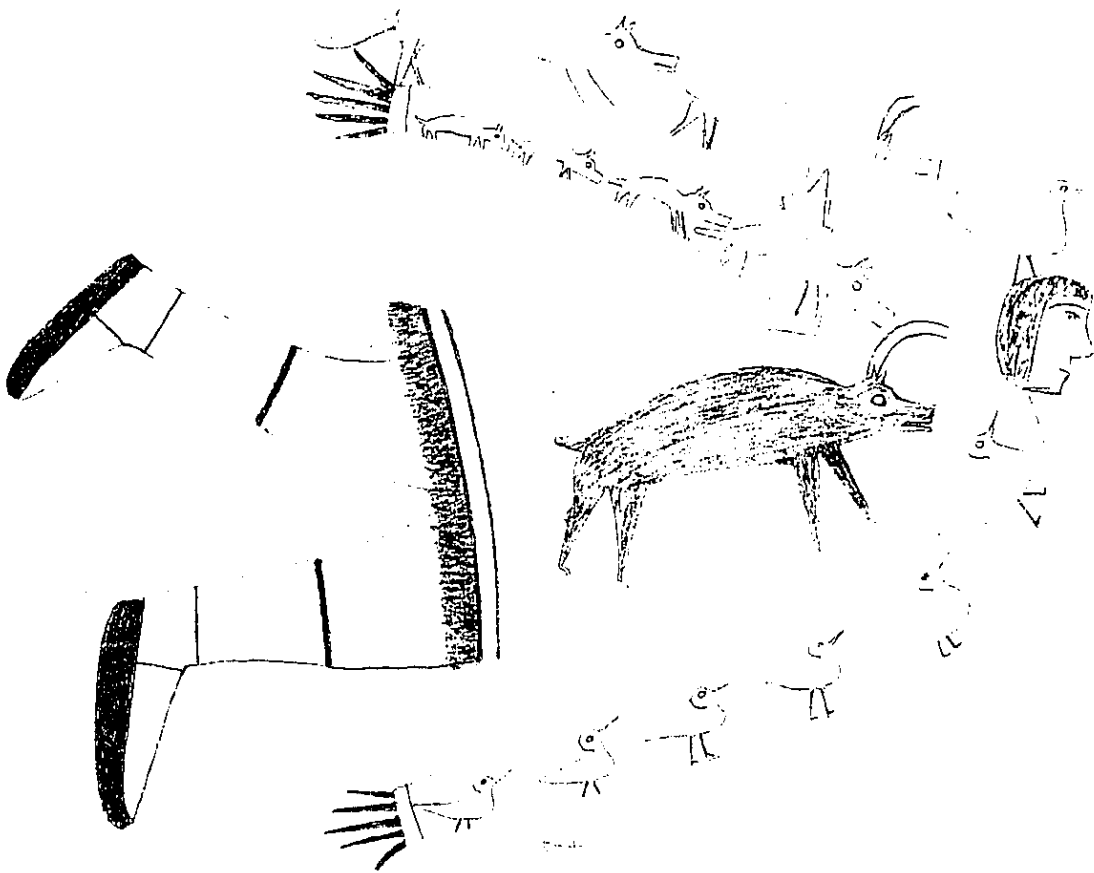(source: Halifax, Shaman: The wounded healer, 1982)

Fig. 11 Colored and graphite pencil drawing, 1970, by
Oonark depicting Shaman in Flight.
(source: artscanada, Dec. 1973/Jan. 1974)

complex structure of narratives and rituals which have been
culturally manipulated to be of benefit to the community
generally. Central to the shamanic journey, to his or her
movement to other 'realms' are the Cosmic Axis myths along
which the travelling soul is said to move. This is why
elevated features in the topography such as trees and
mountains carry great meaning. It is to the inner pockets
of mountains which the candidate seeking initiation
into shamanism retreats in search of the sacred through
isolation and contemplation. In shamanic symbolism, the
Cosmic Tree and the Cosmic Mountain are thought of as the
"center of the earth" . . an axis which allows connection
between the three planes of earth, sky and underworld.

The curatorial wing of the CMC, the Glacier Wing,
houses both administration and conservation facilities and
is connected underground to the public exhibit building. It
is said to be a reference to shifting earth strata in its
layered and receding cantilevered planes. The view of the
east elevation, seen from the Interprovincial Alexandra
Bridge connecting Ottawa to Hull resembles rock dwellings,
the fenestration corresponding to cave entrances worn into
an ancient geological formation (Fig. 12) Algonquian myths
maintain that during this movement across the 'planes' of
the universe, the shaman encounters demonic creatures, which
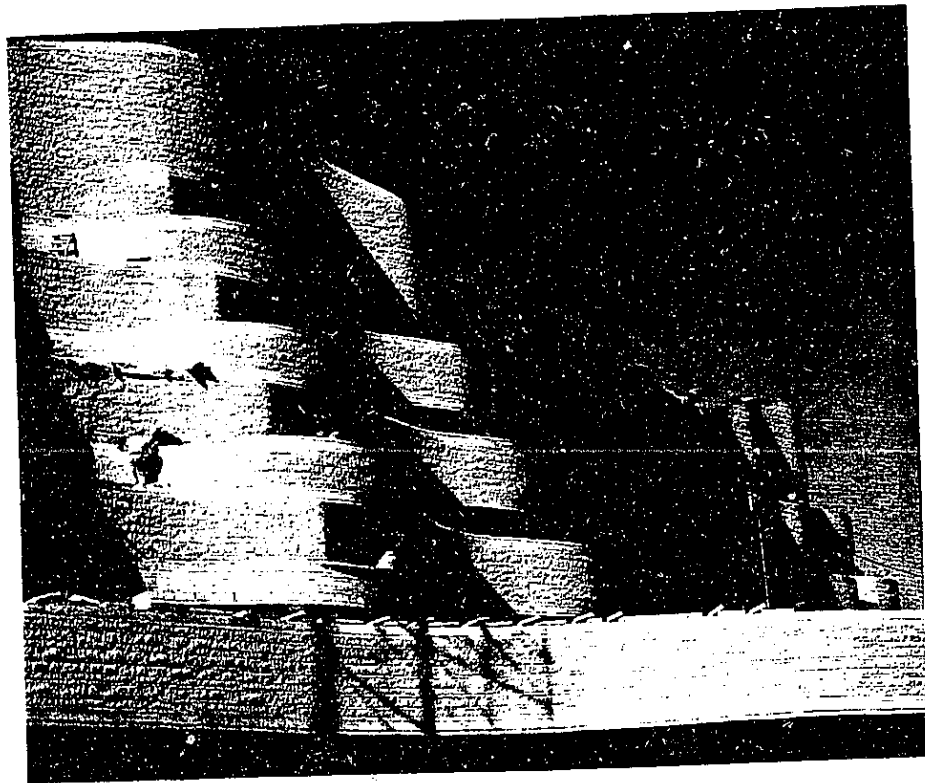at times are useful and other times evil. One of the most

Fig. 12 The Glacier Wing of CMC, relates to Cosmic
Mountain myths, with openings corresponding to cave
entrances.
(source: Trevor Boddy, The Architecture of Douglas
Cardinal, 1989)

powerful of these is the snake interpreted in complex ways
depending on its detailing.

The Powerful Snake Symbol

The grand Entrance Plaza on the Laurier Street level
is defined architecturally by sinuous curving planters and
benches (Fig. 13). Cardinal could have resolved this space
in any number of ways. His choice of this particular
expressive form, snake-like in outline, is unprecedented in
Canadian architecture. It must be assumed that the problem
was resolved this way for a particular reason; that is,
Cardinal's choice of form must be integrated to his
intentions to communicate a specific symbol. This
particular sinuous curvilinear design is highly charged with
shamanic meaning. Historically, sacred sites in nature have
been in geological areas normally protected by snakes. The
snake as a symbol has an ancient history within the
tradition of shamanic belief. The symbol of the snake
continues to hold great meaning and is often used in
contemporary art practices, such as Peg Morgan's painting
Opal Egg, 1993 (Fig.14).

The similarity between these undulating shapes and the
great Serpent Mound of the Adena, 800 B.C., in Ohio, is a
reminder of the major archaeological sites still remaining
in North America, as well as the snake as a sacred symbol of

healing and rejuvenation, common to many Aboriginal cultures. The remarkable earth works of the Adena or the Hopewell people were part of an extensive mortuary cult (Fig. 15). The Hopewellians were rich and sophisticated. They traded widely and their imports included copper from the Upper Great Lakes Region, quartz crystals, mica and schist from the Lower Allegheny and obsidian from as far away as Mexico.[12]

On the north shore of Rice Lake, near Peterborough, Ontario, archaeologists have unearthed a similar prehistoric burial mound and this Serpent Mound is the only one of its particular kind in Canada. It relates in some ways to the Ohio Valley mounds. The inhabitants of the area were part of a large chain of traders. Copper from Lake Superior, conch shells and coral from as far south as the Gulf of Mexico, silver from the Ottawa Valley have been found on this site, used probably from 700 BC to 400 AD.[13] Nearby, on the southern fringe of the Canadian Shield, about thirty-four miles northeast of Peterborough, Ontario is one of the most significant Native heritage sites in central Canada, the Peterborough Petroglyphs. In their book Sacred Art of the Algonkians: A Study of the Peterborough Petroglyphs, Joan Vastokas and Romas Vastokas examined the rock engravings in what is now known as the Petroglyphs Provincial Park. Discovered in 1954, this treasure of

shamanic symbols is engraved on an exposure of white

crystalline lime-stone, sometimes called white marble

(Fig.16). Evidence suggests that the petroglyphs were

carved by prehistoric peoples, probably at the latter end of

the Woodland period, sometime between 900 and 1400 A.D.[14]

Here we find numerous depictions of snakes detailed in

various ways (Fig. 17).

> Snakes of various descriptions, many of them bearing
> close formal similarities to those at the Peterborough
> Petroglyph site, appear in rock art through-out North
> America. While these images have been found in Arizona,
> Texas, Nevada, California, and even northern Russia, the
> closest nearby parallels to the Peterborough snakes are
> those recorded in the Lake of the Woods, Ontario, at the
> Jeffers Site in Minnesota, and at Independence Stone,
> Ohio.[15]

The serpent appears in pictographs as a symbol of

cunning, subtlety and power and is a much respected

creature. It is both evil and powerful, and is thought to

signify the energy of life and the powers of regeneration.

In myths, snakes sometimes functions as a vehicle of

of transition for the soul's journey to the netherworld.[16]

The formal qualities of the plaza serpentine benches is a

highly charged symbolism which can only be understood within

the heritage of Native mythology and the journey of the

shaman. Encounters with deceased ancestors and animal

guides, part of the voyage, are captured in the

representations tradionally known to Euro-Canadians through

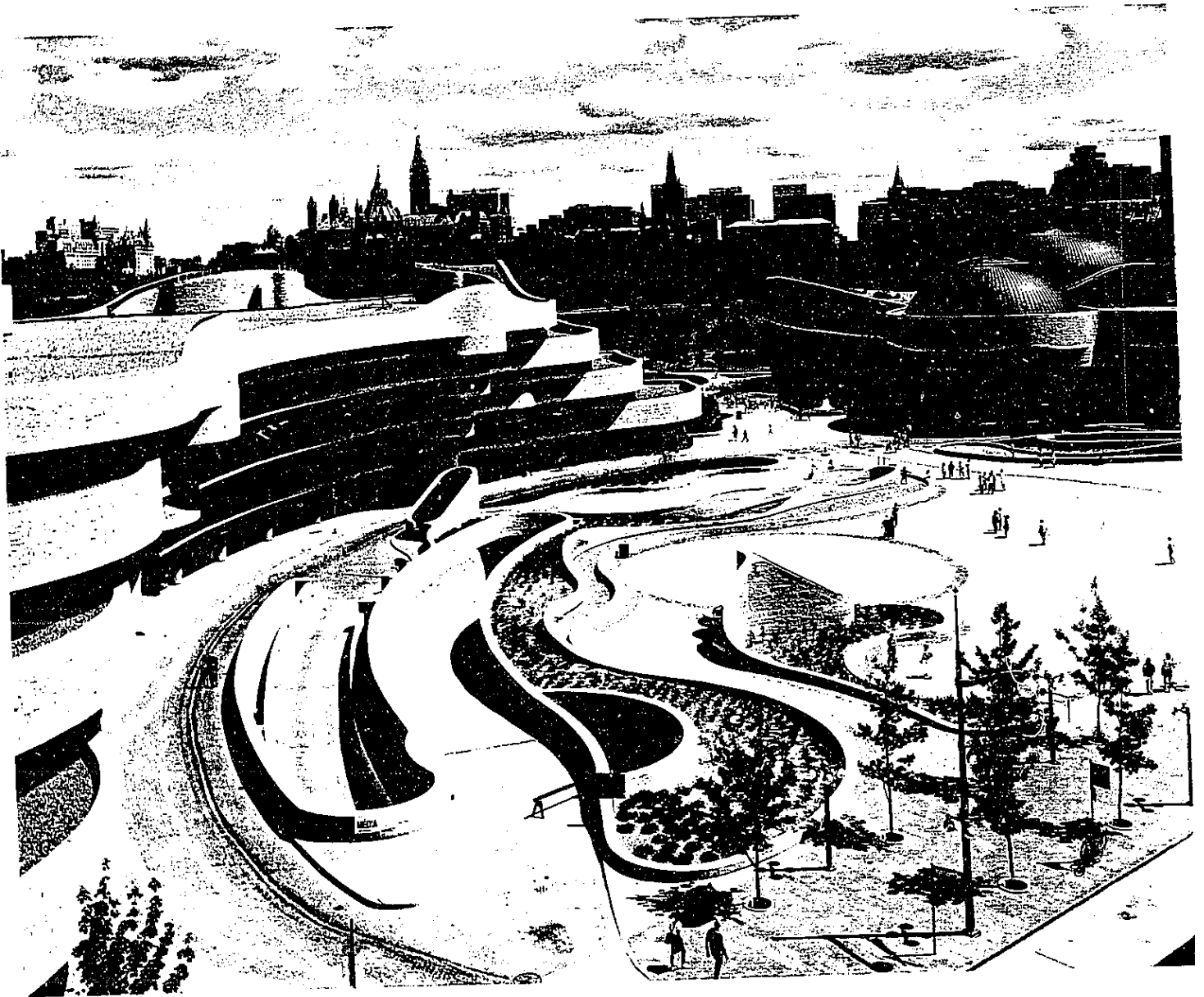ritual masks and effigies. These again are formalized to

Fig. 13 Entrance Plaza with serpentine detailing.
(source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)

Fig. 14 Opal Egg, painting by Native artist Peg Morgan,
  1993.

Fig. 15 Ohio, Serpent Mound of the Adena, c. 800 B.C.
onward.
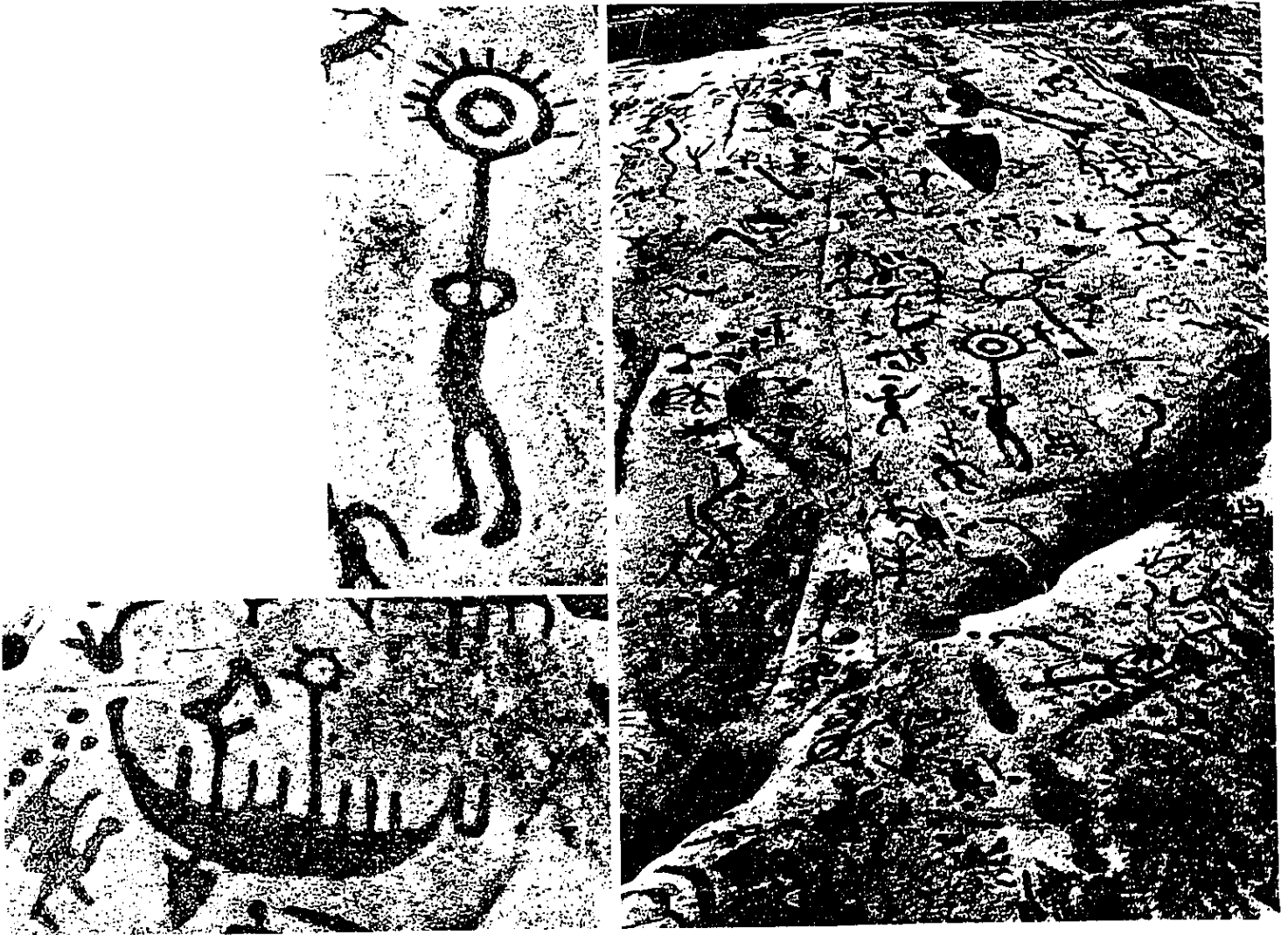(source: Spiro Kostof, A History of Architecture, 1985)

Fig. 16 Carvings at Peterborough Petroglyphs,
Peterborough, Ontario, c. 900 to 1400 A.D.
Depicting shamanic symbols.
(source: Joan and Romas Vastokas, <u>Sacred Art of the</u>
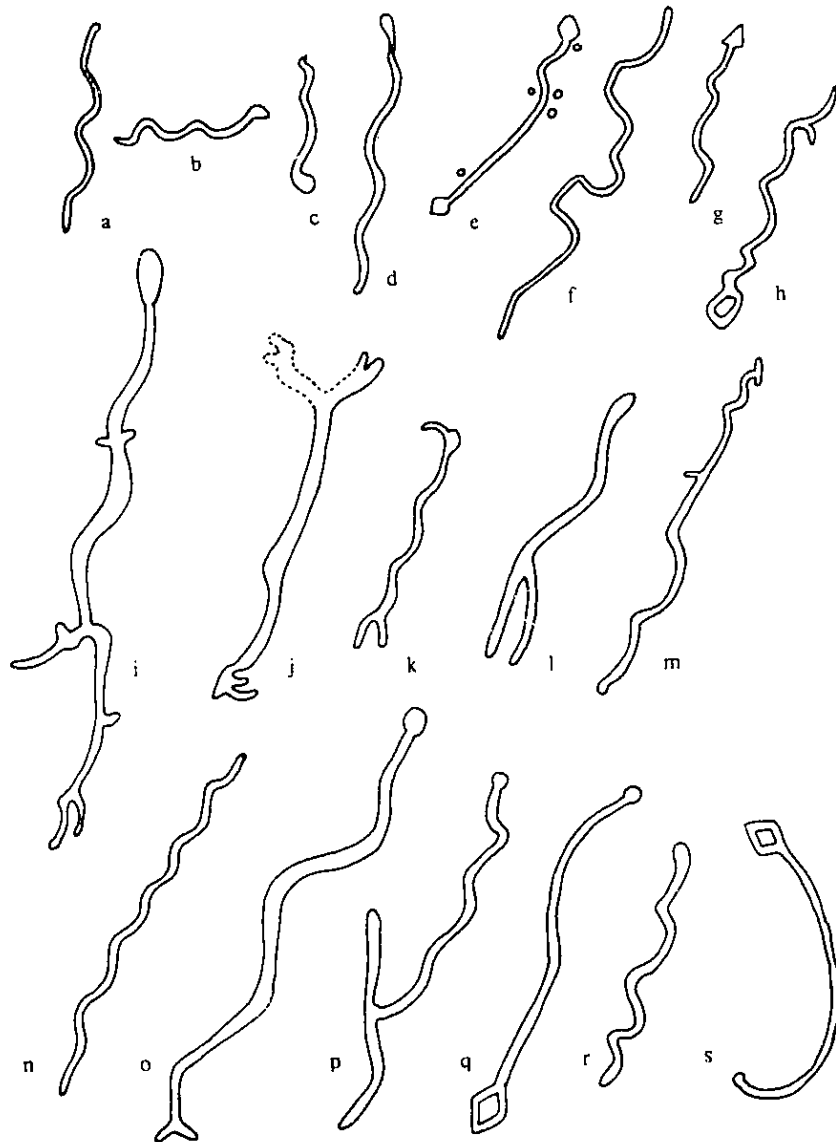<u>Algonkians</u>,1973)

Fig. 17 Drawing of Snake types found at
Peterborough Petroglyphs, Peterborough, Ontario.
Representative of symbols of shamanic practice.
(source: Joan and Romas Vastokas, Sacred Art of
the Algonkians, 1973)

evoke specific meaning pertaining to the experience of shamanism and more importantly to the worldviews it represents. The skeletonized figure is one of these depictions and takes many forms in contemporary painting and sculpture. The skeleton is a reference to the death/rebirth feature of the shaman's experience. It is a symbol of transubstantiation and used extensively in masks, and in contemporary Aboriginal art as a specific reference to transcendence.

The main entrance to the exhibit wing is mask-like in form starring intently at the visitor from the very soul of an ancient history (Fig. 18). From the archaeological depths of the shamanic journey, this anthropomorphic entrance speaks of masks of transmigration. Described by George MacDonald as a skeletal head, it relates directly to the iconography of shamanic ideology.[17] In its expression of a broadened, flattened face defined by the ovoid shaped eyes and the continuous curving line of the mouth, it is remarkably like the West Coast art forms. These are characterized by an unbroken primary formline, anatomical festures defined by the ovoid shape and the portrayal of both frontal and profile views incorporated into the same image on one plane (Figs. 19 and 20).

While it is recognized that anthropomorphic features inscribed in public architecture have a long-standing
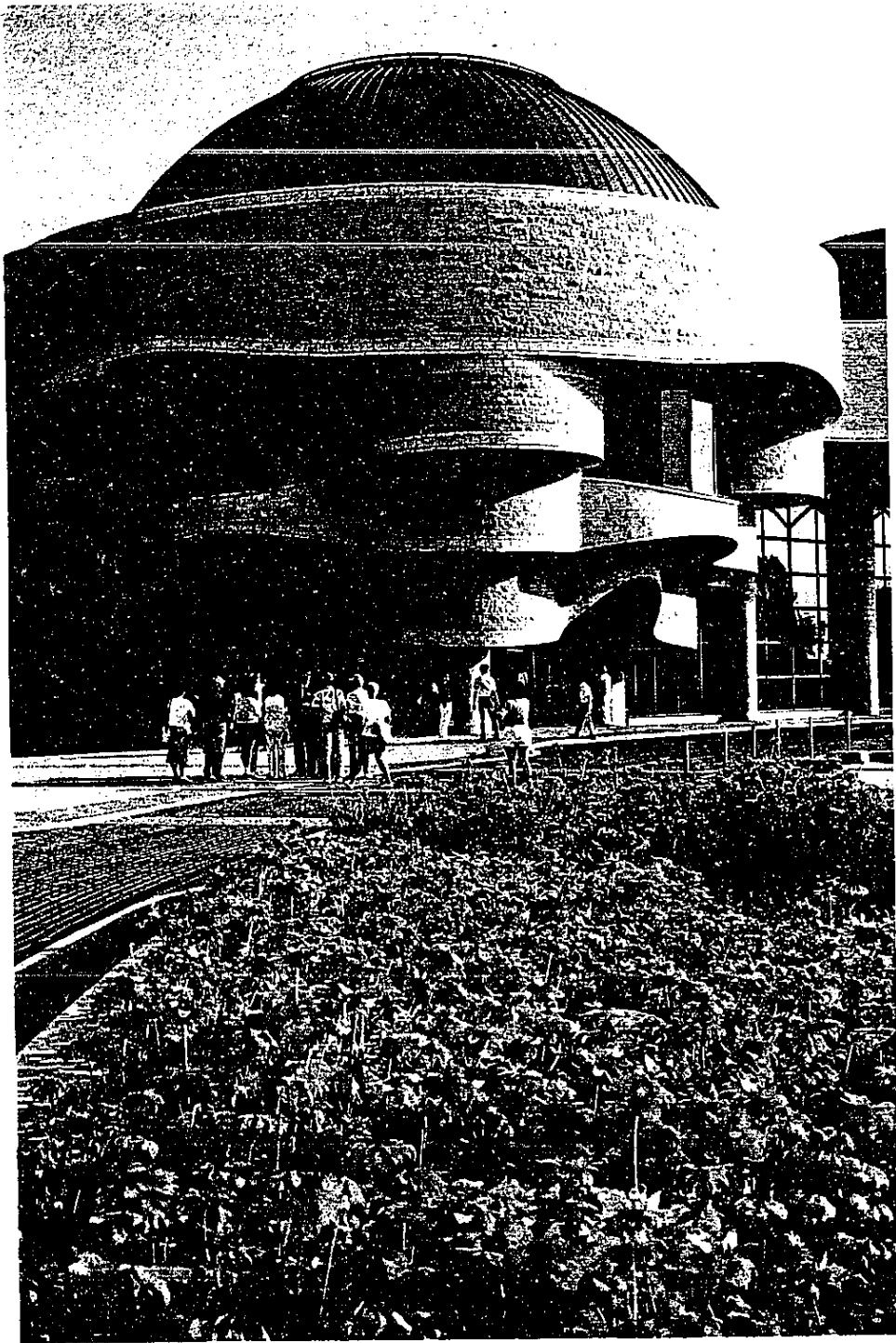
Fig. 18 Skeletal Face Entrance, CMC.
(source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)

Figs. 19 and 20   Top - showing primary formline design,
 Lower - showing secondary formline design.
 Typical of West Coast art forms using continuous unbroken
 line, ovoid shapes for anatomical features and profile
 and frontal views indicated on same plane.

history, at CMC the references are uniquely reminiscent of Native representations. Caryatids and herms, wild and funny faces, windows as eyes and doors as mouths have all been bountifully projected in the decoration and design of architecture (Figs. 21, 22, and 23) During the Renaissance, body images were conventionalized and incorporated into architectural dimensions and the body was inscribed both in the plans and elevation of churches. The metaphor was taken so seriously that Bernini was criticized because his piazza for St. Peter's resulted in a contorted figure with mangled arms.

In the postmodern, architects have returned to historic codes and typology, and in certain cases re-appropriated the anthropomorphic detailing. The Japanese architect Kazumasa Yamashita's Face House in Kioto, built in 1974 is a good example of this parody of an ancient building tradition (Fig. 24). In certain ways Cardinal's use of this feature and the domed and vaulted copper rooflines, can be interpreted as postmodernist gestures. But it is a gesture which in the entrance vestibule retains a very precise correspondence in shamanic symbolism.

Inhaled through the head of the main entrance, the visitor is in a metamorphic sense "devoured by a giant undersea animal", part of the shamanic journey.

Figs. 21, 22 and 23 Anthropomorphic features used
 in architecture.
 (source: Cyril M. Harris, Illustrated Dictionary of
 Architecture, 1983)

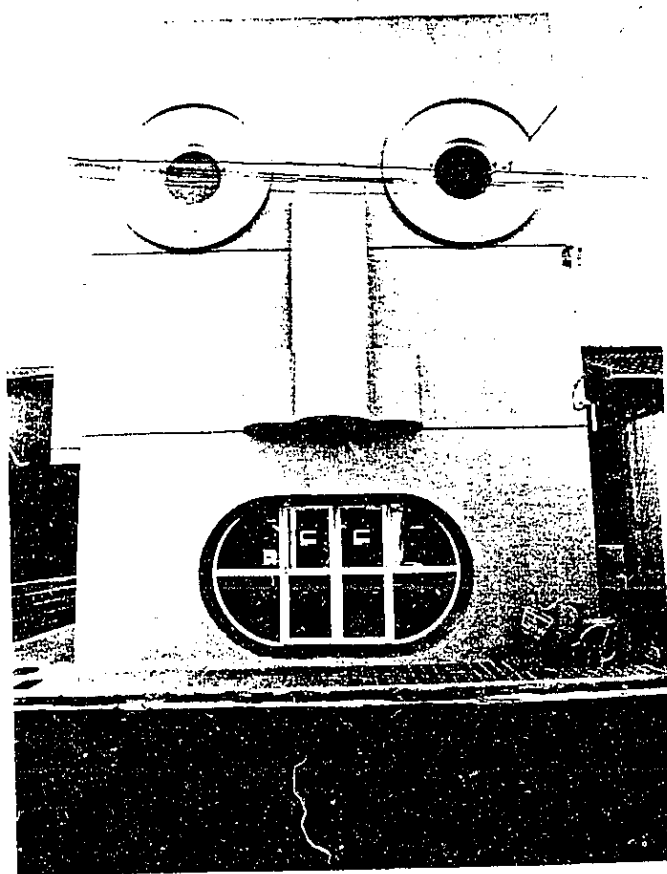1. Persona
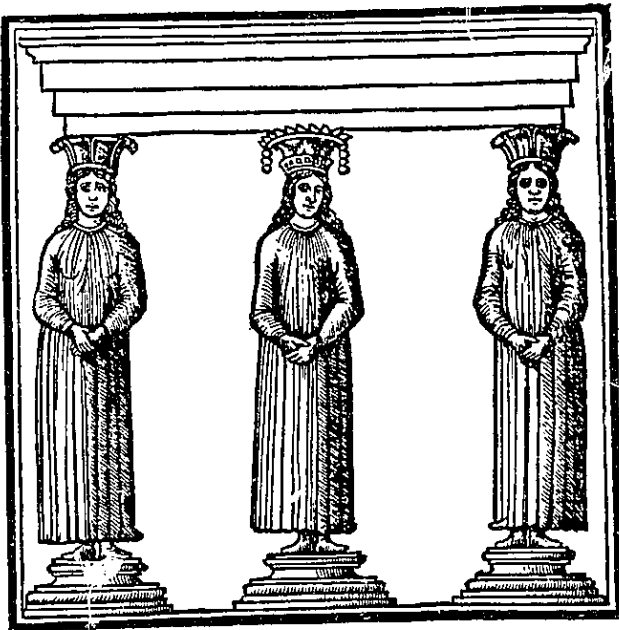
2. Caryatids

3. Corbel

Fig. 24 Kazumasa Yamashita, Face House, Kyoto, 1974.
(source: Charles Jencks, The Language of Post-Modern
Architecture, 1987)

In its unusually miniscule dimensions, the entrance is described by Anupam Banerji as "mean and tight. The full force of the copper dome is never felt inside. A fussy ceiling sculpture, low and intruding, makes entry doubly claustrophobic."[18] This insight is remarkably perceptive, in that the simulated shamanic journey is intended to "devour us", that is take us through the head and mouth (the sculpture reads like teeth) and plunge the voyager into the expansive organic interior of the beast, undulating with the even rhythmical breath of a mythological sea monster.

In the unbounded oscillating interior chambers, the pull is towards movement. The flowing white gypsum board of the museum's interior as Martin Bressani suggests " adds to the instability through a sort of dematerialization".[19] Intended as a screen for video projections, Bressani evokes an interior literally "disembodied and coated with a rich multitude of flickering images." The ends of the entrance foyer curve out of sight, the walls curve, seeming to move, a palpitating oscillating effect on the senses, which affects vertigo. The body, much like the experience of an IMAX/OMNIMAX film is unweighted through this movement.

In contrast to the soft yielding and containing molded forms of the interior of St. Mary's Church, in this Entrance and Grand Hall sequence, the format is elongated, like a stretched rubber band which is always changing shape . . the

floor plan developed in a stressed length. This pulls the
height out of proportion and creates a sense of tension.
This factor combined with an axis which turns out of sight
at both ends of the building tends to draw the body forward
and **through** the spaces. A review of the critiques of CMC
around the time of the Museum opening indicate a high
percentage of similar response: "quasi-hallucinatory",
"diembodied experience", "instability", "optical
distortions", "flowing", "dizzying", "strangeness",
"reverberating", "undulating", and so on. But it is
Bressani who captures the essence of the architecture in
line with a symbolism of shamanic experience.

> The museum engages the viewer not so much at the
> symbolic level as at the imaginative one; the vitality
> of the imagination, rather than the recognition of a set
> of stable and shared cultural icons, supplements the
> experience of the building. Indeed, it is when the
> building betrays too specific symbolic intentions that
> it fails, as in the use of Canadian geological features
> to name the two opposite wings . . or, more obviously,
> the axial development of the front plaza in line with
> the Parliament buildings across the river.[20]

A turn to the right, the north axis, leads past the
children's museum, towards the theatre, and the Imax/Omimax
cinema, a Canadian invention. Drawn up a staircase to the
second level, located above the entrance pavillion, is a
wonderfully conceived ceiling opening to the sky, which
relates to the Pleides myths of the Algonquians (Fig. 25).
The Hole in the Sky refers to the primal shamanic function
of the opening between the spirit world and the world we

inhabit. As Thor Conway suggests "To understand this shamanic passageway, we need to combine knowledge from folklore and Algonkian astronomy with an understanding of the conjurer's lodge."[21]

A typical Shaking Tent was a small conical structure framed with vertical poles (usually six) reinforced by two circles of bent-wood on the horizontal (Fig. 26). The top circle provided the opening to the sky, and the entire tent was covered in birchbark and cloth. The Hole in the Sky and its cosmic connection to the Pleides constellation has been recorded as the basis of much of the mythology of Algonquian speakers. The opening at the top of the Shaking Tent is representative of the Pleiades hole which is thought to form an axis between cosmic realms. It is along this axis which the shaman's soul is said to travel in its journey to the worlds beyond.

Intended as a temporary 'stage-set', it was through this structure that the shaman, bound and gagged, was thought to make his powerful connection to the sacred. In a performance of shadow play, ventriloquism, chanting, and magic feats, the tent would rumble and shake and the shaman would speak to the appropriate deities seeking advice to the questions brought to him by the community who witnessed the ritual outside the koosabachigan. It was a place of entertainment, of laughter and pleasure; but also of re-

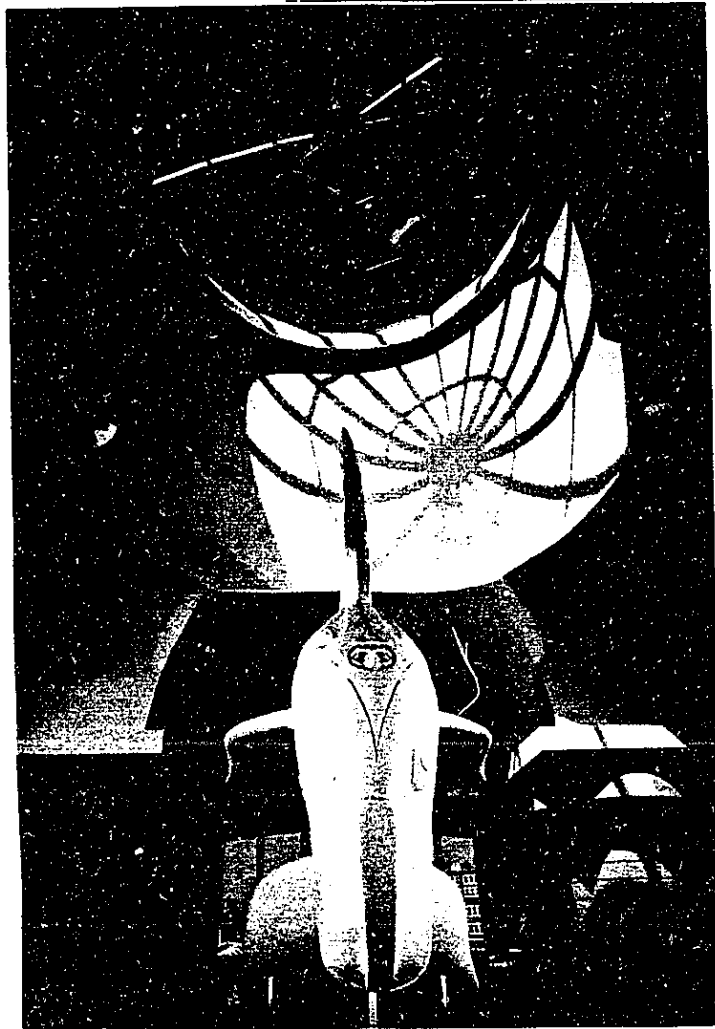Fig. 25 Oculus, CMC relates to Pleides Constellation
    Hole in the Sky myths.
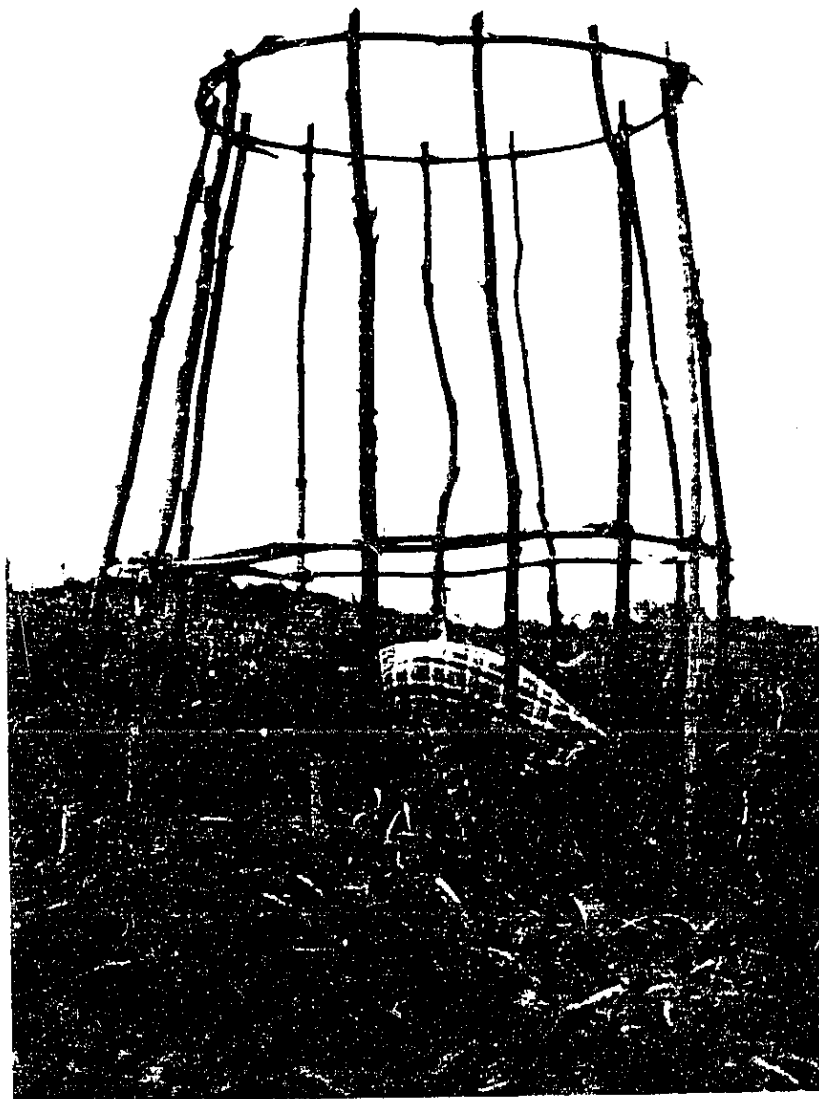   (source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)

Fig. 26 Shaking Tent framing.
(source: Thor Conway, "The Conjurer's Lodge: Celestial
Narratives from Algonkian Shamans", 1992)

affirmation of the community's values.

The oculus at the Museum refers to "Coming in Through the Sky" which is the more literal translation. Most shamans Conway interviewed were very hesitant to even voice the term; and it is a reluctance which often inhibits the collection of Hole in the Sky lore. Its direct use is thought to elicit misfortune unless accompanied by the appropriate rituals. The Hole is described by contemporary Algonquian shamans as "an opening that breathes the transmission of spiritual power back and forth from this world to the star world." The shaman's soul is thought to leave the conjurer's lodge by way of the open top, which originally imitated the shape of the Pleiades/Hole in the Sky constellation.[22] Important information regarding the Hole in the Sky was collected from the Temagami band of Algonquins who live near the Ontario-Quebec border.

Similarly, in Algonquian cosmology the earth is seen as having several layers all of which have openings or holes in them. It is through these holes, positioned along the Cosmic Axis that the supernaturals descend from the sky or emerge from the underworld. The concept of a hole into the bowels of the earth is rooted in shamanic ideology and is often embodied in religious architecture.

> Among the Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest, for example, the floor of the sacred underground **kiva** is pierced by the **sipapu**, a hole from which the **Kachina**

spirits emerge on ceremonial occasions; among the west coast Indians of British Columbia, the ceremonial dance house of the Kwakiutl is equipped with a hole into which the Ghost Dancer disappears to visit in the land of Ghosts."[23]

Perhaps the most intricately designed space at the Museum is the much acclaimed Grand Hall, significantly designed a full flight lower than the entrance . . an amazing gesture to **step-down** a Grand Hall (Fig. 27). The entire entrance sequence which simulates the shamanic experience of being drawn into the skeletal head, through the mouth of an undersea monster and into the bowels of a moving living creature, then the experience of being sucked down the escalator to another level below parallels the shamanic experience as it is narrated in Algonquian mythology.

Banerji finds this sequence unsettling, and asks

Wouldn't a spacious ramp be more appropriate? Museum without a ramp? Are Corbusier, Meier, Stirling, Hollein, Sert, Moneo and Wright all wrong?[24]

The answer of course is that a ramp could not have effected the simulation of the shamanic journey . . of being pulled downward, "with a whosh", so to speak.

Encapsulated in the Grand Hall, the voyager is weightless and the journey continues evoking a heritage thousands of years old.

The Grand Hall is a massive canoe-shaped room which extends the entire length of the lower level (122m) and
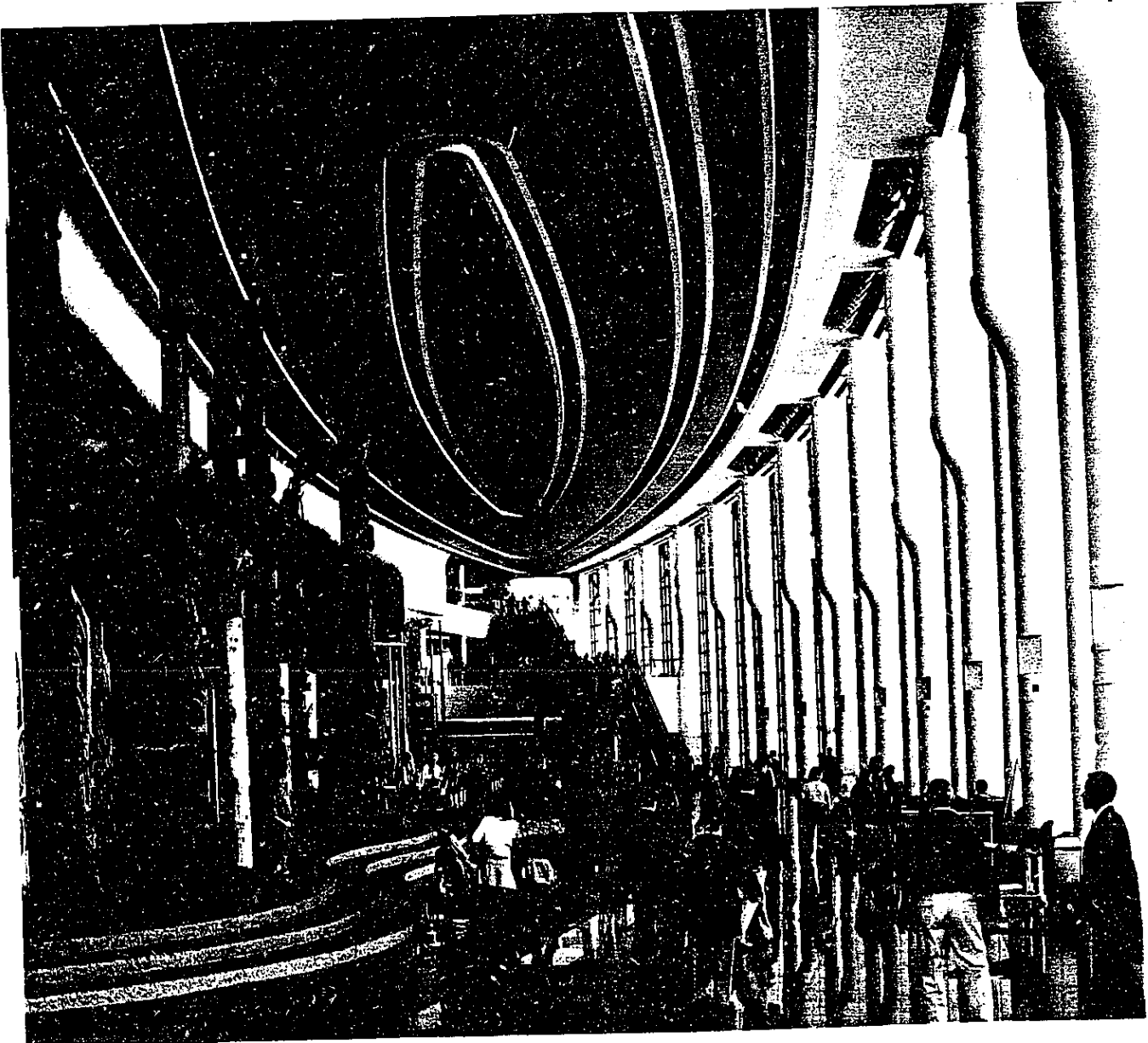
Fig. 27 The Grand Hall, CMC.
(source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)

rises upward a full six stories. It is walled on the east, curving southward with expanses of glass, opening a view to the immediacy of the Ottawa River and the Houses of Parliament, perched on a craggy bluff on the opposite shore. This wall of windows is supported by massive columns shaped in the form of canoe paddles (Figs. 28 and 29). The reference to canoes is repeated in the overhead oval ceiling design emphasized by incised concentric shapes which relate to the bottom of a canoe (Fig. 30). Now abstracted, in the early stages of design the relationship was more literal (Fig. 31). Boats and canoes in shamanic ideology are often depicted as a vehicle of the gods, of spirits or of shamans in their journeys to other worlds.[25] Fig. 32 and 33 are examples of Solar Boats carved at the Peterborough Petroglyph site. The shamanistic conception of the soul-boat, in which the shaman in search of wandering souls, can travel to other worlds, involves a horizontal passage across space.

> It is only when the other shamanistic motif, the Cosmic Tree, is brought into association with the soul-boat, does the boat also come to signify the vertical ascent of the shaman to the sky. While ordinary mortals can travel horizontally to other worlds beyond the sea, only the shaman can ascend to the sky.[26]

These two motifs, of the Soul-boat and the Cosmic Tree are often rendered together. Sometimes the Cosmic Axis replaces the Cosmic Tree and may be topped by an image of the sun.[27]

Fig. 28 Exterior view of Grand Hall, CMC, showing massive columns representing canoe paddles. (source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)

Fig. 29 Paddle-shaped columns on interior of the Grand
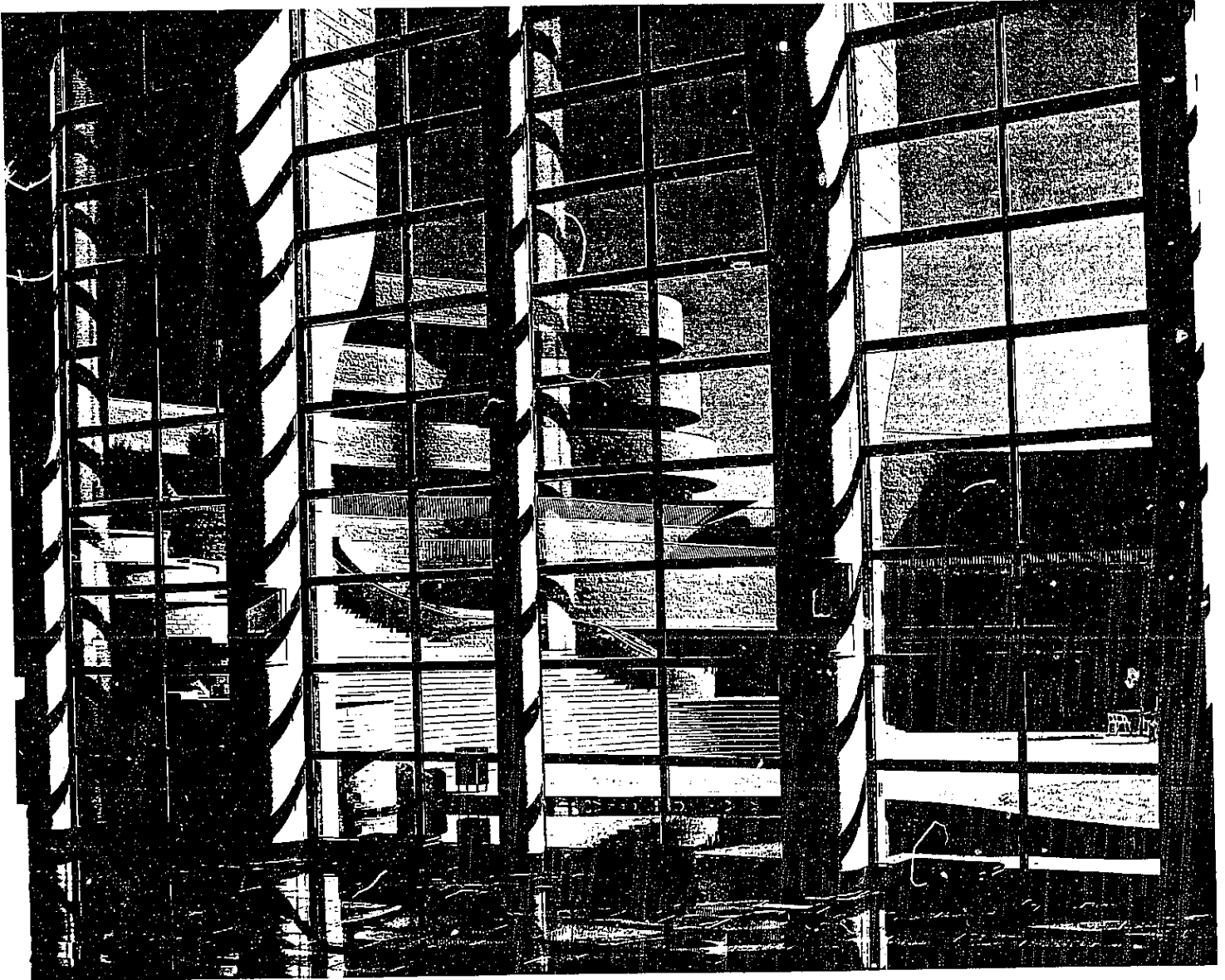   Hall, CMC.
    (source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)
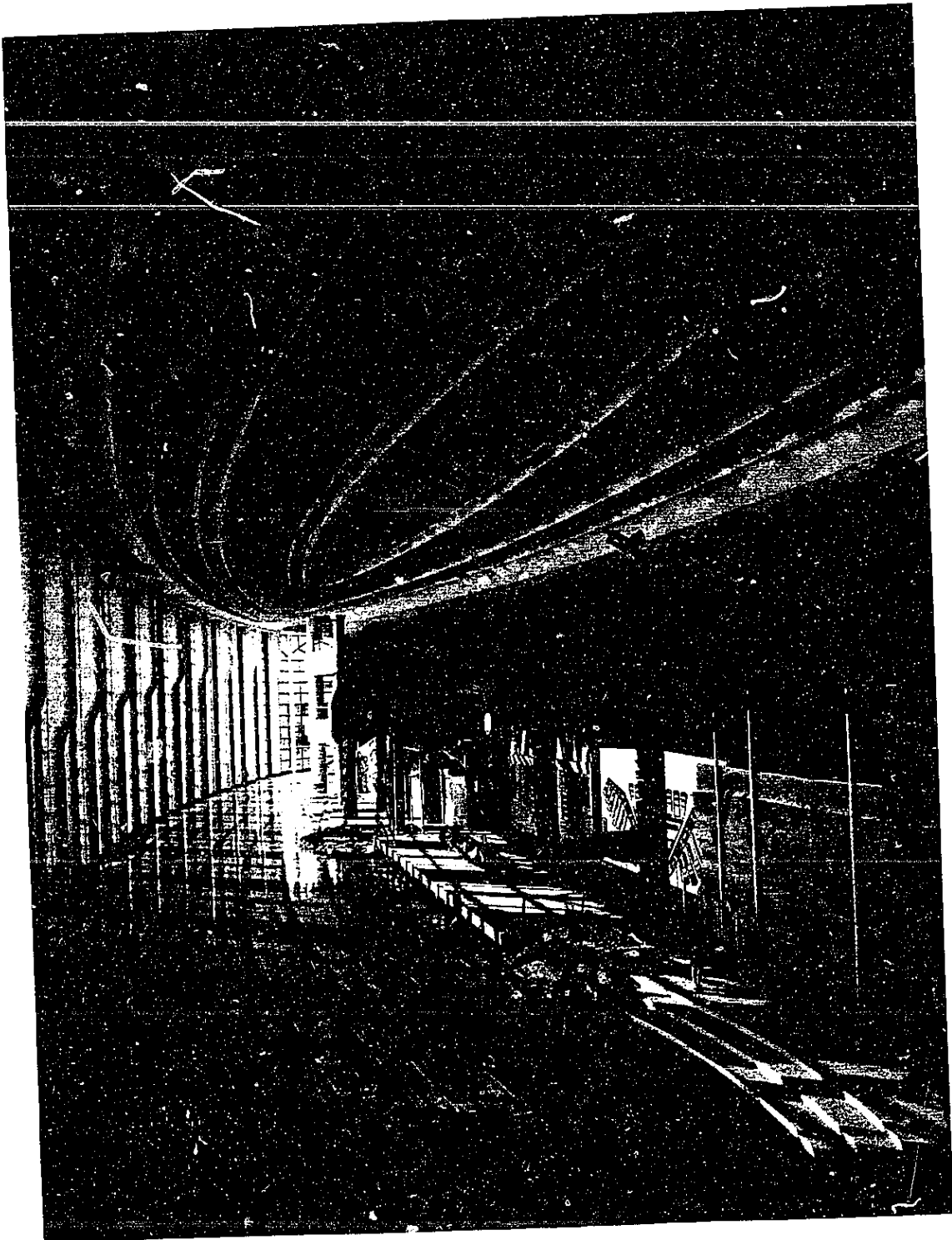
Fig. 30 Grand Hall, CMC, ceiling detailing
refers to symbolic concentric circle motif.
(source: photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)
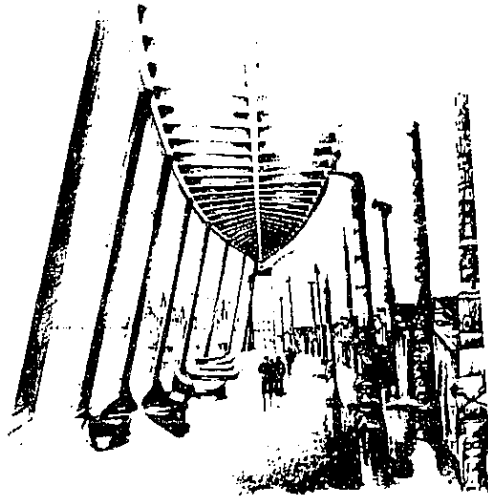
Fig. 31 Early conception of Grand Hall, CMC,
Ceiling detailing more literally referenced to a
canoe at this stage of design.
(source: MacDonald and Alsford, A museum for the
global village, 1989)

Fig. 32 Solar Boat carving - a shamanic symbol.
Peterborough Petroglyphs, Peterborough, Ontario.
c. 900 to 1400 A.D.
(source: Joan and Romas Vastokas, <u>Sacred Art of the</u>
<u>Algonkians</u>, 1973)

Fig. 33 Drawings of Solar boats detailing carvings at shamanic heritage site, Peterborough Petroglyphs, Peterborough, Ontario.
(source: Joan and Romas Vastokas, Sacred Art of the Algonkians, 1973)

At the southern end of the Grand Hall, a free-standing
staircase ascends the full height of the building, waiting
to be climbed like some magical Cosmic Tree. It is topped by
a brilliant and massive concave dome filled with a brilliant
swirling painting one of Alex Janvier's most powerful works
(Figs. 34) The Cosmic Tree (or axis) and its associated
concept of a 'center' are archetypes of
fundamental importance to the ideology of shamanism. But as
Joan Vastokas reminds us the Philosophical Tree is an
archetype in human consciousness universally. Citing the
psychologist Carl Jung, she stresses the complex body of
ideas attached to the recurrent image of the sacred tree at
the center of the world. This World Tree is thought to grow
at the very center of the earth, and is interchangeable with
the idea of a post, pillar or axis positioned at the center
of the Universe, hence its use as a Cosmic Axis. In
shamanism it is said to connect the three fundamental zones
of the cosmos: "its roots penetrate the Underworld, its
branches rise to the Sky, at its base lies a
serpent, and a bird sits at its crown." [28]

Often associated with the Cosmic Tree or Axis and the
Hole in the Sky concept is the use of a pattern of
concentric circles radiating from a central void. The
relationship between this pattern and the ceiling of the
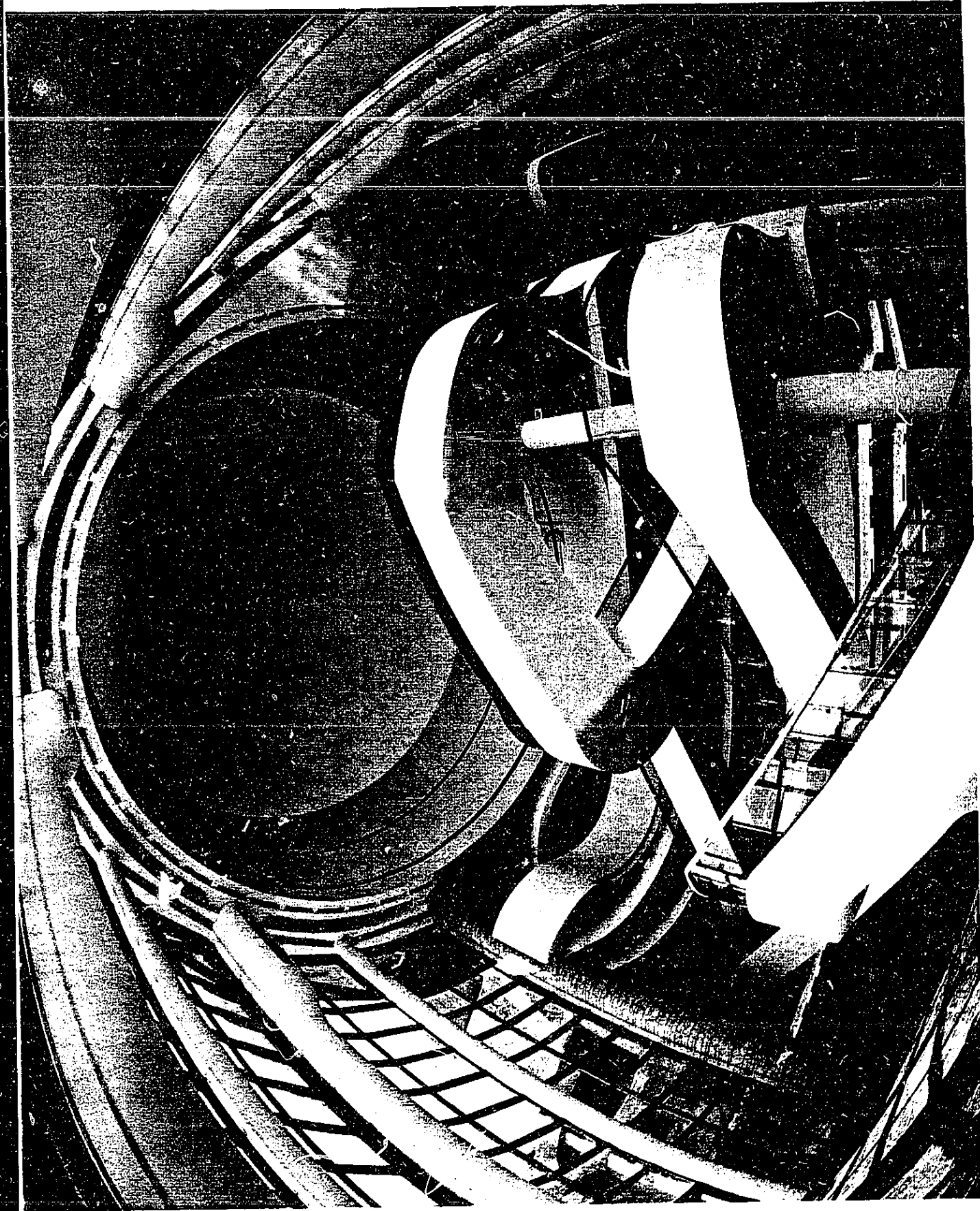Grand Hall might explain why Cardinal chose to abstract the

Fig. 34 Staircase at southern end of the Grand
Hall, topped by a dome now entirely painted by
Alex Janvier. photo by Malak, CMC, 1990)
(source:

shape to this degree.

> . . .the concentric motif seems characteristic of the
> visionary experience itself and stands for the aperture
> through which the shaman penetrates the Underworld or
> Sky, by means of which he transcends the physical
> universe.[29]

Often replicated in traditional masks Vastokas relates it to

the universal recurrent **mandala** design (Figs. 35 and 36)

The voyage is a moving experience which comes to an

abrupt end in the interior reconstruction spaces, where the

magic somehow stops and the simulation turns flat and square

again. Michel Martin reminds us that:

> Cardinal has argued that the preponderance of rectangles
> in architecture is an attempt to conquer nature rather
> than live with it. He considers the rejection of
> quadrilateral forms to be an important part of the
> development of a distinctive Canadian architecture.[30]

George Woodcock has observed,

> a symbolic appropriateness in the fact that the
> first Métis rebellion began in 1870 when Louis Riel and
> his associates interfered with a group of surveyors
> trying to impose the quadrilateral division of the land
> -- on the straggling strip farms of the Red River Métis.
> It was the rebellion of free-form against geometry.[31]

I would like to frame this previous chapter with a

newspaper article written on the 10 August 1991 by André

Picard, a member of the Quebec bureau of The Globe and Mail

concerning a recent account of a Shaking Tent ritual. It

counterposes a traditional and an avant-garde ritual taking
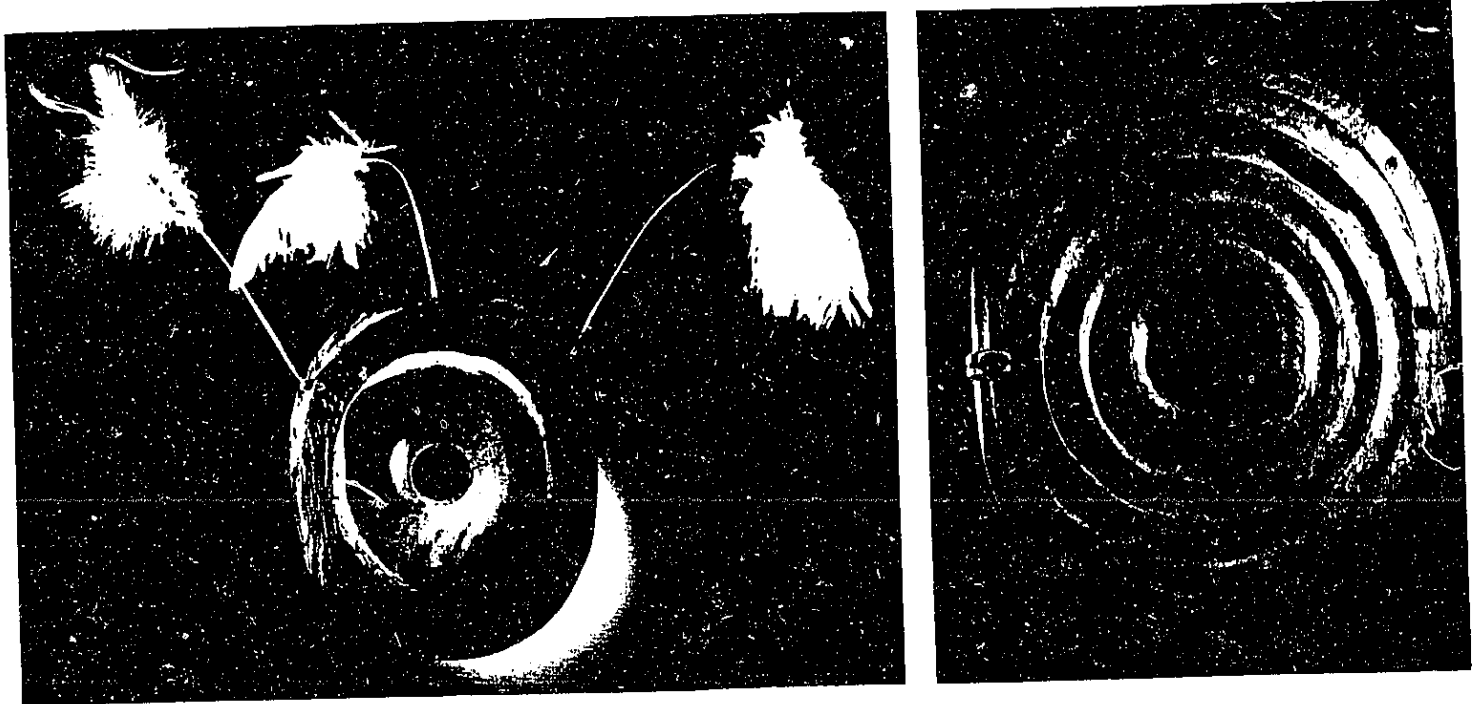
place on a spectacular stage.

Fig. 35 and 36 Masks using concentric circle motif.
Eskimo, from Lower Yukon River, late 19th c.
(source: Joan Halifax, <u>Shaman: The wounded healer</u>,
1982)

The two rituals took place about a kilometre from each
other, but in reality they were worlds apart,
separated by about 5,000 years of history.

On Monday night, at the beginning of a week of
meetings in Mistissini among the Cree chiefs of Northern
Quebec, elder Jimmy Mianscum performed a shaking-tent
ritual, an animist religious ceremony passed down from
his ancestors over 200 generations.
Few residents of this tiny village 900 kilometres north
of Montreal came to see the shaking tent; they long ago
became Roman Catholics, Anglicans or Presbyterians, and
consider this type of thing spooky, if not evil.
But some young people and visitors looked on, skeptical
and laughing nervously as a man in his 80s sat in the
centre of a teepee in profound meditation, chanting to
call up the ancient spirits who, once arrived, swayed
and rocked the tent for more than two hours.

Two nights later, the Montagnais rock'n'roll duo
Kashtin swayed and rocked the local arena with equal
ease and mystery. While the elders understood most of
the lyrics --Montagnais and Cree are from the same
family of languages--they were troubled by the booming
noise, the sound of destructive outside influences.
While the shaking tent, a ritual so rare that most Crees
have never witnessed it, and the Kashtin concert, a
ritual so rare that nobody complained about the $25
ticket price, were meant to be adjuncts to the week's
principal activity--a meeting where the Cree chiefs
plotted political strategy--they served to underline the
massive challenge that lies ahead for this nation of
12,000.

Twenty years ago, virtually all Cree lived the
traditional life of nomadic hunters. Their movements
were determined by the habits of animals on their
traplines, except in summer, when they gathered with
other families in makeshift villages for religious and
cultural activities.

Then Hydro-Quebec came to dam the wild rivers. The
Crees united to fight to preserve their land. They won
compensation, which brought education, health care and
new opportunities. But the downside, the
unquantifiable, is the price of dragging an ancient
culture into modern society.

As grave as the effects of flooding the land has been
the flood of outside influences. Witness the audiences
for Mr. Mianscum and Kashtin: the young people, with
Clearisil skin, dressed in leather jackets and Nikes,
munching chips as they dream their rock'n'roll dreams;
beside them, the elders, faces like burned leather, in
colourful traditional garb and rubber boots, munching
bannock, dreaming of the days when the water was pure
and game plentiful. In between them is an odd mixture
of young adults, the political leaders, clinging to the
past and grasping for the future, trying to make sense
of it all and ensure the survival of their people.

This week they were together, united, and never did
they seem more far apart, more confused, more
frightened. Kashtin dedicated one of his songs to "**all
the people who feel like strangers in this strange land**"
[emphasis added].

The comment struck a responsive chord with young and
old alike, struggling with differing views of the past
and their conflicting hopes for the future they want to
last five more millenniums.

And the comment gave me pause as I waded into the
lake for a midnight swim, the sweet song of the loon
and the water lapping up on the shores a serenade until
the teens, the future, gathered on the beach with their
blaring portable stereos, lying back, staring in awe at
the northern lights and the shooting stars that have
been there to comfort and guide their ancestors for
thousands of years.[32]

Endnotes - Chapter VI

1. Mircea Eliade, <u>Shamanism Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy</u>, trans. by Willard R. Trask. (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964), 511.

2. Martin Bressani, "Critique: The Impossible Wave Train," <u>The Canadian Architect</u> 34 (11) (November 1989): 23.

3. John Robert Colombo, ed. <u>The Mystery of the Shaking Tent</u>. A rarebook anthology of Shaking Tent accounts. (Toronto: Hounslow Press, 1993), xv. This is a compilation of first-hand accounts of people who witnessed Shaking Tent rituals, written over a period of 400 years, and is a valuable source of information for further research.

4. Ibid., 315.

5. Ibid.

6. Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Northern Algonquians from Lake Superior and Hundson Bay To Manitoba in the Historic Period," in <u>Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience</u>, ed. R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1986), 225.

7. Thor Conway, "The Conjurer's Lodge: Celestial Narratives from Algonkian Shamans," in <u>Earth and Sky: Visions of the Cosmos in Native American Folklore</u>, eds. Ray A. Williamson and Claire R. Farrer (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 253.

8. The integration of science and traditional healing methods is being experimented with on many fronts. Lewis E. Mehl is a Cherokee Native and a physician whose expertise in Native American healing techniques is meshed with western biomedicine. As Clinical Assistant Professor at Stanford University School of Medicine he combines science and holistic medicine based in Native traditional techniques, which are based in the belief that all parts of the world are interconnected; that the objects perceptible to human senses are local manifestations of larger patterns of energy, and that consciousness is all-pervasive, i.e. "everything is alive".
In - Lewis H. Mehl, "Shamanic Approaches in a Hospital Pain Clinic"

Shaman's Path, ed. Gary Doore (Boston and London: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 1988), 129.

9. Douglas J. Cardinal and Satish Rao, The Canadian Museum of Civilization: From Vision to Reality, November 1987, Courtesy of Douglas J. Cardinal.

10. Kay Bridge, ed. "My Uncle Went To The Moon" artscanada, Thirtieth Anniversary Issue. 184 185 186 & 187 (December 1973/ January 1974): 154.

11. Eliade, Ibid.

12. Spiro Kostof A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 235.

13. Info. booklet Parks Canada, 1993.

14. Joan Vastokas and Romas Vastokas, Sacred Art of the Algonkians: A Study of the Peterborough Petroglyphs (Peterborough: Mansard Press, 1973), 27.

15. Vastokas and Vastokas, Ibid., 99.

16. Ibid., 95.

17. George F. MacDonald and Stephen Alsford, A museum for the global village: The Canadian Museum of Civilization (Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989),

18. Anupam Banerji, "Canada's Museum of Civilization: Mythopoeic Architecture or Cardinal Sin?" Architecture and Urbanism (July 1990): 37

19. Martin Bressani, "Critique: The Impossible Wave Train," The Canadian Architect 34 (11) (November 1989): 24.

20. Ibid., 23.

21. Conway, Ibid., 253.

22. Conway, Ibid.

23. Joan M. Vastokas, "The Shamanic Tree of Life," artscanada 184, 185, 186 & 187 (December, 1973/ January, 1974).

24. Banerji, Ibid., 37.

25. Vastokas & Vastokas, Ibid., 126.

26. Vastokas & Vastokas, Ibid., 126.

27. Vastokas & Vastokas, Ibid., 126.

28. Vastokas, Ibid., 138.

29. Vastokas, Ibid., 137.

30. Michel Martin, "Curves, Waves and Circles," <u>Construction Business</u> (March/April 1990): 7.

31. George Woodcock, <u>The Century that Made us: Canada 1814-1914</u> , quoted in Michel Martin, Ibid., 8.

32. André Picard, "Over Two Hundred Generations," The Globe and Mail, 10 August, 1991.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The Canadian Museum of Civilization was constructed as a national-popular symbol which would unite a multicultural society at a difficult time in the history of Canada. The struggle for national unity, within the boundaries of an earlier confederation, was being seriously contested by Quebec nationalist counter-interests, and the Museum was intended as one of the political vehicles through which to offset these forces and consolidate central power.

Under the direction of George MacDonald, the Museum was developed as a theme-park, using Epcot Centre as a model. As a "Global Village", CMC is one of the most technologically advanced museums in the world, prepared to meet the challenges of the 21st century. These are thought to be the museum visitor's need for information gathered through high technology systems, and for entertainment. The museum visitor of the future is defined within the parameters of the 'cultural tourist', seeking the experience of "having been there" above any other more meaningful encounter.

In order to validate the vast expenditures needed to carry out this experiment, it was essential that CMC appear to be reaching large numbers of people. The key to this

marketing strategy was an appeal to the Canadian interest in
the mythical qualities of the Land, and a definition of the
Canadian experience within the parameters of pioneers
shaping the Land to their needs.

The marketing strategy at CMC has tapped into this
romantic "mattering map" and used it to facilitate a
political imperative to unify a multicultural nation.
Drawing on this imaginative bond, CMC was able to package
its product and market its message to a broad segment of the
Canadian population, suggesting that all are represented in
the CMC version of the "history of the people". In the
process, the experience of First Nations as colonized
'others' has been erased.

'Indianness' figured prominently in the appeal to the
'cultural tourist'. As an ethnological museum, CMC's
characteristic feature has been 'Indianness'. Beyond the
massive collection of Native artifacts which was the
Museum's raison d'être in its formative years, now
'Indianness' is turned to a different use value in order to
produce elaborate and dramatic tourist environments.
Theatrical re-enactments of traditional Native dances form a
substantial part of the live-entertainment at the Museum.
The spectacular Grand Hall is defined by a reproduction of a
Northwest Coast Native village complete with totem-poles,
tipis are often part of the colourful outdoor attractions

and contemporary Native art is visible in many sectors of the Museum.

My intention has been to explore the cultural dynamics which surrounded the CMC at the time of its construction and opening. I wanted to understand why the Museum developed as it did, why a tourist site was seen to be an acceptable definition of the Museum function; and beyond that, why a marketing strategy keyed into a Land idiom was thought to be acceptable at a Museum of ethnology, a Museum whose characteristic features have historically been linked to 'Indianness'. Of particular interest was the way in which discourses of national identity grounded in the nineteenth century moved into the contemporary moment, and were expected to solidify national identity.

The dissertation worked to unravel why the concept of the Land was chosen as a discursive construct important to Canadians in defining a national identity. The way in which its explicit elaboration became implicitly collapsed with 'Indianness' as a representation of Canadian identity was seen to be established through historic precedent which connected these concepts, Indianness and Land, to indicate an identity linked to the New World and a new British colony.

I have concluded that the way in which Indianness

conflated with the Land becomes part of an appeal to the
'cultural tourist' is by evoking a nostalgia for an earlier
Canadian way of life. Reaching back to some more
comfortable time where people "feel at home" and can draw on
a collective bond, is typical of what countries in the
western world have been doing over the last decade to
counter-act what is perceived to be a world of changing
values, meanings and politics, the essence of the postmodern
moment. In the interest of a particular social order,
certain signs appear to be triggers of nostalgia for safer
and less turbulant times. As Kobena Mercer has pointed out,
the emphasis on identity politics has occurred precisely for
this reason.

> In political terms, identities are in crisis because
> traditional structures of membership and belonging
> inscribed in relations of class, party, and nation-state
> have been called into question.[1]

In Canada anxieties over high levels of unemployment
and national unity have created an unsettling environment,
which is marked by a turn to more conservative political
stances. Kobena Mercer has characterized the turn to the
right in the past decade as a selective erasure of the
recent past. He views it as a move to reconstruct
collective identities "once grounded in systemic relations
of class, party, and nation-state."

> Thus, in Britain, we have seen the neo-conservative
> remythification of the imperial past as Victorian values

and Raj nostalgia movies, like Royal Weddings and the
Falklands war, invoke a scenario of "regressive
modernization" in which the nation and its people are
invited to travel back to the future through the revival
and recycling of images from the lost age of
Empire...[2]

Mercer considers this step backward to a particular
version of the past entirely fabricated in answer to "the
crises of national identity in the present". He sees it as
a way of "writing out" the conflictual realities of a truly
multicultural society. Similarly Lawrence Grossberg, has
argued that popular memory is a key site of postmodern
politics.

> . . . popular consent for the policies and program of
> the New Right is not imposed from above, but rather
> draws from below on the mood of disillusionment and
> disenchantment with the utopian ideals of the 1960s.[3]

Mercer suggests that the interest in ideas circulating
around the concept of identity is a measure of a perceived
crisis resulting from the dismantling of traditional places
and structures of membership and belonging. Places of
"feeling at home" which formerly could be described in a
essentialist way in terms of class, party and station have
in the postmodern all been called into question. Values and
beliefs that were once held to be universal are now seen to
be relativized and historicized. The emergence of the
experiences of previously marginalized peoples has brought
with it new understandings and interpretations of history.
This transformation in society Mercer links to the presence

of new social actors.

As a postmodern artistic subject of Native, Canadian, Albertan, German and Métis identity, Douglas Cardinal epitomizes the construct of "new social actor". My intention has been to establish the way in which Cardinal's individual identity affected the direction the expressive object took, its 'look' in the material world, and beyond that the meaning it carried because of his particular identity. To this end correspondences were drawn between certain formal aspects of Cardinal's work and the Alberta Badlands and prairiescape. The neo-German Expressionist architecture of Calgary was also drawn out as a source for Cardinal's forms and detailing. But most particularly, because of the spiritual inflection with which Cardinal has surrounded the CMC architecture, an iconographic analysis was shaped drawing on a specifically Native "heritage" with roots in the symbolism of shamanism. This choice was supported by what appears to be an emerging movement to reclaim and renegotiate the meanings of shamanic symbols in the present.

Cardinal brought forward a different worldview and a different intellectual and spiritual construct. Out of Native spiritual philosophy comes a re-connection with the circle of life and nature which has become alien to western world for the most part. It is a philosophy, which if

integrated with a scientific one, can open new avenues to an understanding of the world; to improved ecological patterns, democratic standards and medical practices.

Marian Bredin has written that emerging models of culture and identity suggest the present moment is defined by dialogue which is "coeval", taking place in "shared time and creating an intersubjective space between cultures."[4] It is this goal which CMC alludes to in its crossroads of culture discourse. A set of meanings is produced in this borderline space which belongs to no one culture.

In a recognition of what James Clifford calls the "ethnography of conjunctures", multiplex identities can be seen to inhabit a cultural borderland. In this framework a relational model of culture is seen as a dynamic world of shared meanings, the interpretation of which depends on interactive communication.[5]

The potential open to Canadians at a facility such as the Canadian Museum of Civilization is significant. But in order to make its function truly meaningful, active dialogue and narrative surrounding what constitutes Canadian heritage and history is essential. This has been Cardinal's gesture.

As architect of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Douglas Cardinal reminds us that First Nations are deeply affected by museological practices and the ethnographic

constructions of history which are caught in a territorial struggle over meaning. But First Peoples are also in a position to affect institutional standards. Cardinal's work is politically engaged, ethical and fundamentally formed by his ancestral heritage. He has voiced, through his architectural design for the Museum and his inflection of that design with a specific meaning, what it means to be a Canadian whose experience of life cannot be defined through a Canadian National identity nailed to a fixed colonial concept of history.

As a postmodern multicultural subject, Cardinal has met the postcard Indian head on. His inflection of Native spiritual meaning linked to CMC is part of a contemporary movement to reclaim and renegotiate the terms of history by retrieving through symbolic representation some of what has been lost. Cardinal's discourse is Canadian, but it substantiates cultural differences and different experiences of Canadian history.

The architecture in its form and signification works as a resistance to a totalizing history of the people, and puts forwards another heritage, one which has a different relationship with the Land from the dominant society. To this end, the general society stands to benefit from a different worldview .

The struggle to retain traditional lands and to cope

with government administration while surviving as culturally
distinct peoples, has been a constant and persistent effort
for First People. Within the framework of the Canadian
Nation, Native people have for the most part been
economically marginal and without the power to bring about
equitable resolutions until recent times. Issues of land
claims, resource development, cultural rights and the
constitution, form the political backbone binding First
Peoples to the nation-state in an often contradictory way,
as somehow being both inside and outside the mainstream
culture.

If the postcard Indian has formed the basis of an
idiom of Canadian National identity, then Douglas Cardinal
has re-appropriated the sign at its most difficult point,
where concepts of Indianness, ethnography, national identity
and a totalizing history, meet the contemporary Native
subject. Through the formal choices which make his building
other than another building and through his enunciative role
in articulating these forms to the specificity of his
cultural background, Cardinal as artistic subject has
interpellated from the margins an individual contemporary
Native voice implicated in all its resonances of a
persistent and ancient cry of reason.

"This is Canada, **my** home and **Native Land**".

Endnotes - Chapter VII

1. Kobena Mercer, "'1968': Periodizing Postmodern Politics and Identity," in <u>Cultural Studies</u>, eds. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula A. Treichler (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 424.

2. Ibid., 425.

3. Ibid., 425, quoting Lawrence Grossberg (1988).

4. Marian Bredin, "Ethnography and Communication: Approaches to Aboriginal Media," <u>Canadian Journal of Communication</u> 18 (3) (Summer 1993):304.

5. Ibid., 305.

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THE CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

FROM VISION TO REALITY

The Architect's reflections on the creation of the Museum

by Douglas J. Cardinal
and
Satish Rao

November 1987

"The most significant building built in Canada after the Parliament Buildings". "The sanctity of a temple, the complexity of an intensive care unit ... the joy of celebration ... a monument to man's achievement ..."

These are some of the words used by the public and the press to describe the Canadian Museum of Civilization project. From the extensive media coverage this building has received, there can be little doubt in anyone's mind that the Museum is a complex undertaking and a monumental challenge to all those participating in bringing it to reality.

One challenge that such a project poses to the architect can probably be identified quite readily: exacting technical problems have to be resolved. Demanding though this may be, the addressing of technical issues can be handled satisfactorily through diligent research, the use of available technology and a technically strong team.

But the Museum is far more than just a technical challenge. It is envisioned to be the very symbol of Canada as a nation, a monument to man's achievement in this country and a symbol of the nation's promise for the future. It will embody the heritage, the culture, the very fabric and identity of the nation, both within its interiors and in its external form, itself an artifact of our times. It will set a new standard for museums around the world. To bring this national dream to reality in a way that bespeaks the highest ideals of the country takes much more than technical competence. It takes a whole new way of thinking, indeed a whole different *being*.

This chapter, therefore, is not about what it takes to design a technically correct building or about the clever solutions and devices we used during design and construction. This chapter is all about the leadership and the particular way of *being* that was required to steer this project through the vast sea of technical, political and logistical hurdles to a successful conclusion, and the personal and organizational *transformations* that were required to happen before the project could be realized.

This is not to say that the project did not have stringent technical requirements. In 1983 the Canada Museums Construction Corporation handed to us a four-volume program of requirements - each volume approximately the size of a New York telephone book - compiled by the National Museum of Man staff in conjunction with the National Museums Corporation. Although this document itself embodied over four years of work by a special task force and set down the requirements of each of the building's 500 rooms under some eighty headings that dealt with the *quantitative* aspects, it was not a suitable basis for design purposes. We had to supplement it with another two volumes of similar size, for the most part determining and recording requirements of a *qualitative* nature, that is, the type of atmosphere, character or *ambience* desired for each room. This process extended well into the design stages, as each successive design presentation we made unconcealed a fresh aspect of the functions and their needs.

Put in very simple terms, the Museum consists essentially of two components. One is the public areas, containing those areas to which the public will normally be permitted, such as the exhibit halls and galleries, the lobbies and Grand Hall, the auditorium, the Imax-Omnimax Theatre, the restaurant, cafeteria and so on. The other is the curatorial areas, to which the public will not normally be admitted, consisting of administrative offices, the collections holding areas, the curatorial offices, laboratories, workshops and so on.

Both components had to be designed to the stringent and unforgiving requirements imposed by a need for the protection and conservation of a huge collection of invaluable artifacts. In addition to this, the public component had to designed also for the safety and protection of the visiting public. Each different type of artifact, depending on the materials from which it was made, required different humidity and temperature conditions that must remain constant at all times. Few artifacts could tolerate the ultra-violet content of natural sunlight without experiencing rapid color-fading and organic deterioration. The more precious and sensitive artifacts had to be housed in chambers following the "onion-skin" principle - rooms arranged in five successive layers of security, with the security level increasing with each inner layer.

The building also housed a communications and data network consisting of over 30 systems for voice and data communications, serving such diverse functions as inventory controls, building security, data base storage and retrieval, video tele-conferencing and a host of others.

In addition to these and other technical considerations too numerous to name, there were the logistical problems of managing a vast team of professionals, specialists and advisors. Although we were chosen from amongst 80 architects in a nation-wide search, we were required to associate with an architectural firm from Quebec as the project was being built in that province. This meant coordinating our work with the Montreal firm of Tetreault, Parent, Languedoc et Associes. Then there were the structural, mechanical and electrical engineers, and other consultants in such specialty areas such as lighting, landscaping, security, theatre and acoustical, totalling some 30 consultants and sub-consultants.

Most of these were from the Province of Quebec. Bilingualism, therefore, obviously became a significant element in the management of this project and all of the 15,000 drawings were required to be notated in both English and French. Right at the outset of the project, it was agreed that all documents and correspondence originating in Quebec would be prepared in French and all those originating in our office would be in English, with the recipient responsible for translation. Before long our office was functionally bilingual.

In addition to the professionals, we were also required to coordinate input from some 50 different governmental departments, branches or agencies, with such varied roles and specialties as the National Research Council's involvement with testing of windows or the air quality guidelines of the Department of the Environment. Each member of this army of professionals and bureaucrats was, obviously, either an accomplished individual with a proven command over his respective field or a civil servant whose job responsibility placed him in a specific functional role on the Museum team. To each and every one of them, the Museum probably represented the most significant - and in some cases also the largest - project of his or her career and therefore the success of the project, and especially the effectiveness of his

contribution to it, could be expected to have a significant impact on his or her future. The stakes were therefore high and the deep intensity with which each participated in the project was not surprising. Each would defend his recommendations or designs vigorously, and it was our responsibility, as architect, to coordinate the diverse input from all these angles into a harmonious overall design, much like the conductor of a symphony orchestra.

Then there were the factors imposed by the decision to adopt the "fast-tracking" method for the project, a method whereby the construction of portions of the project is allowed to get underway while designs and drawings are still being prepared for other portions.

Such a method, often used for large projects particularly in the private sector, can offer several advantages. In this method, rather than wait until drawings are completed, which for a project of this size could take over three years, certain trades can be tendered as soon as drawings for only those trades are ready. This captures the market prices of the day and is unaffected by the inevitable price escalation of the subsequent months, resulting is cost savings. The process is also expected to allow some flexibility in budgetary controls because, as each new trade is tendered, a fresh opportunity becomes available for a review of overall costs, and adjustments in the budget, the design, the materials, and so on can be made. With fast-tracking, the design can also always be "current", that is to say, the architect can, at each decision-making point in the project, choose the best option, material, or system available *at the time* - the state-of-the-art as it were - rather that be bound by only those choices that were available *when the drawings were first completed.*

One of the more significant benefits of fast-tracking, in this case, was the Government's desire to get the project underway in the shortest time possible. With a change in Government imminent, the Government of the day was anxious to have the project rise out of the ground and quickly became visible to the public, thereby minimizing the risk of a possible cancellation of the project by the succeeding Government.

Notwithstanding these advantages of fast-tracking, this process also imposes great hardship on the architect and his consultants. The architect, in effect, finds himself forced to finalize his design for portions of the building and authorize their construction before he has had an opportunity to fully resolve the overall design. Each successive portion that is built thus becomes a constraint in the design of all those elements that will be built after it. The architect is not afforded the opportunity to re-assess the design of an earlier element in the light of the overall design, which is a crucial part of the back-and-forth process of architectural design.

Also, as the production of design and drawings in the architect's office is closely related to construction work proceeding on the site, there is a massive pressure on the entire design team to keep up with construction and with the demands for information, drawings and clarifications from the job-site. In addition to these logistical problems with fast-tracking, there is also always the risk of a change in Government, with the accompanying threat of a change in direction for the project when portions of it are already built.

Owing to these inherent problems with the process, the project must be expected to suffer from a certain number of so-called "bad" decisions that could perhaps result, in some cases, in the demolition and re-building of elements already erected. So when a Government chooses to go the fast-tracking route it must, in the allocation of funds and in setting up schedules, allow for the occurrence of such mishaps.

Aware of all these ramifications, we nevertheless went along with the fast-tracking method, accepting it as a reality of the project and committing ourselves to producing the best results possible within this system.

The last of the major considerations for the project were its several political ramifications. The political impact of a project of the nature and size of the Museum can hardly be understated. The project was launched by the Government of Pierre Trudeau and soon became equated to a symbol of the country's achievements and aspirations, a shrine for the safe keeping of the nation's treasures. The choice of a site for the building - directly across the river from the Parliament Buildings and on a premium spot along Boulevard Canada - bore testimony to the perceived importance of this building. We were constantly kept aware of the fact that the progress of the building and its design, its costs and schedules, in fact anything that had to do with this project, was a significant happening that attracted considerable political, media and public attention.

Owing to its location the building came under the jurisdiction of the National Capital Commission. As a result it was required to comply with several guidelines that governed its positioning on the site and its relationships to the several historic views and vistas across the river towards Parliament Hill. In addition to these guidelines, even the overall design of the building and the treatment of the grounds around it were required to meet with the approval of the Design Advisory Panel of the National Capital Commission, a panel made up of distinguished architects and landscape architects from across the country. We made innumerable presentations to this group before their full approval and endorsement of the design was secured.

Funds available for the two sister projects, the Museum and the National Art Gallery, were equally divided between the two, although the Museum was a larger building and sat on a larger site. These funds were based on the initial program of space requirements, which was approximately 560,000 square feet. The supplementary programming process we undertook soon revealed that the space actually required to accommodate all the activities, facilities and

building systems planned for the Museum amounted to almost a million square feet. Yet for a large part of the design process, we were designing a $160 million building for an $80 million budget. This meant that the project was being designed under unrealistic, in fact impossible, budget constraints and several recommendations put forward by us were turned down or diluted for reasons based on the old budget.

Added to all of this was the constant involvement - sometimes constructive, sometimes critical and questioning - of a number of bodies, from the Canada Museums Construction Corporation and Canada Public Works to the media and the public, all functioning like ever-present watchdogs to this milestone event happening across from Parliament.

To the architect, it was all like conducting a symphony orchestra with a vast score of musicians and composing the music at the same time - all the while plugged to earphones through which the critics were handing down their reviews and admonitions!

These were the challenges we faced in designing the Canadian Museum of Civilization. By the standards of any normal architectural project, by the standards of the hurdles in an architect's normal practice, there was enough justification in these problems to make up a sound case for "throwing in the towel".

To merely survive on the project, to merely produce the required number of drawings at the required times and in the required manner, took an incredible toll from our design team. In addition to the work being carried out in about a dozen other offices simultaneously, the 20-man staff of our own office worked 15-hour days for 3 years to satisfy the needs of a contractor hungry for information and civil servants hungry for explanations and reasons. To provide a more rapid response to the needs of the project, our team even relocated from Edmonton to Ottawa, suffering personal hardships and monetary losses.

We had to function as architects in the milieu of bureaucratic committees and meetings, providing reasons for every decision, engaging in debates and studies and developing options for even the most instinctive and artistic choices. We had to incessantly buck questions and challenges from a vast empire of officials. It became evident right at the start of the project that we would be spending a smaller share of our energies and talents in the actual design than in attending meetings and writing reports.

As a servant of the Government, we had to respect the wishes of our Client. Yet as the architect for the project we knew that, once the project was complete, the sole legal and professional responsibility for each and every decision, each error, each judgement or misjudgment, literally for each stroke of the pen and each stone in the building, would rest with us. We therefore had to approach each decision as if our lives depended on it.

We have often been asked: How did we drive through all of this to produce the results we have produced? How did we retain a clear picture of our vision and the vision of the Government for this national symbol? What does it take to persist in the original goal in the face of impossibility? What does it take to bring about consensus among a vast number of people and agencies, each of whom has a different, sometimes totally opposing, interpretation of the same goal?

In short, what does it take to achieve something of excellence and integrity?

We found that the normal measure of dedication and technical know-how was not enough. We learned what it really takes and the learning gradually transformed our office to, in the words of Andrew Nikiforuk of Equinox Magazine, "a cross between a boot camp and a monastery".

It takes a *total commitment,* a commitment to complete, no matter what; not just a commitment to trying hard, but a total commitment *to a specific set of results.* There were many times when the odds seemed insurmountable, the exercise totally futile; when it would appear to us that we stood alone in our commitment to achieve something more than the normal for this project and for the country. At such times we had to remind ourselves of our original "commitment to complete, no matter what". We had to read and re-read the big words we have plastered on the walls of our office, reminding us of our commitment to a specific set of results.

Then it takes *total sacrifice,* a total disengagement from personal considerations. There were many times when, seeing the relatively peaceful and un-threatened lives that our friends and colleagues were living, we wondered why we should continue to push and struggle so. For years our personal lives, our families, our finances, all had taken a dismal second place to dictates and demands of this one project. The temptation was incredibly, excruciatingly persuasive to say, "I must sell this presentation short, I haven't slept in three days", or "I'll have to pass up this problem, my slate is already full", or "I can't admit my error, I'll look like a fool". But we knew that if anything was to be achieved on this project - or in any worthwhile endeavour, for that matter - we could not afford to "buy into" such considerations, or listen to those who would persuade us to do so.

Then it takes *communication* - the power and ability to transmit this commitment to the others on the project, the professionals and the bureaucrats, to empower them to take on the same commitment, to inspire them to make the vision their own, *to align everyone on the team to a common goal.* We found that, when our own single-minded dedication showed through, a similar commitment would show up all around us, sometimes in the most unlikely places, and things would suddenly, magically, fall into place. We found that there is an incredible power of empowering others in this kind of single-minded commitment.

Then it takes *trust,* the willingness to acknowledge that the others on the team are committed to the same goals, that they all wish and strive for the very best for the project. It takes a willingness to give up our grip on the project in order to let others share in its leadership. We found that things worked best when we trusted major roles and responsibilities to others, then acknowledged their contribution in those roles.

In short, it takes *a whole different way of being.* Our every act, our every decision, our response to each problem, was sourced from this way of being. There was persistent pressure on us to simplify this detail, speed up the process, eliminate that detail to save costs, concede this point to pacify somebody and so on. Had we surrendered to the "reasonableness" of these demands, the building might have been completed sooner, might have cost a little less, and everyone might have been happy. But the resulting building would not be the pride of all Canadians, the world-class building that was the original vision. It would not have been a symbol of the nation's striving for excellence, but rather a testimonial to the art of compromise, a testimonial to mediocrity. So rather than be reasonable, we were "unreasonable" and made "unreasonable" demands of everyone participating in the project.

We resisted the temptation to find solution n logic, in expediency, or in the intellect. Instead we made all of the most crucial decisions on the project from within this way of *being.* From this standpoint we were able to see each breakdown - and there was one almost each day - as an opportunity for a breakthrough, an opportunity to enroll everyone in creating a solution.

It took an incredible team of architects, engineers, managers, and technologists to achieve this, entrusted with a special responsibility. This team had to be the "source" of dedication and commitment for the project, to keep the vision alive at all times, to keep each person aligned toward the same goal. There were times when "reasonableness" and personal considerations got in the way, but in every case, we had to remind ourselves of our declared commitment to excellence, shrug off the problems - and push on. There is an awesome challenge in transforming the vision of the nation to reality, and in our service to that vision we have all been immeasurably enriched.

APPENDIX B

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

SECTION THRU EXHIBIT HALLS

1. History Hall

2. Special Exhibits

3. Exhibit Halls

4. Grand Hall

(COURTESY OF DOUGLAS J. CARDINAL)
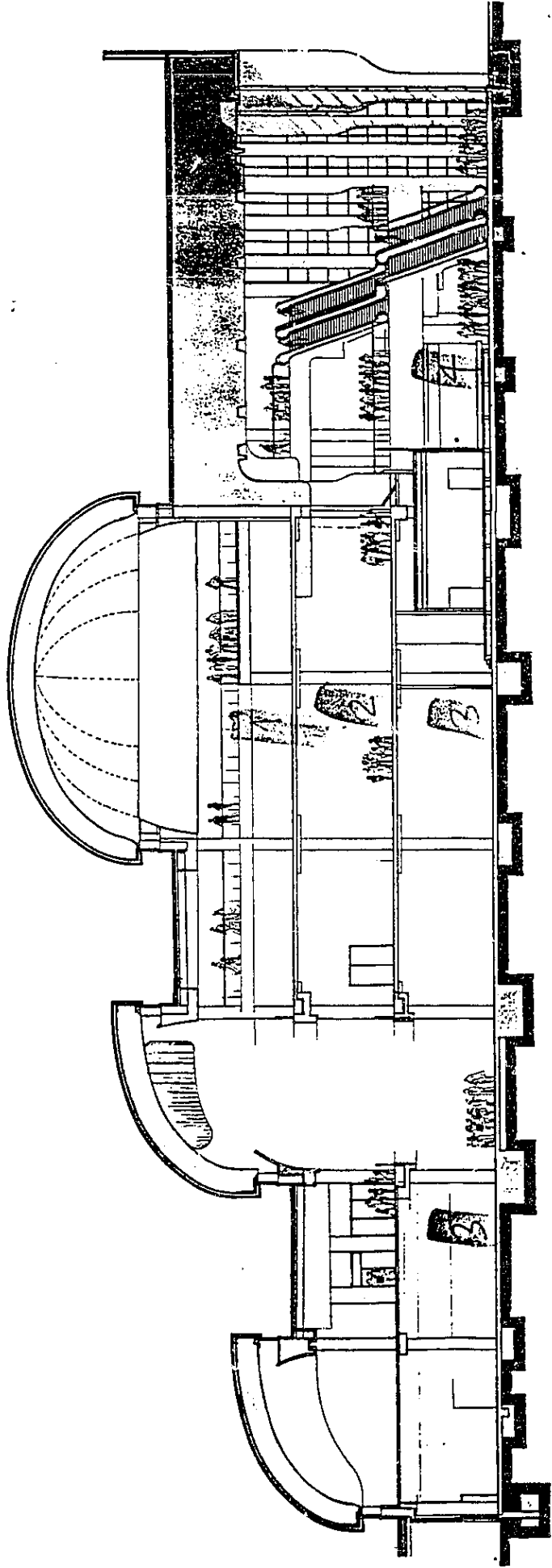
Section Thru Exhibit Hall.
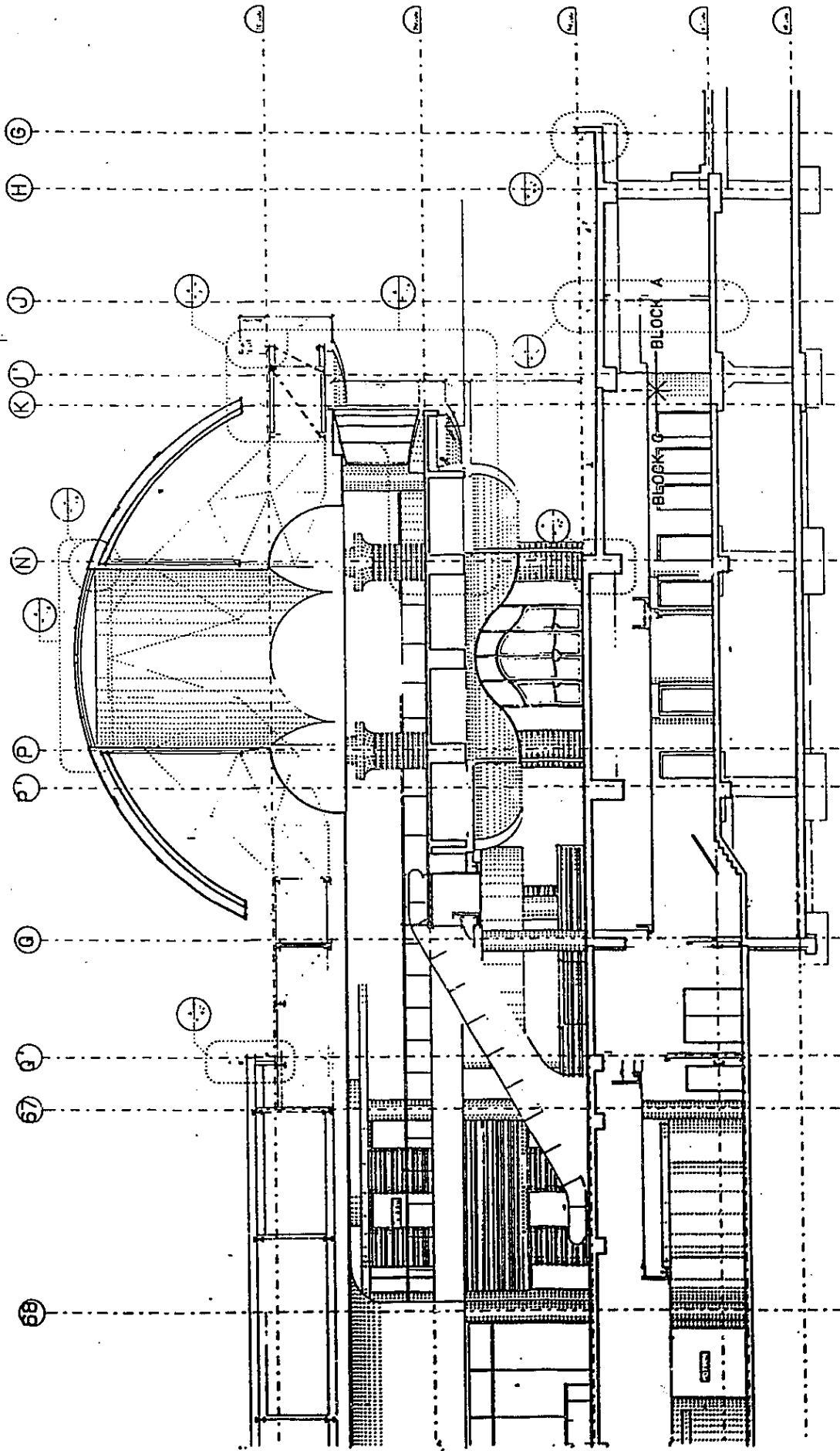
Cross section of main entrance vestibule, drawn on the architect's CAD system

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

MAIN FLOOR PLAN

1. Underground Parking

2. Mechanical/Electrical

3. Exhibit Halls

4. Grand Hall

5. Museum Resource Centre

6. Cafeteria

7. Collection Holdings

8. Workshops
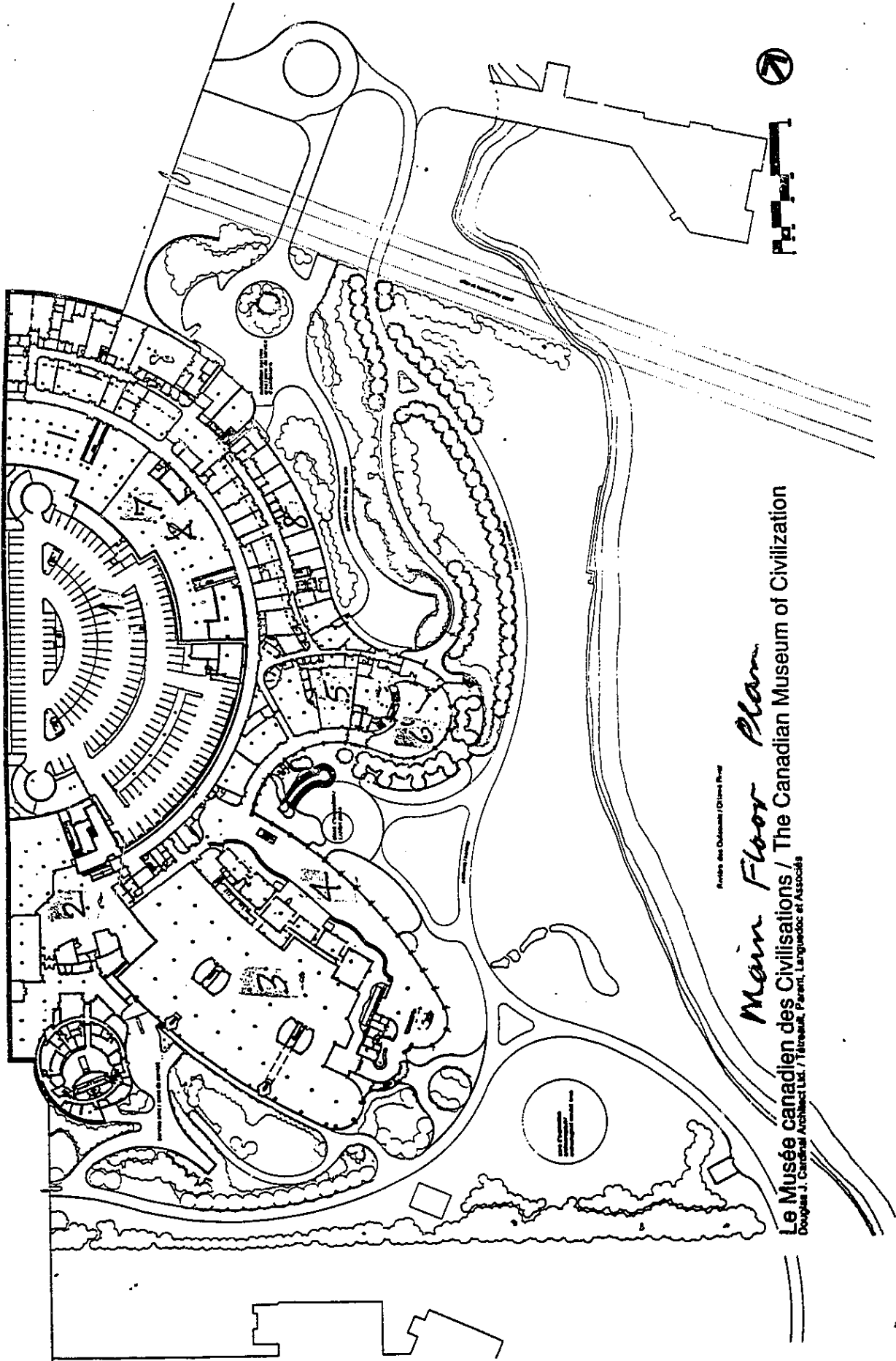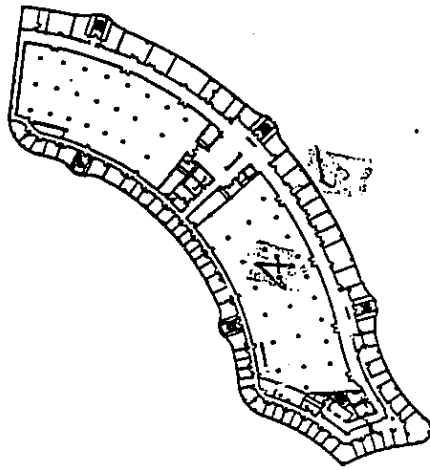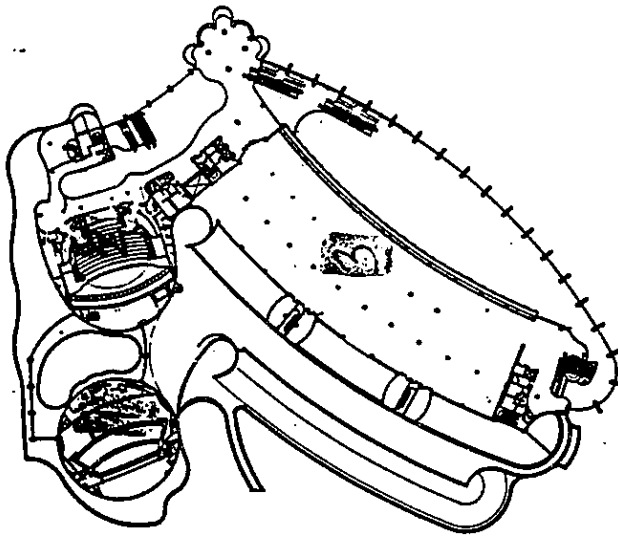
Main Floor Plan

Le Musée canadien des Civilisations / The Canadian Museum of Civilization
Douglas J. Cardinal Architect Ltd. / Tétreault, Parent, Languedoc et Associés

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

SECTION THRU GRAND HALL

1. Grand Hall & West Coast Exhibit

2. Main Entrance

3. Group Reception

4. Underground Parking
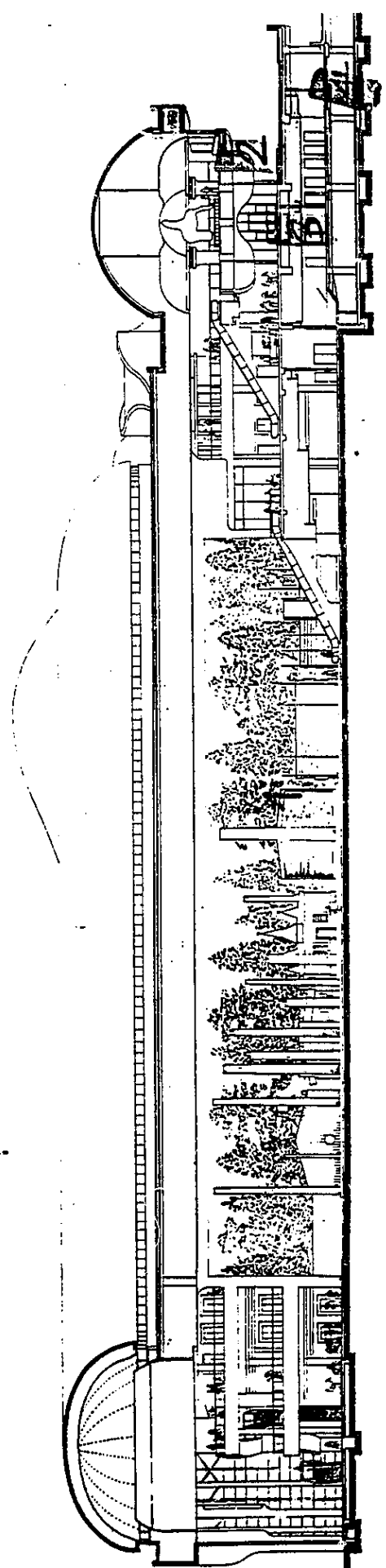
Section thru Ground Hall

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

SECTION THRU COLLECTION HOLDINGS

1. Offices

2. Collection Holdings

3. Workshops
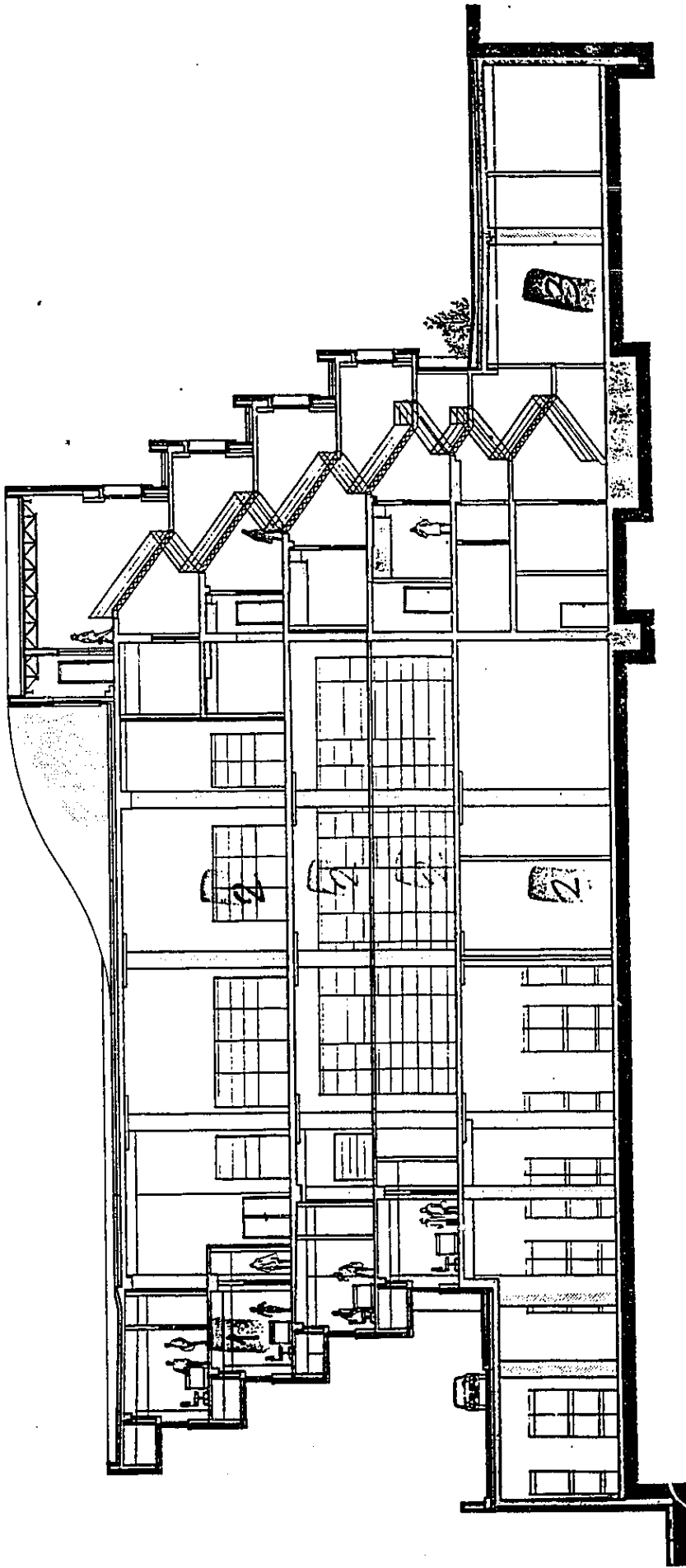
Section Thru Collection Holdings

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

SECTION THRU IMAX/OMNIMAX THEATRE

1. Imax/Omnimax Theatre

2. Lobbies

3. Mechanical/Electrical
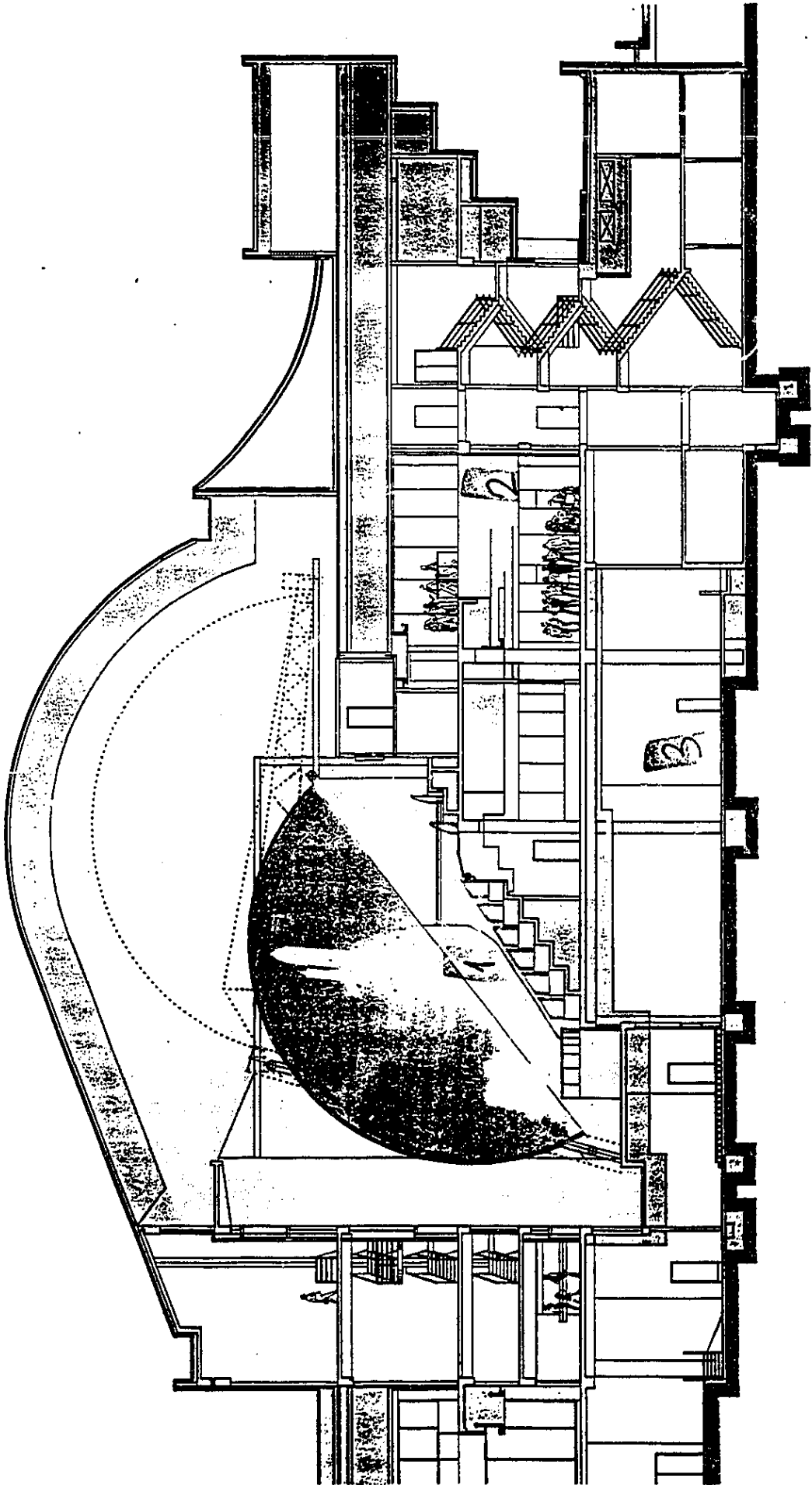
Section Thru Imax / Omnimax Theatre
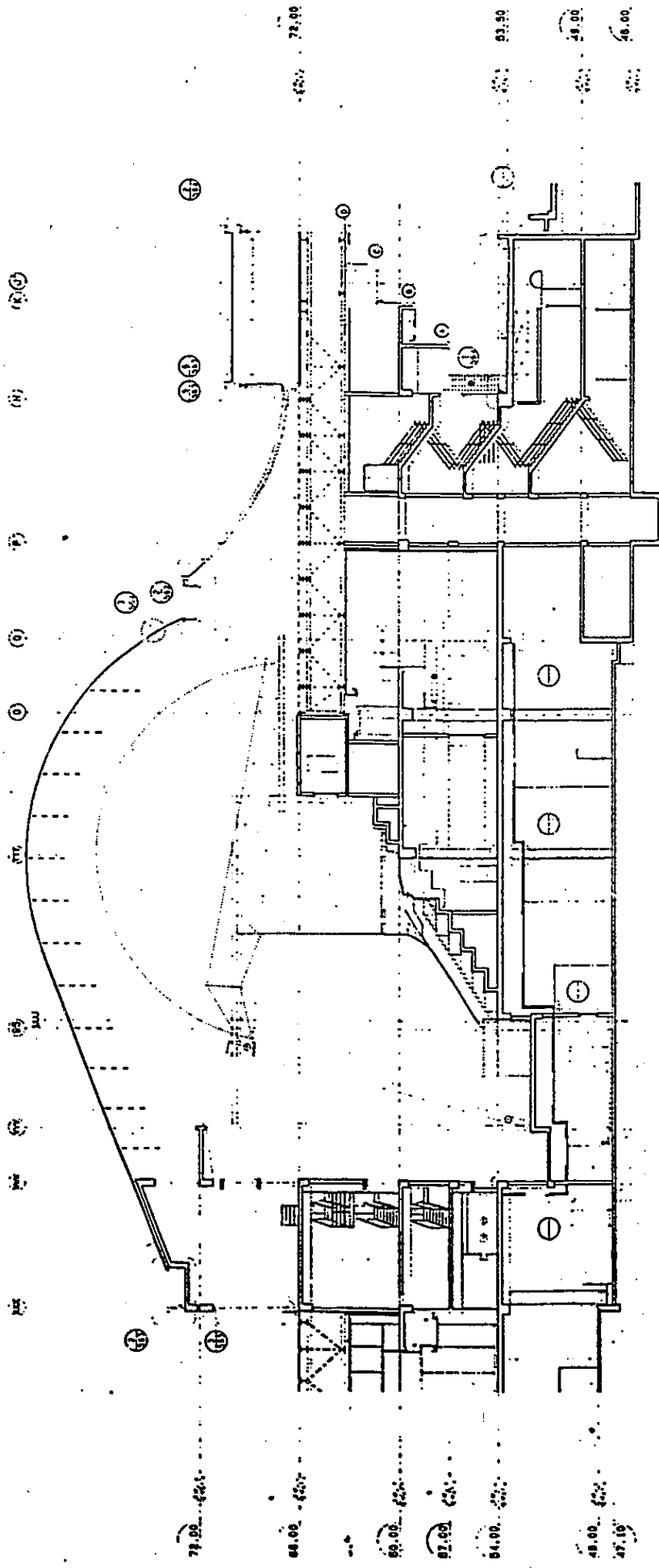
Cross section of the Imax/Omnimax Theatre

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

1. Auditorium

2. Imax/Omnimax Theatre

3. Special Exhibits

4. Plaza & Main Entrance

5. Restaurant

6. Collection Holdings

7. Offices
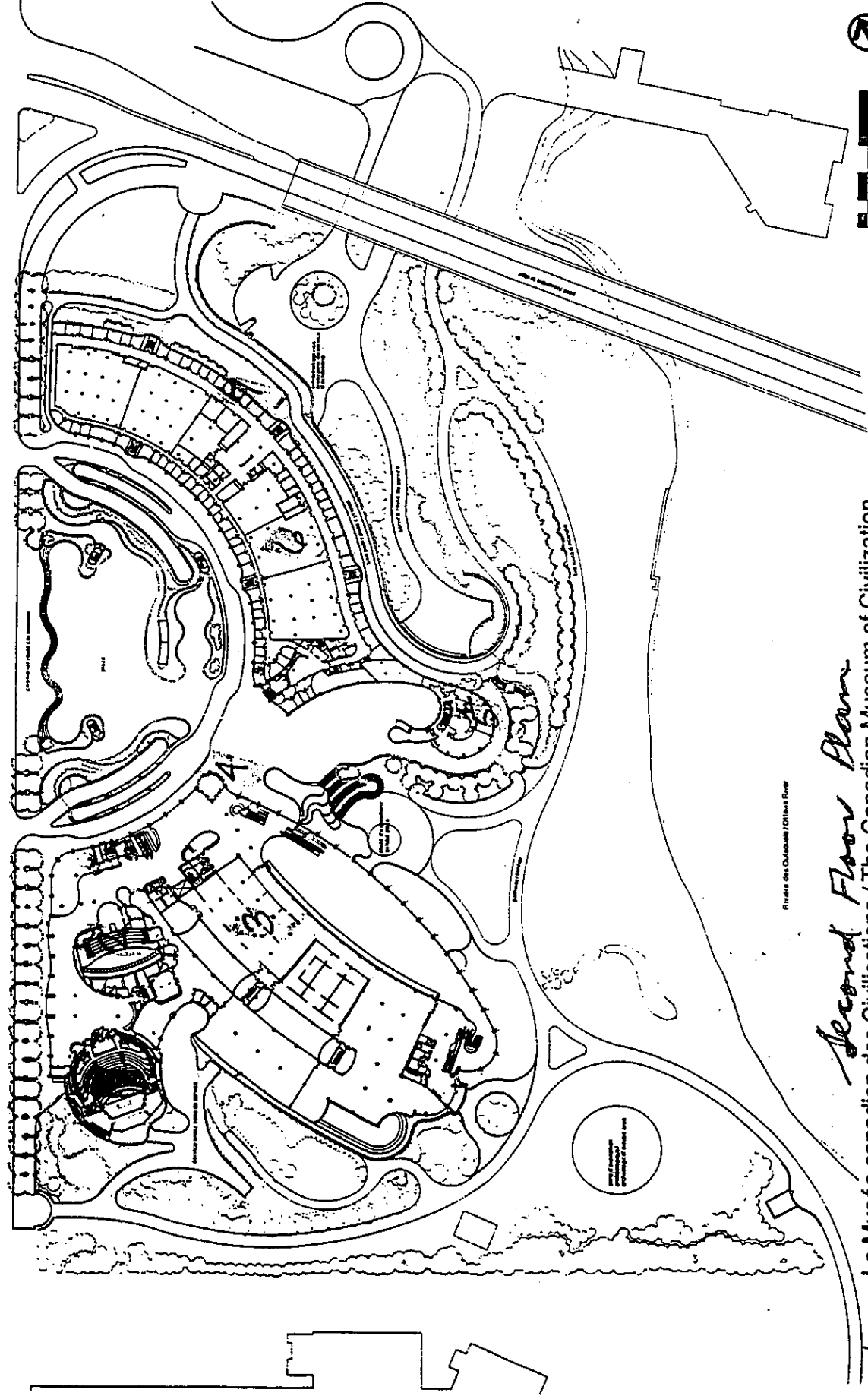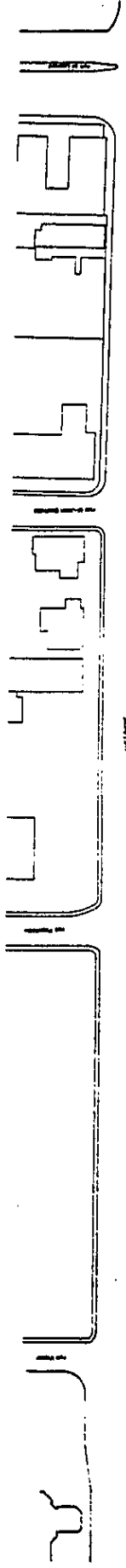
Second Floor Plan

Le Musée canadien des Civilisations / The Canadian Museum of Civilization
Douglas J. Cardinal Architect Ltd. / Tétreault, Parent, Languedoc et Associés

Rivière des Outaouais / Ottawa River

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

THIRD FLOOR PLAN

1. Auditorium

2. Imax/Omnimax Theatre

3. History Hall

4. Collection Holdings

5. Offices

Third Floor Plan

Le Musée canadien des Civilisations / The Canadian Museum of Civilization
Douglas J. Cardinal Architect Ltd. / Tétreault, Parent, Languedoc et Associés

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

<u>SITE PLAN:</u>
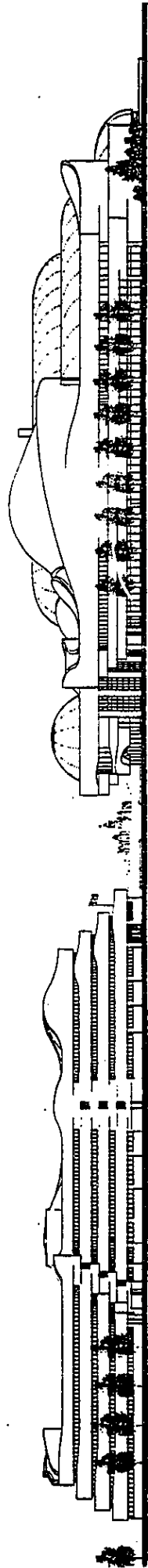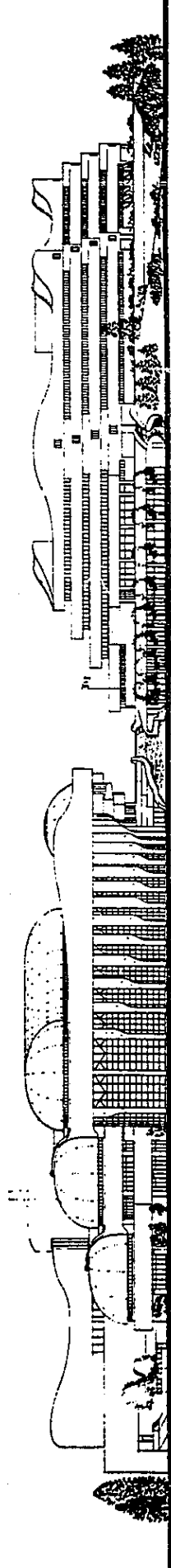1.   Canadian Shield (Curatorial) Wing
2.   Glacier (Public) Wing
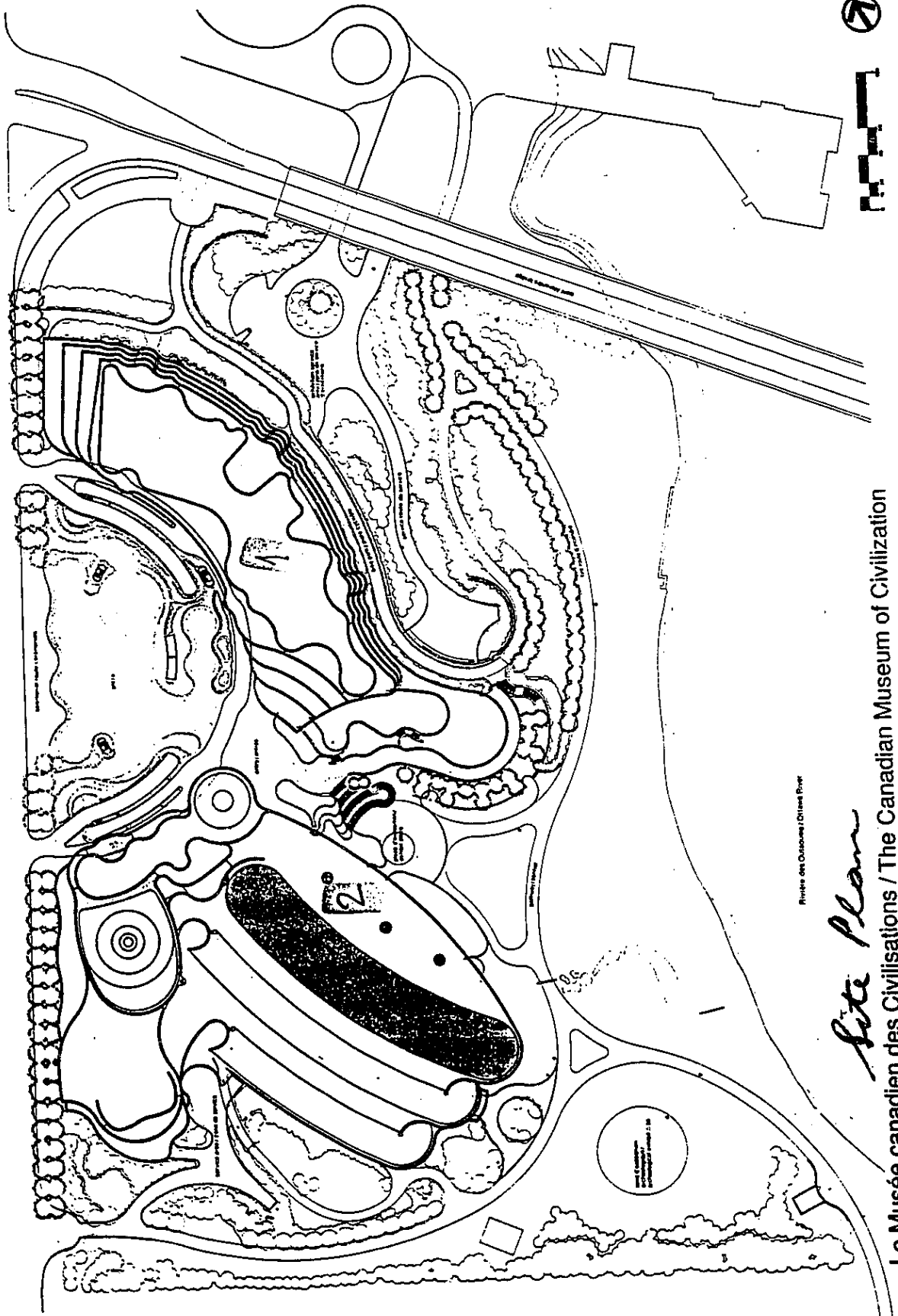
Site Plan

Rivière des Outaouais / Ottawa River

Le Musée canadien des Civilisations / The Canadian Museum of Civilization
Douglas J. Cardinal Architect Ltd. / Téreault, Parent, Languedoc et Associés
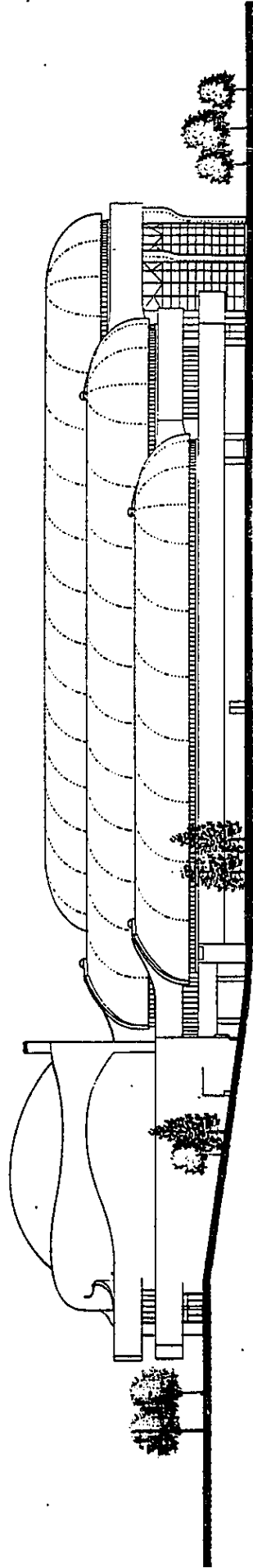
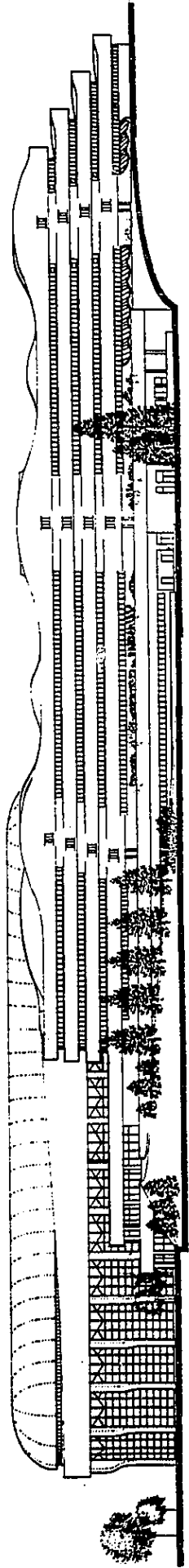## CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

ELEVATIONS

West Elevation

East Elevation

South Elevation

North Elevation