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THE CHANGING NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

BETWEEN

FIRST NATIONS AND MUSEUMS

by

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ABSTRACT

The Changing Nature of the Relationship

between

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This research paper is elaborated around the hypothesis that there is a subtle resistance by non-aboriginal museum professionals, primarily within the disciplines of anthropology, in accepting First Nations taking complete control of their identities and cultures. This new changing situation minimizes the museum professionals' power as interpreters of First Nations' cultures and no longer corresponds to the mission and purpose of the disciplines of anthropology. The author develops the argument by examining Eilean Hooper-Greenill's study of Michel Foucault's three *epistemes* on how museums influenced the shaping of knowledge in the transition from one epistemic period to the next. Hooper-Greenhill's analysis is further used to illustrate the impact the present social changes are having on museums and First Nations. The Canadian Museum of Civilization is used as an example and is analyzed in part using Patricia Pitcher's study of leaders in organizations and the author's own personal observations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Nikanishat
(à mes parents)

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Culture and history in the western exhibits are fluid and progressive, moving constantly toward its future. Native Canadian culture, in contrast, appears as a fait accompli; a completed project that has achieved its zenith and will move no further. (Moira Marie McLoughlin, 1994)

INTRODUCTION

This research paper is elaborated around the hypothesis that there is a subtle resistance by non-aboriginal museum professionals, primarily within the disciplines of anthropology[1], in accepting First Nations taking complete control of their identities and cultures. This new changing situation minimizes the museum professionals' power as interpreters of First Nations' cultures and no longer corresponds to the mission and purpose of the disciplines of anthropology.

These disciplines are now in a contradictory, if not in an ironic position, where First Nations are concerned. Museum curators dedicated their entire studies to the preservation of aboriginal cultures and their work was never questioned until recently. They now find themselves in an unpleasant situation where it appears that everything they do is being questioned not only by some of their peers but most importantly, by the very people whose cultures they worked so hard to protect and whose objects they so carefully preserved. This will be examined in chapter IV and V.

. Furthermore, in their quest to attain self government, First Nations are now actively fighting for their rights. Treaties, repatriation of artifacts and their ramifications are already in motion and museum curators are now drawn into First Nations' political arena. They

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[1] The term anthropology encompasses ethnology and archaeology

now have to deal with issues that are taking precedence over their research studies. Their status is no longer apolitical.

Because of their knowledge on both Aboriginal Peoples and the museum collection, museum anthropologists have now been projected into the role of museum representatives on First Nation land claim negotiations; there are over 50 negotiations in British Columbia alone and more are expected. The Canadian Museum of Civilization can expect to be involved in repatriation of artifacts with every aboriginal nations in Canada at some time in the future.

The Lubicon First Nation's boycotting of the exhibition *The Spirit Sings:Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*[2] during the Olympic games in Calgary in 1988, which will be discussed in the section, The Task Force Report on Museums and First Nations of chapter IV, was the event that initiated a dialogue between First Nations and museums.

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[2] On October 15, 1988, after decades of fruitless efforts to achieve recognition of their unextinguished aboriginal land rights, the Cree people of Lubicon Lake established blockades on roads leading into their traditional territory. A couple of weeks earlier they'd declared their intention to enforce their jurisdiction over their traditional territory, including control of access and regulation of development activity.

Nine days before establishment of the blockades the Lubicon people had formally withdrawn from all legal proceedings before the Canadian courts, making clear that they never accepted the jurisdiction of the Canadian courts over their traditional territory in any case, and, after 14 years of experience with the Canadian courts, that they'd lost all confidence in the ability or inclination of the Canadian courts to compel Canadian Government to obey its own laws.

After five days of blockade scores of heavily armed RCMP backed by helicopters and attack dogs forcibly dismantled Lubicon barricades and arrested 27 people. Two days later, with people from across the country pouring into the Lubicon area to support Lubicon assertion of jurisdiction, Lubicon Chief Bernard Ominayak met with Alberta Provincial Premier Don Getty and agreed on establishment of a 246 square kilometre reserve, conditional upon Federal Government concurrence.

Following the meeting with Premier Getty the Lubicons turned their attention to Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who was at the time in the midst of a re-election campaign. Faced with the prospect of significant Lubicon demonstrations along the campaign trail during his re-election campaign, on November 3, 1988, Mr. Mulroney met with Chief Ominayak and agreed to negotiations.

Negotiations with the Federal Government commenced on November 29, 1988, and collapsed on January 24, 1989 – after Mr. Mulroney's successful election campaign. Negotiations collapsed when the Federal Government tabled a final "take-it-or-leave-it" settlement offer which Federal negotiators knew in advance would be rejected, since it contained no provision for the Lubicon people to once again become economically self-sufficient.

Immediately upon collapse of negotiations the Mulroney Government launched a major propaganda campaign designed to subvert Lubicon leadership and discredit the Lubicon cause. The propaganda campaign was coordinated with on-the-ground efforts to politically overthrow the duly elected leadership of the Lubicon people. At the time of this writing the Lubicon people are continuing their struggle to survive with dignity. (http://www.tao.ca/~fol/fl Pages/neglubap/histov.html)

Three outstanding issues were identified by the Task Force Report established as a result by the Canadian Museum Association and the Assembly of First Nations in 1992:

a) increased involvement of Aboriginal Peoples in the interpretation of their culture and history by cultural institutions.

b) improved access to museum collections by Aboriginal Peoples, and

c) the repatriation of artifacts and human remains (Task Force on Museums and First Nations 1992:1).

The above recommendations may have looked feasible in theory but in practice it is another matter. One thing is certain, the role of museum curators[3] as sole interpreters of aboriginal cultures has come to an end, along with their prestige.

The impact of repatriation on museums is still in an early phase. Nevertheless, not all the museum staff is trained or equipped to deal with the issues that arise, such as the access to the collections by First Nations as well as the repatriation of large numbers of objects to nations that request them. This turn of events is new to museums. "In many ways repatriation discussion is about the role of objects in the ongoing generation of meaning in two apparently incompatible cultural systems" (Laforet, 1999b:12)

First Nations have come out of their isolation and reclaiming their cultures is a priority. They are now entering the museum world with graduate and post-graduate education and a strong sense of responsibility. Their main goal is to correctly set their place in history. Unfortunately, since the Canadian Museum of Civilization opened eleven years ago, there has been no increase in aboriginal employees as was originally planned.

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[3] Michael Ames expresses the dilemma of the curator today as being twofold: "first, to seek status within one's own profession, ethnology in the case at hand, one must research and publish in scholarly journals, while to retain status within the museum one must also engage in public service." (1992:31-32)

First Nations' exhibitions are still mainly developed and interpreted by non-Aboriginal employees.

Aboriginal issues are just one of the problems afflicting museums today. This research paper will concentrate mainly on those issues that are having an impact on the relationship between museums and First Nations in Canada. It is, therefore, important to understand how museums came into being; how they have been instrumental in shaping knowledge; how they acquired the role as sole authority of aboriginal cultures; what caused the rupture; the impact on both First Nations and museums with reference to the significant changes occurring in their respective worldviews. "...what we are seeing is the most significant revolution in cultural institutions in this century" (Cameron, 1990:14). Are museums the ones now on the brink of extinction?

Chapter I will give an overview of the thesis and the methods used to support my hypothesis on the changing relationship between First Nations and Museums. Chapter II will examine Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's study which followed Michel Foucault's three *epistemes* on how museums influenced the shaping of knowledge in the transitions from one epistemic period to the next, ending her study with the modern age. Following Hooper-Greenhill's study, the period we are presently living in and the roles museums are expected to play in this 'new age' will be examined. Chapter III will look at the contemporary museum and the transformation that they are experiencing caused by globalization, technology, multiculturalism and human rights. Chapter III will also look at the crisis that the social sciences are experiencing and the impact on the relationship between First Nations and museums. Chapter IV will examine the revitalization of aboriginal cultures, the repatriation of artifacts back to aboriginal communities and the impact that this new development is having on museums. Chapter III and IV will also include my own personal observations.

CHAPTER I – THEORETICAL APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

THEORETICAL APPROACH

In order to obtain a better perspective of museums and their role and influence on First Nation cultures, the historical background will be based primarily on Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's book *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. Hooper-Greenhill follows Michel Foucault's three *epistemes* of how knowledge changed and developed during the Renaissance, the classical and the modern ages and how museums influenced the shaping of knowledge during the transition from one period to the next. Hooper-Greenhill analyzed four case studies: the cabinet of curiosity and the Medici Palace for the Renaissance Age, the Repository of the Royal Society for the classical age and, what she calls, the disciplinary museums for the modern age.

Following Foucault and Hooper-Greenhill's methodology, a fourth period will be added. We will examine First Nations and Museums today in a national and global context. The two case studies will be *The Grand Hall*, a permanent exhibition focusing on the First Nations of the Pacific Northwest Coast with an emphasis on traditional cultures through the display of artifacts and *The First Peoples Hall* where First Nations are speaking as well as being represented by artifacts. The use of technology will also play a relevant role in the entire exhibition. Both permanent exhibitions are at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) [4]

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[4] CMC will be used when referring to the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The terms "Native" "Aboriginal", "First Nations", are used interchangeably to refer to Canada's original habitants of Indian, Inuit and Metis ancestry and the term "Indigenous Peoples" for original habitants internationally.

Ethnicity and Nationalism

As we enter a new millennium, society has been for some time experiencing what Michel Foucault (1970) identifies as 'breaks' and 'ruptures' signifying the end of one era and the beginning of another. The new beginning can occur with violent changes and disruptions as is very apparent in our society today. Multi-ethnic nations became a global norm in many countries throughout the world and the concepts of multiculturalism and human rights movements emerged. Human Rights legislation became a decisive factor not only for First Nations in the attainment of self-government but also for aboriginal women[5] who regained their status with Bill C 31 in 1985. The social sciences enter a crisis of their own for perhaps not having anticipated these changes.

To have a better understanding of what is happening, we will therefore continue with Foucault's (1970) tool of 'effective history'. "Foucault rejects the notion of a continuous, smooth, progressive, totalising, developmental history. He works instead with 'effective history', a view of the past that emphasizes discontinuity, rupture, displacement, and dispersion." (Hooper-Greenhill,1992:10). We will examine the breaks and ruptures that occurred beginning with the rise of ethnicity and nationalism influenced by the concept of free citizen. Ethnicity and nationalism led to the formation of new nations prompted by the collapse of communism, war, technology and international migration. These breaks and ruptures have also affected museums as well as First Nations' cultures. We will,

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[5] Important changes were made to Canada's *Indian Act* on June 28, 1985, when Parliament passed Bill C-31, an *Act to Amend the Indian Act.* Bill C-31 brought the Act into line with the provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Two categories of persons were excluded from registration under the C-31 provisions: women who gained status only through marriage to a status Indian, and later lost it (e.g. through re-marriage to a non-Indian); and children whose mother gained Indian status through marriage and whose father is non-Indian. Those who lost their membership in a band through sexual discrimination in the past, can apply to regain membership. (Bill C-31)

therefore, examine the new relationship that is developing between the two because of these changes.

The Social and Cultural Dimensions of Museums

The social and cultural dimensions of museums are areas which will be looked into in order to obtain a better understanding of what is happening in museums today. Museums, according to Hooper-Greenhill, have been active in shaping knowledge for over 600 years. (1992:191) During the last decade or so, major changes and important reorganizations are taking place in museums all over the world at a rapid pace. It appears that museums have no choice but to adapt and seek new approaches if they want to survive. Without doubt, the museum community itself would have preferred to maintain the status quo and retain its unique role as the indisputable 'experts' on cultures, especially First Nations cultures. The unexpected survival of First Nations with a voice is indeed a disturbing factor in the stability of museums with aboriginal collections.

According to Sharon Macdonald museums have an intriguing paradoxical place in the global culture. "Bound up with much that is heralded to be nearing its end - stability and permanence, authenticity, grand narratives, the nation-state, and even history itself – their numbers are growing at an unprecedented rate" (1996:1). Despite an increase in the number of museums all over the world, the problems have multiplied: falling visitor numbers; failure to attract a larger middle class and minorities; storage and conservation problems of ever increasing collections (1996:1). One can also add a substantial decrease in government funding; Aboriginal Peoples reclaiming their artifacts; and others. These problems are shaking the very foundation of museums.

It therefore became painfully clear for museums that, if changes did not occur, disciplines dealing with multicultural populations would be seriously threatened with the possible disappearance of some of them. Many claim that they no longer know what a museum is.

The shift that museums are making from collection to communication has obliged them to become more aware of the visitor. It is no longer sufficient to collect objects; there must be a connection to society. Not all museums anticipated these changes but those that accepted the challenge found the circumstances far more complex than expected, especially where First Nations' cultures were concerned because here the shift is back to the collections and to the archives. Aboriginal Peoples want to regain control of all the information kept in these large institutions such as museums, public libraries, archives and university libraries:

> As a consequence huge quantities of comprehensive and detailed information concerning just about every aspect of our lives, history, and culture exist in such institutions....The tragedy for us is that virtually none of this information relevant to our particular Aboriginal communities exists within the communities themselves. This means that it remains in non-Aboriginal institutions under non-Aboriginal control. (Fourmile, 1988:25)

There are now many sensitive issues that museums have to deal with – repatriation of human remains, sacred objects such as false face masks, medicine bundles etc. Museums are often at a loss on how to deal with some of these problems. For example, some nations are requesting repatriation of medicine bundles. Others only want the information relevant to these objects because they no longer possess the knowledge for the caring of these sacred objects. Others have found false information on certain objects in the museum collection.

On the one hand, museums with their collections, archival material and ethnographic sciences have largely contributed to the 'dead' identity and to the stereotypes that First Nations are afflicted with today. On the other hand, museums have also made it possible for some of these same people to learn about their history for the first time, and to revive an identity that had been lost or forgotten. First Nations are presently going through a revitalization process and there is a need for them to look into their traditional past to understand who they are and to be better equipped to enter the challenging demands of the present without losing their identity.

The issues Indigenous Peoples have seem to be the same all over the world. These discontinuities and ruptures that occurred in society on a global scale have also had their impact on First Nations and museums. Globalization and technology have emerged and produced the information society of today. We are now venturing into an uncontrolled information age at a very fast pace to say the least. Where Indigenous Peoples are concerned, what emerged with technology is a means of communication which became a unifying force unprecedented in modern history.

Another point that will be briefly mentioned in this paper is fundraising - the emergence of corporate sponsoring and entertainment in museum spaces. Museum funding at the national, provincial and local level is principally controlled by the state. In recent years, however, many museums have been affected by reduced government subsidies and some have had to close their doors. Consequently, museums have now turned to large corporations for funding. Corporate and visitor entertainment is becoming just as important as the exhibitions.

The Social and the Cultural Dimensions of First Nations

The complexities of the social and the cultural dimensions of First Nations are often

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difficult to grasp as not all nations are at the same economic development level. Some are on the brink of disaster and are more concerned with their personal rather than their cultural survival. Others wish to retain and live their traditional lives and are working hard to preserve their culture. There are also those who have reached a certain acculturation but still wish to adapt their aboriginal identity to an urban setting. These dimensions will not be further developed in this paper but these crucial issues of First Nations are not being addressed in museums.

The different social strata within First Nations have had an impact on their cultures as well. In the same nation, we will often see variations not only in the interpretation of their culture but also in their language. Therefore, it is not surprising that this creates confusion with the museological and especially the ethnological interpretation of aboriginal cultures.

This new age of "deconstruction, reconstruction and self-construction" (Ames 1992: 152) occurring simultaneously among both First Nations and cultural institutions has created a sense of confusion and insecurity for both aboriginal and non-aboriginal employees. Non-aboriginal curators, for example, feel that their role will never be the same again. Aboriginal curators are now in demand but with the position comes the enormous responsibility of being curators not only of their own nation but of many others as well. Adaptation and change are expected from both parties involved and this must happen almost overnight. The expectations are just too high and the results are often discouraging for both.

First Nations and Museums

This research will examine some of these issues between First Nations and

museums in order to establish if a consensus can be reached: who owns aboriginal artifacts; how should aboriginal cultures be interpreted; who is in a better position or has the right to decide; and what the concepts of traditional and of spirituality mean for Aboriginal Peoples in a contemporary setting. Anthropologists are very familiar with the issue of cultural diffusion but are not likely to find anything special in the similarities between traditional and modern objects. (Clifford 1988:191).

Despite efforts made by many museums across the country to demonstrate the contemporary and the traditional way of life of Aboriginal Peoples, most curators are still more comfortable dealing with elders as was customary in the past than with the younger aboriginal generation of today. Most curators assume that the latter is not as knowledgeable about their cultures as the former or they (the curators) themselves are. A link to the past is acceptable for ethnologists but a link to the present is only acceptable if something traditional is attached to it. My work in the development of the Aboriginal Training Programme in Museum Practices deals with young aboriginal students from across the country. I know that the knowledge about our cultures will not end with our elders: " If museums, anthropology and sociology have collaborated in the formation of modernity and the nation-state[6], they have also all come to question many of modernity's 'totalizing paradigms' and share many of the same insecurities about *how* to represent in the contemporary world" (Harvey, 1996 in Macdonald, 1996:7)

As mentioned above, museums' implication in the formation of modern nation-states also applies to First Nations as well. Not only have museums preserved aboriginal heritage but they are now assisting First Nations in their quest for their land where treaties

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[6] By modern nation-state, Macdonald refers to Martin Prosler's study of *Museums and Globalization* where he maintains that the "Nation' is scarcely older than the eighteenth century when in Europe the concept began to assume its modern shape." (1996:31)

were not respected. One example is that museum curators are becoming more and more involved in the political negotiations of land claims through repatriation of artifacts which First Nations are now including in their comprehensive land claim agreements. An example of this will be a brief review based on a paper *Repatriation and the Canadian Museum of Civilization* written by Andrea Laforet, Director of Ethnology at the CMC.

Because of all the changes mentioned above, a new knowledge is emerging that is affecting the relationship between First Nations and museums. They have had a long and complex history together and it is only in the past few years that this relationship has been seriously scrutinized. In search of cultural autonomy, First Nations have been questioning the interpretation of the ethnological scientific research. Since First Nations were not expected to survive or question the interpretation of these scholars, we now have a situation where the scholars themselves are rejecting what James Clifford calls 'the hegemony of field work'. In his book, *The Predicament of Culture*, Clifford focuses his analysis on professional anthropology and specifically on ethnography:

> The current crisis – or better, dispersion – of ethnographic authority makes it possible to mark off a rough period, bounded by the years 1900 and 1960, during which a new conception of field research established itself as the norm for European and American anthropology. Intensive fieldwork, pursued by university-trained specialists, emerged as a privileged, sanctioned source of data about exotic peoples. (1988:24)

Where informants are concerned, Clifford asks the fundamental question: "Who is actually the author of field notes?" (1988:45) In any case, he argues that anthropologists should share their texts and title pages with indigenous collaborators "for whom the term *informants* is no longer adequate, if it ever was" (1988:51)

First Nations are becoming more involved as well as more informed in the interpretation of their cultures and are now reclaiming their artifacts and archival materials.

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With their large ethnographic collections, museums have become the link between First Nations and the dominant society. Ethnographers have played a crucial role in assisting First Nations in the repatriation procedures but they are concerned as to where this process will lead and what impact it will have on both the museums and their work. The role of museum curators is changing from protector of aboriginal cultures to that of witness of aboriginal cultures.

One area that was perhaps understood but may have been difficult to interpret by the museum professionals is the spirituality of Aboriginal Peoples related to nature and the land. Knudtson and Suzuki, in their book *Wisdom of the Elders* came to the realization that "we know so little about the biological and physical properties of the planet that we cannot predict the long-term impact of our technology...Science alone is not enough to solve the planetary environmental crisis..."(1992:xxiv). In seeking other perspectives for understanding the world, Knudtson and Suzuki demonstrates the importance of indigenous knowledge which is a profound ecological wisdom about the universe, the planet, and the physical and spiritual lives; the delicate relationship between humans, nature and the environment.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Research

Museums nationally and internationally are in a state of crisis and have been for as long as I have been working here.

Nous ne pouvons plus considérer cette institution [le musée] hors de son histoire propre, détachée des autres institutions connexes et exempte d'influences nées de bouleversements de la recherche, de mutations sociales, économiques ou des transfomations technologiques (Gervereau, 1999,12)

To complement the theoretical research, an empirical approach was used as methodology. My observations and comments are based on my experience both as an aboriginal employee in a large museum, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, where I have been working for eleven years and as a board member of *la Fondation de l'héritage culturel de Mashteuiatsh* for a period of three years. The Fondation was established five years ago to raise funds for the *Musée amérindien de Mashteuiatsh*. I am also a member of this community and I have always maintained a close relationship with both my family and my community.

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These observations will follow, in part, James Spradley's guide to fieldwork in his book *Participant Observation*. He writes that participant observation is no longer "relegated to exotic cultures in far-off places, ethnology has come home". (1980:60) He also mentions different types of participant observation: non-participation, passive, active, complete and moderate. The moderate participant observation will be the method I will use for this thesis. He describes this type of participant observation as trying to "maintain a balance between being an insider and outsider, between participation and observation" (1980:60). I am an insider because I work in a museum and feel comfortable in the museum community and an outsider because of my native ancestry.

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Robert K. Merton, in his insiders/outsiders distinction [acknowledging that the main idea is from Mannheim], says:

> ...there is a category of people in the system of social stratification who have distinctive, if not exclusive, perceptions and understanding in their capacities as *both* Insiders and Outsiders... Benefiting from their collectively diverse social origins and transcending group allegiances, they can observe the social universe with special insight and a synthesizing eye. (1972:29)

I belong to the Innu Nation of the Lac St-Jean Band and was raised in Mashteuiatsh, Quebec. Both my parents are of Innu descent and lived a semi-nomadic life of hunting and fishing. Although our home base was Mashteuiatsh, my parents' nomadic ways brought the family to various parts of Northern Quebec. I also lived twenty years in Germany and shortly after my return began working at the CMC. My ability to fluently speak three languages as well as my stay in Germany are important assets in the understanding of the diversity of First Nations' cultures.

Because of the work I do, the method of participant observation is also complete. Spradley explains this method as being the highest level of involvement because one studies a situation in which one is already an ordinary participant (1980:61). At the museum, I developed and coordinate the Aboriginal Training Programme in Museum Practices. My involvement with the aboriginal interns brings me in contact with employees from every division of the museum and with aboriginal communities all over the country. I have established a good working relationship with both the communities and the staff as this is crucial to the success of the training programme.

Earl Babbie in *The Practice of Social Research* (1992) writes about the strengths and weaknesses of field research. He claims that field research is "especially effective for

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studying the subtle nuances of attitudes and behaviours and for examining social processes over time...the chief strength of this method lies in the depth of understanding it may permit"(1992:305,306). Therefore, my analysis of the CMC in the section, Within The Walls of The CMC, is an attempt to grasp the tension currently being felt in the institution and the impact on First Nations.

There are three concepts that Babbie mentions that are worth examining: validity, reliability and generalizability. He argues that field research provides more valid measures than experimental measurement. (1992:305). He does admit that there is a potential problem with reliability in that it is often very personal. "Compared with surveys and experiments, field research measurements generally have more validity but less reliability and field research cannot be generalized as safely as those based on rigorous sampling and standardized questionnaires" (1992: 309). I will elaborate more on these concepts in the section below, Limitations of the Research.

According to Kirk and Miller, the concepts of reliability and validity, two components of objectivity, can be applied to qualitative observations. They clarify these concepts as follows: "reliability is the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out; validity is the extent to which it gives the correct answer." (1986 :19) But they also see problems with these two concepts in that "the issue with validity is a fundamental problem of theory" (1986:21). In contrast to the scientific world, qualitative observation is "a question of whether the researcher sees what he or she thinks he or she sees"(1986 :21). Where reliability is concerned "comparison of findings is a basic process of science, as well as everyday life [and]... reliability depends essentially on explicitly described observational procedures" (1986:41).

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Consultations

With reference to my observations, I consulted CMC employees directly involved in some of the situations I described. The consultations were not interviews but were more a verification of my written observations. The employees consulted also recommended relevant reading material and museum policies. For example, I consulted the director of the Ethnology Division regarding the Grand Hall and cited some of her unpublished works concerning repatriation of artifacts. I consulted the director of the Library when referring to her staff as well as an employee of Human Resources concerning the turnover in employees at CMC (mentioned in Limitation of the Research). I also consulted archaeologists and researchers working on the exhibitions of the First Peoples Hall and other staff members. The following is a list of consultations:

- Consult with aboriginal and non-aboriginal cultural professional workers at the CMC.

- Various museum visitor surveys to see if we are attracting a 'new' group of visitors, as this was the main goal in building this museum.

- Survey of why the exhibition *Mysteries of Egypt* was so popular in comparison to other more traditional exhibitions.

- Examination of unpublished papers, for example, *Repatriation and the Canadian Museum of Civilization* by Andrea Laforet.

- Since the First Peoples Hall opens only in 2001, I have consulted various museum employees who are presently working on this major exhibition, as well as used some of their working documents with their permission.

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Limitations of the Research

Interviewing some employees would have produced significant information but because of the issues mentioned below, I felt that this was not the appropriate time to do this. Also, in exploring the question of the role of Aboriginal Peoples in museums, it would have been preferable to study more than one museum, especially smaller museums which may have different issues than a national museum. As a full time employee, this was not possible.

During my eleven years of employment with the CMC, I have witnessed a few reorganisations. Reorganisation within a large institution is often a disturbing experience and the reactions may not always be positive for everybody concerned especially when it involves employees losing their jobs or employees dissatisfied with their working conditions. Employees react to changes in different ways whether they are involved directly or indirectly. The turnover of employees at the CMC is continuous. According to a staff member of Human Resources, the mobility of employees is very high in certain divisions due to the fact that there are many opportunities for their type of skills in the open market. CMC's current salary structure and possibly other working conditions may also be a contributing factor. But what about those employees who want to leave and their skills are not in demand such as conservators or employees working in collections? Consequently, one senses a very dissatisfied and stressed group of cultural workers but it is not possible to generalize because not all employees are affected in the same way.

Also, the issues at hand are not always specifically related to First Nations but they have had an impact in that the number of aboriginal employees has not increased in the past ten years. [7]

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[7] Rapport sur l'équité en matière d'emploie du Musée canadien des civilisations –1990 et 1999

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Although I am a member of an aboriginal nation, I cannot speak for other nations. The West Coast and the Plains' Crees Nations, for example, have different beliefs, customs and rituals which I cannot identify with. They have also different land claims and treaties. Even within my own nation, which is composed of fourteen communities, some diversity of opinions on language, culture etc. exist due to the fact that we have had very little contact with one another after reserves were established by the government.

Because of the transformations that both museums and Aboriginal Peoples are experiencing (and that simultaneously) which we will examine in chapter III and IV, it was difficult at times to obtain accurate information. For example, a curator, who had worked in another cultural institution, told me about a particular case of repatriation of an aboriginal art collection that had been sold privately once in the hands of the Aboriginal People who had requested it. A few months later, I asked her again about the art collection and was told that it had not been sold; there had been a misunderstanding. This type of misunderstandings happened often. I found this type of information to be unreliable and did not use it. However, theoretical documentation is abundant on the subject of museums and First Nations. The use of internet gave me quick access to recent information from an aboriginal and non-aboriginal perspective. The findings also confirmed many of my observations.

CHAPTER II - HISTORICAL CONTEXT

KNOWLEDGE AND MUSEUMS

In order to situate First Nations in the context of museums, which will be discussed in the following chapter, it is essential to clarify how and why museums came into existence. First it is important to mention that museums have played a unique role in the interpretation of cultures and it is only "recently that museums have been subjected to rigorous forms of critical analysis". (Hooper-Greenhill,1992:3). Therefore, we have to examine the structure of past museums to understand the rationale behind the present structure as well as the influence that they have had on aboriginal cultures and their knowledge.

According to Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, there is very little historical work, from a theoretical perspective, that has been written in relation to the history of museums. In her book, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, she attempts to find new ways of writing and understanding the history of museums through insights from the work of Michel Foucault and the tools used in his approach to history. In his 'effective history', Foucault rejects the notion of a chronological, structured and developmental history and "prioritises the breaks and ruptures which signal abrupt endings and painful new beginnings, violent changes, and disruption...[He] focuses on the history of error." (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:11,10). Hooper-Greenhill echoes Foucault when she maintains that the things from the past that presently appear to us to be totally irrational may, through careful analysis, "reveal the identity of the contemporary structure of knowledge." (1992:10). Her four case studies will be discussed below: The Medici Palace and the *Wunderkammer* or the cabinet of curiosity of the Renaissance age, The Repository of the Royal Society of the classical age and the disciplinary museums of the modern age.

The collection of objects go back many centuries to ancient Rome and Greece but the word museum is used only when the collections are no longer private and are open to the public. Hooper-Greenhill uses Foucault's three major *epistemes*, the Renaissance, the classical and the modern as time span to demonstrate the influence that the transition from one period to the next had on knowledge with subsequent impact on museums: "Each of these had quite specific characteristics, and the shift from one [episteme] to the next represented a massive cultural and epistemological upheaval, a rupture that meant the complete rewriting of knowledge" (1992:12).

THE RENAISSANCE *EPISTEME*

Foucault's Renaissance *episteme* with reference to knowledge was based on interpretation and similitude which "read beneath the surface of things to discover hidden connections of meaning and significance" (Bennett, 1995:95-96). The world and all things were in a continuous hidden relationship with one another and could be endlessly rewritten producing a form of knowledge that eventually revealed itself to be irrelevant (Hooper-Greenhill 1992:12).

During the Renaissance *episteme*, the universe was animated and not mechanical. Knowing was in relation to God and the supernatural, a strong influence of the Middle Ages. The parts that compose the universe related to each other symbolically rather than causally through resemblance and correspondence. "If two sets contained the same number of units, a correspondence was discovered" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:36). An example given: the twelve apostles were linked to the twelve signs of the Zodiac. The world was also full of signs that had to be interpreted. This cross-reference of signs and similitude gave magic an intrinsic role in this form of knowledge. The Church was in a contradictory position where magic was concerned. On the one hand, it itself possessed powerful magical practices, as for example, in the images of the Virgin (with magical powers) and

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the clergy trained in exorcism. On the other hand, it disapproved of black magic. An important element in Foucault's Renaissance *episteme* is that he takes the magic and the supernatural seriously, contrary to other authors on the Renaissance. "The prime role in the structure of knowledge during the Renaissance given to interpretation, organized through the system of correspondences, made divination a major part of epistemology" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:37).

Foucault, however, considered that this knowledge based on interpretation and similitude had no reliable foundation:

> First and foremost, the plethoric yet absolutely poverty-stricken character of this knowledge. Plethoric because it is limitless. Resemblance never remains stable within itself: it can be fixed only if it refers back to another similitude...It is therefore a knowledge that can, and must, proceed by the infinite accumulation of confirmations all dependent on one another. And for this reason, from its very foundation, this knowledge will be a thing of sand (1970:30).

The late Renaissance *Wunderkammer* or cabinet of curiosity attempted to provide an encyclopedic view of the world. The world was divided into the natural and artificial curiosities. Objects were grouped according to their similarities and demonstrated the antiquated hierarchies of the world and the resemblance that drew the things of the world together. This appealed to the Church because the collections provided a symbolic representation of the original revelation of the world and it also appealed to the ruling families, as will be demonstrated below - the Medici family in Florence a symbol of individual power, qualities and worth (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:78,36).

The Medici Palace

The Medici Palace in Florence is known as the first museum in Europe. The

building of the Medici Palace and the display of the family collection occurred because of the accumulation of wealth through banking, trading and other business activities that made them very powerful. They merged two different practices of collecting: the earlier practice of medieval princes hoarding treasures, and the practice of collecting classical objects such as sculptures, manuscripts, coins etc. which emerged as scholars' interest turned to the philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome. There was also a shift in the practice of patronage, from a religious purpose of glorifying God to one of glorifying man. The Medici family, subsequently, acquired a need to demonstrate their dominant status. It was both a major political decision and a new form of power. They henceforth considered themselves to have more worth than the former aristocracy and this justified their illegal rule (Hooper-Greenhill 1992:47,48). In 1584 the Medici collection was transferred to the Uffizi Gallery so that the Medici dynasty and fame would become immortalized (Bennett 1995:27).

During the Renaissance, collections were already well established in the political, social and ideology of society. (Shelton 1995:6). Along with economic independence of the period came an emphasis on the contemporary active life rather than on the reflective and spiritual. The past and the present were regarded as different time factors in contrast to the Middle Ages where the past was expressed in terms of the present. A new form of thought was also emerging whereby scholars were no longer willing to accept the teachings of the medieval schoolmen and were eager to read first-hand the original works of Plato and Aristotle; the ancient producing a new philosophy for a new society. This temporal change of living in the present also expressed itself in the arts in the form of painting, sculpture, poetry and music. A new way of seeing things or a "new gaze was constructed". Statues, for example, were no longer considered "bearer[s] of pagan curses" but were closely studied (Hooper-Greenhill:30-32).

This new shift also caused considerable political, economical and cultural changes during this short time period (1450-1500) and led to "constant oscillation of meaning and practices within the Medici Palace" as well. This abrupt break with former practices and the new focus on the interrelation between spaces, objects and subjects embodied by the Medici Palace made it a model for the future (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 47,48).

When the Medici dynasty came to an end, many of the objects of the Palace were sold and a new type of collecting emerged. Newly rich people preferred to buy ready-made items rather than commission them; establishing artifacts as commodities. Artists began to produce to sell in market places and collections of works of arts became possible (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 76,77).

In conclusion, truth or knowledge with reference to the Medici Palace, according to Hooper-Greenhill, was only one that legitimately placed the prince at the head of a hierarchy "because the visible splendour of his material existence marked a relation of exteriority," it vanished when the Medici family was thrown out of Florence. (1992:192)

The *Wunderkammer* or the Cabinet of Curiosity

Before giving a brief overview on the cabinet of curiosity, Krzysztof Pomian, from his study on the culture of curiosity, gives the following definition of the word curiosity which explains why they (the cabinets of curiosity) were given that name:

> La curiosité est donc un désir, une passion; un désir de voir, d'apprendre ou de posséder des choses rares, nouvelles, secrètes ou singulières, c'est-à-dire telles qu'elles entretiennent un rapport privilégié avec le tout et, partant, permettent de l'atteindre. Elle est, en un mot, désir de totalité..... (1987:74).

Pomian also saw the principles of curiosity exemplified in the cabinet of curiosity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as having a unique epistemic structure; an existence that occurred between the restrictions of theology and the emergence of scientific rationality:

> ....[L]es *Kunst und Wunderkammern* en général, renvoie donc à un univers peuplé de choses insolites et d'êtres étranges, où tout peut arriver et où, partant, toute question a le droit d'être posée. À un univers, autrement dit, auquel correspond une curiosité depuis longtemps peu ou pas contenue par la théologie et pas encore contenue par la science, qui, l'une et l'autre, éliminent certaines questions en tant que blasphématoires ou impertinentes, soumettant ainsi la curiosité à une discipline, lui imposant des limites à ne pas franchir. Sans entraves pendant cette période d'interrègne, la curiosité se dirige spontanément vers ce qui est le plus rare, le plus difficilement accessible, le plus étonnant, le plus énigmatique. (Pomian, 1987:95)

These principles of curiosity slowly began to disappear in the eighteenth century and Pomian argues that this was initially due to the changes happening in the natural history display. Originally, natural history displays were based on the exotic and the exceptional but the emphasis shifted to the normal, the commonplace and the easily accessible. (Bennett, 1995:41)

The cabinet of curiosity is recognised as being the foundation of museums and preceded the anthropological perception of collections. They were gradually changed into organised museums. The collections of the cabinet of curiosity were objects or images that were arranged so that they represented a picture of the world. "These cabinets were unsystematic and idiosyncratic in composition, and were filled to overflowing" (Ames:1992, 50). They saw material objects of Indigenous People as something exotic, "objects of wonder and delight" and classified them with the flora and the fauna. These cabinets were important components of royal and noble households (Ames:1992, 50).

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For the first European collectors, objects from North American Indians were of considerable interest; a sense of human ingenuity. These objects also ended in the same *Wunderkammer* as other objects (Feest, 1994:10).

Cabinets of curiosity were obviously considered rational at the time. But museum historians began to see and describe them as being irrational and confusing - a disordered mixture of unrelated objects. The collections have since been correctly identified but the rationality behind these collections has not been understood and the forms of knowledge shaped by these cabinets have never been recognised. The evidence that would legitimised the cabinets as rational structure of knowledge has been lost (Hooper-Greenhill 1992:79,85). In agreement with Foucault's philosophy, Hooper-Greenhill concludes that:

> [During the Renaissance] [t]he 'cabinet of the world' was a form of language, with a complex relationship to the other languages of the world. The encyclopaedic project that Foucault identifies in the last few years of the sixteenth century tried to spatialize material knowledge according to cosmological structures, to reconstitute the order of the universe by the way in which words and texts were linked together and arranged in space. (Foucault, 1970:38) In a similar way, the 'cabinet of the world' ordered its material images and similitudes to reveal the order of the world. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:90)

The Medici Palace and the cabinet of curiosity had very specific and different features but both used the mnemonic technique of memory (a technique used to assist in the memorizing of texts). Using such a technique was problematic. Where the Medici Palace was concerned, the interpretation of documents, left entirely in the hands of the interpreter, varied according to the specific interest of the interpreter. The Medici Palace was also a single episode with a narrow focus "the emergence of collecting practices of one family and one site" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:86). Hooper-Greenhill adds that the cabinet of curiosity selected only the most popular and the most apparent objects and the rest were not to be seen. However, the cabinet of curiosity had a "broader field of vision and extended

into a much larger field of localization, both geographically and in terms of volume"
(1992:85).

Hooper-Greenhill chose the Medici Palace and the cabinet of curiosity as her two case studies not only because the former was known as the first museum of Europe and the latter as the "direct ancestor of the present day museum" (1992:85) but also because:

[t]he first case-study showed how new subject positions came about, one of which was that of the subjected gazer, where to see meant to adopt a particular subject position within a network of powers. The second case-study elaborates on the manipulation of the gaze, either in relation to the position of the viewing subject, or in relation to the question of who is granted access to see what. The relationship between seeing and knowing becomes stronger and more complex as seeing emerges as the strongest and the most judgmental sense. (Lowe, 1982:6 in Hooper-Greenhill 1992:86).

THE CLASSICAL EPISTEME

Foucault's classical *episteme* following the Renaissance demonstrates an enormous reorganization of culture due to the ending of the relationship between language and the world. Words and things would become separated:

Language ceased to be the material writing of things and became simply the way of organizing the representation of signs...Thus, in the sixteenth century, one asked how was it possible to know that a sign did designate what it signified; but from the seventeenth century one asked how was a sign linked to what it signified (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:134).

The classification of things emerged as the basic structure of knowledge and the classical age rejected the complexity of similitude of the Renaissance *episteme*. Theory and nature would become two separate entities through objective analysis. Subjective experience through similitude, an important function of empirical knowledge, was now

seen as confusing and uncontrollable. Things were no longer being drawn together but instead were separated and compared. "In the classical age, new priorities emerged for the constitutions of series. Coins and sculptures, for example would be separated" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:142). Collecting became primarily the work of scientific naturalists. Objects were valued because it demonstrated the array in systematic categories: food, clothing, building materials, agricultural tools, weapons etc (Clifford, 1988:227).

The transition from the Renaissance *episteme* to the classical *episteme* occurred when comparison replaced the function of resemblance and was used to determine identity and difference through measurement and order. "Experience must be analyzed in terms of order, identity, difference; and measurement" (Foucault 1970:52). "Knowledge ...now had the possibility of finite boundaries" (Hooper-Greenhill 1992:134). Foucault claims that analysis became a universal method (1970:57):

> [t]o know was therefore to discriminate and, as a consequence of this, history and science become separate: history was to consist of the perusal of written works and opinions; science would be constituted by the confident judgments that could be established through measurement and experiment (Hooper-Greenhill 1992:134).

Although botanical gardens and zoological collections appear to be something new during the classical age, they were nonetheless very present during the Renaissance but what had changed in the classical age was the space and arrangements of these things. A visit to a museum is now becoming two-dimensional; the curators controlled displays with the visitor as a passive observer.

> [w]hat was new in the classical age was the form of arrangement and the ordering of material. During the Renaissance, collections, both indoors and out, had been articulated to present a circular, harmonious representation of the world...[This was] replaced by a tabulated, documented, limited canon of order. The dynamic potential of relationships between things and of new ways of interpreting things would vanish in the

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two-dimensional epistemological space of the 'museum' along with the words that had formerly contextualised material things (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 139).

Foucault adds "a new way of seeing and saying came into being. A new way of making history" (1970:131). This form of knowledge proved impossible in the sense that one could not establish a relationship of all universal things to each other on the basis of visible differences nor was it possible to have a language where each word had its corresponding word in a material object and Hooper-Greenhill adds that "[t]his, to us today, living at the end of Foucault's modern age, seems a ridiculous thing to try to do. We no longer understand language as representing *things*. We 'know' that words represent *thoughts*. Language relates to the activity of mind rather that the materiality of nature" (1992:16).

The Repository of the Royal Society

To associate Foucault's classical *episteme* with museums, Hooper-Greenhill uses as case-study, the Repository of the Royal Society. The Repository came into existence at a time when values and practices in England were in a state of turmoil due to the unsettling effects of the Civil War. The timing was appropriate for the emergence of a new epistemological reorganization. "This reform of knowledge was seen as an instrument to create a new 'truth'" (1992:145) and was intended by and demonstrated in the Repository of the Royal Society. Collections went from private to public, a shift to permanence. "A new rational language was to be created that would enable the new rational ordering of things". A universal language used by all strata of society (merchants, scientists, divines) would be used for the classification of "ideas and natural phenomenon" with the aim of attaining real knowledge (1992:145).

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This attempt failed for many reasons especially the impossible aim that the Repository had of cataloguing the whole of nature. However, this failure in the classification of knowledge is an important example of Foucault's effective history on the history of error. Dismissing what has failed through the years to the present time may well be, according to Hooper-Greenhill, "the dismissal of that which demonstrates the difference of the past from the present" (1992:165). She also adds that the limitations of the classificatory table of knowledge is a critical factor in the work of the present day museum. Firstly, much curatorial work is focused "'on completing collections' and 'filling the gaps' as though a complete tabulation of knowledge is possible" (1992:165). Secondly, this places the curator in a powerful position, that "of enshrining the specialist, academic knowledge of the 'curator' as 'truth'" (1992:166).

THE MODERN *EPISTEME*

The basic composition of knowledge of the modern *episteme*, according to Foucault, is totality and experience: "The link between one organic structure and another is no longer the identity of several parts, but the identity of the relationship between the parts, and of the functions, which they perform. In this questioning of the relationships of parts, philosophy was born" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:17).

According to Hooper-Greenhill, the mutation from the classical to the modern takes place because "now knowledge is structured through a three-dimensional, holistic experience which is defined through its relationship to people." (1992:214) People, their histories, their lives, and their relationships are now the important factors. (1992:198)

The modern *episteme* came into being by the emergence of the human sciences. Although the modern age emerges at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the human sciences did not all develop during this time period. The appearance of the various human

sciences at different times also had serious impacts on museums due to their unusual position among other sciences:

> [t]he existence of the human sciences is tenuous and perilous, positioned as they are between, and borrowing from the deductive sciences [such as math and physical sciences,] the empirical sciences [language, life and economics,] and philosophical reflection. Nonetheless, the human sciences have succeeded in establishing themselves as the most characteristic mode of knowing in the modern age (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:198).

What prompted the emergence of the modern *episteme* is the political ideology of the French Revolution marking an end to inequality and introducing the concept of free citizen. Consequently, it established the conditions relevant to a new rationality out of which the public museum emerged with a new programme, which Hooper-Greenhill describes as:

> ....[a] set of calculated, reasoned prescriptions in terms of which institutions are meant to be reorganised, spaces arranged, behaviours regulated (Foucault, 1981a:3-14). The programme grounds and enables the rationality on which 'regime of truth' are contingently constructed (Foucault, 1977b:14). The ruptures of revolution created the conditions of emergence for a new truth, a new rationality, out of which came a new functionality for a new institution, namely the public museum (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:171).

The Disciplinary Museum

The disciplinary museum is Hooper-Greenhill's case-study in association with Foucault's modern *episteme*. The Louvre, for example, "was converted from a Palace to a museum...[It] was not solely for aesthetic pleasure, but for the inculcation of political and social virtue" (Weil, 2000:10). There had been plans to further the development of the royal collection as a private collection. However these plans to make private collections into a museum, with limited access to the public, were brought to an abrupt end by "the ruptures and discontinuities of the revolution" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:173). Foucault

identifies another discontinuity in the 'theory' of government as well which will also have an impact on museums. The government is no longer modeled after the family and its economy. The government's priority is now the population and with it the control of health, wealth and education (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:168).

Hooper-Greenhill maintains that collections and exhibition of objects, which have been in existence for a long time have a long history. They continue to exist although "the identities and uses of these accumulations have been subject to abrupt changes." (1992:172). After the revolution, collections were no longer personal nor were they found only in palaces of the aristocracy and in the homes of scholars. Collections became public and placed in spaces opened to the mass population. Museums were developed across Europe to house collections, which had at one time belonged exclusively to the aristocracy and the Church. The redistribution of collections eventually took place on an international basis as well. Museums were created and their collections were "rearranged in other contexts as statements that proclaimed at once the tyranny of the old and the democracy of the new" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:171). In addition to confiscated works from the whole of France, according to Hooper-Greenhill, new technologies emerged for the removal of works from conquered countries and legalized by inclusion in the various peace treaties (1992:178). "The artistic conquest was organised as systematically as the military" (Hooper-Greenhill 1992:176).

With these new acquisitions, the volume of work increased and the need for a permanent personnel became a necessity in museums. New concepts emerged such as storage, reserve collections and temporary exhibitions. Museums divided space into exhibition and storage spaces and the conservation of the collections became a specialized expertise. Temporary exhibitions were mounted not only to celebrate special events and expose newly acquired pieces but also to demonstrate military success: "These new

'curatorial' practices were contingently related to political, military, and social moments"
(Hooper-Greenhill 1992:180).

Museums were not only the 'elite temple of the arts' but were also transformed by the Revolution into an educational instrument for its citizens aiming at serving the collective good of the state rather than the individual knowledge. Museums then formed part of the state education system. Curators and lecturers were required to take care of the collections and to educate the mass. Museums also acquired a third function; they became an instrument of the disciplinary society. No longer restricted to the educated upper-class people, museums needed large-scale supervision (uniformed guards) to regulate behaviours in the exhibition area and protect the collections (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:178-182). "The 'museum', placed within the sovereignty-discipline-government triangle (Foucault, 1979:19) became one among many apparatuses of security and surveillance" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:183).

Tony Bennett agrees that museums are instruments of discipline but adds that this is only one aspect of the "museum's organization of the relationships between space and vision" (1995:101). Furthermore, according to Bennett, Foucault's concept of hegemony, a form of social cohesion achieved by the different ways of controlling behaviour, is also promoted by museums.

> The museum, viewed as a technology of behaviour management, served to organize new types of social cohesion...[by] both differentiating and aligning populations it brought into being...If...the prison served the purpose of depoliticizing crime by detaching a manageable criminal sub-class from the rest of the population,[8] the museum provided its complement in instilling new codes of public behaviour which drove a wedge between the respectable and the rowdy (Bennett, 1995:101-102).

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[8] from Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison*

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From the two-dimensional museum experience of the classical period which consisted of passive visitors viewing finished displays, the museum visit in the modern *episteme* evolves into a three-dimensional experience where the visitor becomes a participant and meaning is attributed to objects in contrast to previous grouping of objects by 'theme, material, or size' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:186).

This third dimension of knowledge suggested by Foucault also introduced philosophical questioning, and analysis of relationships. This cultural shift can also be seen in museums. Hooper-Greenhill gives the following example:

> [p]aintings are hung together such that the functional relation between them constitutes identities – a 'history of art' was created. [Paintings are hung by schools]..... 'Schools' in this case meant by country, and specifically by country conquered through war.....The relationships of the paintings depend on the country of origin of the artist rather than the physical appearance of the work itself (1992:186,188).

Another change that occurred in the art world is that several paintings of one artist could be hung to show the progress of the artist. "Successive identities and differences began to replace the visual identities and differences of the classical age" (Hooper-Greenhill:1992: 188).

Where First Nations were concerned, this shift in the way of collecting became fanatic. Collectors grasped everything that was authentic or rare and this definitely changed the "relationship between First Nations and their own material culture...The irony of the drive for authenticity (the constant search for the 'genuine') is that it kept many, if not all, the ethnological collectors of this period from grasping the extent to which their activities on the Coast [BC] were changing the nature of the objects they collected" (Dominguez in

McLoughlin, 1994:95). In Canada, the government began the process of assimilation of First Nations by forbidding religious ceremonies and taking their property away.

> Native Canadians were coerced into selling their property, totem poles were removed, potlatches were outlawed, and the national patrimony of First Nations became dispersed around the world (to be brought home by a museum in 1988). This rhetoric of salvage, the ability to determine what "deserves to be kept, remembered and treasured"(Clifford, 1988a, p.321) is the product of an ideology of conquest (McLoughlin, 1994 :23).

Exotic artifacts and cultures also acquire a new role and are no longer presented just as a curiosity. They are used to demonstrate the 'superiority' of Western cultures - the rise of imperialism:

> [b]y the end of the [nineteenth] century evolutionism had come to dominate arrangements of exotic artifacts. Whether objects were presented as antiquities, arranged geographically or by society...a story of human development was told. The object had ceased to be primarily an exotic "curiosity" and was now a source of information entirely integrated in the universe of Western Man (Dias 1985: 378-379). The value of exotic objects was their ability to testify to the concrete reality of an earlier stage of human Culture, a common past confirming Europe's triumphant present (Clifford,1988:227-228).

In conclusion, Foucault's three *epistemes*, lead us through the evolutionary process of knowledge during the Renaissance, the classical and the modern ages along with the basic compositions of each period. The transition from one period to the next is always prompted by an event that created a rupture with a former way of thinking. He also believed that the modern *episteme* which began at the end of the eighteenth century would not go much further than our present time.

TOWARDS A NEW AGE

We have now entered a new age where society is again going through major transformations. Theoretical knowledge is now the focus of this new age that is, scientific and technological research as well as an ever growing information and communication system. With the decline of industrialism, the focus is on economic growth based on the diffusion of knowledge through technology.

In this section, we will first look at the upheavals and transformations that are taking place in our present society and in the next chapter, we will examine the impacts it is having on First Nations and museums.

Ethnicity and Nationalism

The modern age with its individualistic approach of free citizen prompted by the French Revolution created a society where social cohesion has become practically non-existent. Women and men pattern their own way of life and their destiny is no longer decided at birth. Modernity has lead to individualistic and practically normless societies. "It presents individualism only in its most negative light"(Durkheim, 1973:55). Durkheim identified this state as one of anomy:

> [a]t the very moment when traditional rules have lost their authority, the richer prize offered these appetites stimulates them and makes them more exigent and impatient of control. The state de-regulation or anomy is thus further heightened by passions being less disciplined, precisely when they need more disciplining" (Durkheim, 1951:253).

Catherine Wihtol de Wenden says the term citizen has also acquired a new meaning. Nationality is often designated as citizenship but there are cases where one can be a citizen without being national and vice versa. At the time of the French Revolution, anyone who

had been loyal to the Revolution, and that included foreigners, could become a French citizen. She adds that presently "sous la pression de facteurs transnationaux comme l'immigration, la régionalisation ou la mondialisation, la citoyenneté nationale doit céder le terrain à des citoyennetés plus vastes ou plus restreintes" (1995:49). Today the conditions required to have access to a citizenship are often illustrated on how each country perceives a nation. (1995, 49). And nation-states are emerging in increasing numbers. According to Leslie Laczko, the number of states has gone from 45 to nearly 200 since the mid-century and it continues to grow:

> [f]rom a world-system perspective, it reveals the net result of centuries of state and nation-building in core areas, and the relative recency of such activities in third world areas. The force of modernization, mass schooling, mass communications, and state-sponsored cultural homogenization have all combined to reduce the volume of ethnic and linguistic pluralism within core states...throughout human history, polyethnicity has been the normal state of affairs, and...the (homogeneous) national-state has been an aberrant and temporary exceptional development concentrated in the world's core regions over the past two centuries (1999:3).

These new nation-states, some of which emerge peacefully and others with violence and chaos, as we have seen in Eastern Europe, are also creating repercussions that are felt world-wide.

> La fin du XXe siècle est marquée par le retour de la nation et des nationalismes. Avec force et souvent violent à l'Est et au Sud, en douceur à l'Ouest, c'est l'ingrédient majeur de l'après-guerre froid. Car la chute du communisme et du dernier empire colonial qu'incarnait l'Union soviétique ouvre non seulement la possibilité de retrouvailles européennes dans la démocratie, mais aussi celle d'une revanche des nationalismes (Rupnik, 1995:9).

The consequence of these new developments is that some contradictions are appearing on the world scene. An example given by Jacques Rupnik on the situation in Europe: "D'un côte, l'Europe, la nôtre, celle qui marche confiante vers l'avenir radieux et

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supranational de Maastricht; de l'autre les "tribus" barbares de l'Est régressant vers les idéologies et les comportements d'un âge que l'on croyait révolu" (1995:20).

Another important factor that is contributing to these multi-ethnic states is technology in the field of transportation and communications which has facilitated travelling to other countries and eliminated distance and geographical boundaries. The massive cross-national migrations of human populations produced a new cultural uniformity 'a global village' at the international level. However, ethnic differentiation within and among the new nations are increasing. At this level, however, exposure to new cultures, new ideas and values have led to 'discontinuities' and 'ruptures' to the traditional cultures with new ones being created. (Kallen, 1982: 58,59). A new 'truth' of multiculturalism is therefore emerging in these ethnically-diverse nations.

Ethnicity and Multiculturalism

All cultures that are capable of adapting to an ever-changing environment survive and re-invent themselves. It is in the process of re-inventing and adapting to changing circumstances that conflicts arise. Canada has been officially a multicultural nation for over twenty years and has never been an ethnically homogeneous country. Nevertheless, cultural turmoil does exist here as well as in other nations with a growing culturally diverse population. "The issue is...how to account for diversity of ethnic *identity* within the formulation of national culture" (MacDonald and Alsford, 1995:18). Ethnic groups can no longer be defined as they once were.

...The old notion of ethnicity, variously defined, equated race, culture, geography, and human identity. Ethnic groups were conceived as "natural" populations – born, living, and dying in a known geographical range.... [Ethnicity as] employed by anthropologists and later sociologists (Isajiw 1970)...was conceived as an attribute of an organized and cohesive ethnic group... (Kallen, 1982:58).

The multi-ethnic state, according to Kallen, has become the global norm and the concept of a 'new' ethnicity is shifting and is reflecting the radical changes occurring in the world presently: political boundaries due to wars and treaties between states are changing the geographic landscape; demands for self determination based on aboriginal rights - Nunavut and the Nisga'a Land Agreement; and new ethnic groups among political refugees – Palestinians in Jordan, Vietnamese boat people in Canada, Cubans in Florida etc (1982: 60, 59).

Ethnic and minority groups in Canada, for example, are now demanding recognition and respect for their homeland traditions. Human rights movements, Black, Feminist, Ethnic, Gay, Physically Challenged People, Indigenous People etc., are emerging to protect their groups.

Human Rights

The adoption and proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[9] on December 10, 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations created many changes in societies globally. Women's rights have had impacts not only on the family, education, job equity etc. but they also played a critical role in aboriginal women regaining their status and rights. According to the Indian Act, aboriginal women as well as their children married to non-aboriginal men lost their status and their rights including their right to live on their reserves. Women's movements brought this to the attention of the United Nations and they were instrumental in the amendment of this law.[10] The United Nations have a global

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[9] Attached as Appendix # 1 is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Ojibway

[10] "It was through a complaint to the UN Human Rights Committee that Sandra Lovelace finally won recognition that s.12(1)(b) of the Indian Act violated her human rights. Under the Optional Protocol to the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights(ICCPR)* Canadians can make complaints to the Human Rights Committee alleging that a civil or political right guaranteed under that Covenant has been breached by Canada, if they exhaust their remedies in Canada first" (http://www3.sympatico.ca/criaw/beijing/proto.htm)

commitment and an International Criminal Court. They have largely contributed to bringing other aboriginal issues to light and were an incentive for Aboriginal Peoples to fight for their rights.

> [p]erhaps more significantly, aboriginal politics in Quebec and the rest of Canada has been reshaped in recent decades, with the growth of a sophisticated aboriginal or "First Nations" leadership that has recast its historic claims using the language and logic of nationhood. The federal government's need to accommodate Quebec has provided aboriginal leaders across Canada with a window of opportunity to advance their own parallel claims at the same time (Laczko, 1999:5).

The role of the United Nations is also changing. We see the changes happening in countries all over the world – the Persian Gulf War, Serbia and Croatia and in many African countries. "The defence of human rights is moving from a paradigm of pressure based on international human rights law to one of law enforcement" (Human Rights Watch World 2000, 1999:2).

Susan Olzak in her study "Ethnic Protest in Core and Periphery States" asserts that:

> [h]uman rights [are] a key motivation of modern social movements, including ethnic ones... [T]he diffusion of human rights organizations and associations has led to the expansion of group rights in states that declared independence since 1945. (Ramirez, Soysal and Shanahan 1997). The extension of human rights guarantees in constitutions of all newly independent states since 1960, reflects an emerging international culture" (1998:191).

As an emerging international culture, we are no longer only affected by what happens in our own countries or in our own regions, we feel the impacts globally. Many countries are forced into wars for reasons other than their country's own national defence. One example, as mentioned above, is the Persian Gulf War. In many instances a domino effect occurs; a problem may start in one country but will affect many others as was the case a few years ago with the Asian monetary crisis.

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Economic recessions, bank failures, or labour shortages now have repercussions in vastly different and formerly unconnected regions and states. Political turbulence, including ethnic social movements, can produce serious reactions across national borders within minutes or even seconds...[I]ntegration of the world political and economic system has encouraged local ethnic fragmentation and mobilization (Olzak, 1998:190,191).

There is no doubt that the world-wide disharmony has obliged society as a whole to change its way of thinking and created a new awareness – a 'politically correct' one. Negroes are now African Americans; Indians are Natives, First Nations, First Peoples, Aboriginals. (It appears to be difficult to find the 'politically correct' expression.) To complicate matters further, many First Nations have returned to their pre-colonial names. In another very relevant context, one is no longer referred to as cripple or blind; one is physically challenged.

Globalization and Technology

Globalization is no longer a concept but a reality and a process. It is certainly too soon to evaluate the full extent of its impact on society. Technology, on the other hand, is already entrenched in our lives and with it the belief that it will give us more leisure time: "Speed is regarded as a virtue in itself, yet there is no sign that the time saved is being spent on reflection or doing interesting and mind-broadening things such as visiting museums" (Hermansson, 1998:306). Nevertheless, those possessing the technology are benefiting from it while others have not even heard of it yet.

Donald Brenneis in his study "New Lexicon, Old Language" gives an example of how influential globalization is becoming even in the field of research. He was asked to develop a new funding initiative for the National Science Foundation that was called "The Global Perspectives on Sociolegal Studies". The term Sociolegal was used to replace Law

and Social Sciences. Many of the issues central to sociolegal studies could no longer be comprehended within the framework of one state's legal and social control.

> Such diverse "problems" as international labor migration, cross-border environmental crisis, multinational corporations, and human rights were seen as demanding that formerly assumed boundaries, both political and intellectual, be rethought... [L]egal and social control issues were now global issues...[C]haracterizing these issues as "global" defined both a new class of research issue and a newly legitimated topic for research funding (1999:124).

We entered the third millennium with mixed emotions and uncertain expectations but the big catastrophe predicted did not happen. We are now overcome with a sense of relief that our technological creations have remained intact. The rich world nations have become acutely aware that technology is now infiltrating every aspects of their lives out of which an uncontrolled information age has emerged.

> Umberto Eco, at a recent conference sponsored by the University of Ottawa, noted that philosophers since Plato have warned that new technologies would obliterate literacy as they knew it. This has not happened and won't, he said, but he did note that today the literate world is awash in information, and there is no Virgil to guide our Dante through the information Inferno of cyberspace (Thomson, 1998:293).

At the present time, it appears that technology is here to stay and with it a form of cultural or social hegemony is emerging: "Until and unless everyone has access to the receiving end of communication technologies and infrastructure, and can generate their own content for themselves, the voice of the haves will be heard and the have-nots will be mute" (Thomson, 1998:290)

For some Indigenous Peoples in Canada and the US and for the Saami people from Sampi (Lapland), to name just a few, globalization and technology have played a vital role in giving them a tool to communicate and share information:

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> Globalization...has thus been a force for cultural revitalization among those indigenous cultures which had previously been subdued by strong states bent on pushing homogenizing nationalistic ideologies. These groups have not only been able to act directly to reassert their traditional cultural practices, but have appropriated some of globalization's associated media technologies to network with other indigenous peoples and pursue common causes in international forums (Jones, 1998:291).

Without technology, the world might never have known that most Indigenous Peoples are surviving in extremely difficult conditions. The media has made us aware of the tragedies such as the one of Davis Inlet, Labrador. Communication among the Inuit made the new Nunavut territory become a reality sooner than had been projected.

> However, as communication with this area has become easier, Nunavut's harsh climate no longer separates it from the rest of the world. As Canadian prime minister Jean Chrétien noted, Nunavut now" is very much part of the wired world, with equal opportunities for growth and development. (http://www.harcourtschool. com/newsbreak/nunavut.html)

There are many examples where technology has been beneficial. However not all Indigenous Peoples have access to it and many choose to reject it (Cisler, 1998: 20, 21).

Global Corporations

I will not attempt, in this paper, to evaluate the negative or positive impacts of globalization and technology on our societies. However, it is becoming very clear that the large and powerful international corporations are now controlling the consumer society that they created as well as the state itself. Large corporations and banks are merging almost everyday to keep up with the competition on a global scale. With the use of technology, we are more aware of what is happening and some concerns about the direction that

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globalization is taking us are now being recognized. Steve Cisler quotes Jerry Mander from his essay "Technologies of Globalization" in *the Case Against the Global Economy*.

> Computers may help individuals feel powerful or competent, and surely they are useful in many ways. But they do nothing to alter the rapid global centralization of power that is now underway; quite the opposite. In fact, it is my opinion that computer technology may be the single most important instrument ever invented for the acceleration of centralized power...The new telecommunication technologies assist the corporate, centralized, industrialized enterprise ...far more efficiently than the decentralized, local, community-based interests...which suffer a net loss (1998:20).

In the previous chapter, we saw that the basic structure of knowledge in the modern *episteme* was totality and experience and it was shaped by the emergence of the human sciences. The human sciences established themselves in the modern age as the most characteristic mode of knowing (Hooper-Greenhill,1992:198). The interrelationships of the human sciences "constituted a totalizing order of things and of knowledge which is historicised through and through" (Bennett, 1990:43 in Hooper-Greenhill,1992:197).

Today the social sciences are also affected by the turbulent world we live in. Jacques Rupnik strongly criticizes the social sciences for not having anticipated the revival of nationalism as well as the collapse of communism:

> ... Robert Solow, prix Nobel d'économie (une discipline bien placée pour parler d'échec des prévisions), de s'interroger : « Pourquoi quelqu'un qui prévoit aussi mal aurait-il des opinions pertinentes sur d'autres sujets? » C'est donc avec modestie que doit être pris en compte l'apport des théoriciens du nationalisme (1995:19).

The Social Sciences

According to George E. Marcus, most disciplines that constitute the human sciences are today in a crisis and are going through a period of self-analysis. He acknowledges that

"social scientists, including anthropologists, have participated in a regime of power/knowledge" for some time now. Marcus uses Foucault's term power/knowledge to "designate practices that exercise power through the creation and management of knowledge." (1998:8). This power/knowledge is now seriously being questioned. The human sciences are now aware of the transformative changes taking place in society and the challenges facing them. With reference to anthropology, "it is precisely the unexpected contexts, shifting constituencies, and changing agendas that anthropologists find themselves encountering and that alter classic conditions of fieldwork." (1998:4) They are now looking into new areas to apply their knowledge but are nevertheless obligated to change their research practices. Ethnographers must now do their fieldwork in their own familiar surroundings.

> This is not the traditional, exotic strangeness of anthropological fieldwork, of being immersed in other worlds of difference that anthropology itself has prepared one for. It is rather the loss of this condition that provides the strangeness here, the strangeness of being immersed in writings, inquiries, and commitments that precede one, surround one, and to which one must define a relationship precisely in order to pursue one's ethnographic endeavors (Marcus, 1998:3).

This period of transition and upheaval in which we presently find ourselves, when compared to Pomian's principles of curiosity, mentioned in the previous chapter, could possibly be an independent epistemic structure between the modern and the post-modern. However, this remains to be seen as post-modernism is a debatable subject among many scholars.

At the end of each epistemic structure, Hooper-Greenhill presented a case study to show the link between museums and Foucault's *epistemes*. The Grand Hall and the First Peoples Hall are the two case studies for this research paper. The former illustrates the interpretation of traditional aboriginal cultures mainly through artifacts. And the latter, now

that First Nations have a voice, is co-curated by aboriginal and non-aboriginal employees and will illustrate, primarily, Aboriginal Peoples in a contemporary setting. The First Peoples Hall will open in 2001.[11]

The Grand Hall

Without question, the Grand Hall is one of the most impressive permanent exhibition at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The space, the design and the unique culture of the Northwest Coast Peoples of British Columbia is a welcoming feature of the museum.

The Grand Hall is composed of six houses: the Salish, the Nuu-chah-nulth, the Kwakwaka'wakw, the Nuxalk, the Haïda and the Tsimshian houses that represent six different linguistic groups with their original names. *Nuu-chah-nulth* has replaced Nootka and *Nuxalk* has replaced Bella Coola. The Grand Hall also includes totem poles and a reconstruction of an archaeological dig that took place in an ancient Tsimshian village. This exhibition gives us a view of the art, the architecture and the traditional way of life of the Northwest Coast Peoples as well as their mythology that is illustrated by the crests sculpted on the totem poles and in the paintings on the facade of the houses. The masks, the dances, the songs and the traditional costumes all play a significant role in representing these cultures (Ruddell, 1995: vii-x).

Preparation for the exhibition began in 1984. The houses were built with the original material, cedar, by young Northwest Coast artisans. Despite the reluctance to hire the

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[11] Attached as Appendix #2 is the design plan of the exhibition (*The First Peoples Design Concept Report*)

artisans by the museum building construction managers, Bill McLennan, who was the construction manager for the houses at that time, had this to say on the project:

> The museum building construction managers felt that it [construction of houses] should be done by exhibit companies in Toronto or Montreal, because the "Indians" could never do it on time. I'm pleased to say that construction of the six complete buildings, not just false-fronts, was done by First Nations people, working in their own part of Canada and may have been the only project [of the first exhibitions at the new CMC] to come in on time and within budget. The transformation was an interesting one (1997:31-32).

The plan to reconstruct this assemblage of houses was a project that came together under very difficult circumstances with the original plan being changed many times. It went from just 'false-fronts' to two complete houses, the Kwakwaka`wakw house and the Coast Salish House. The CMC curators in charge had extensive consultations with Gloria Webster from the Kwakwaka`wakw Nation who was involved every step of the way as this was a reproduction of her grandfather's house. Consultation also took place with the Coast Salish Nation and the theme of the Coast Salish house was decided by the entire community. It then went from two houses to ten houses and eventually to six because space was becoming an issue. McLennan adds that many of these houses had not been built for generations. He was grateful that the curators in charge of the project insisted that the people from each culture be involved in the building of the houses.

> Each house set up its own precedents with their elders; sometimes members of the crew were elders themselves; most gave advice to the young men who often didn't even know the questions to ask, and so together they started from scratch and developed the process; in some cases, the curator/project manager knew what house in general the CMC wanted to portray, but not specifically which one, and the elders selected the house, the specific representations (1997:43).

CMC does not tell the story of the First Peoples' involvement in the building of the houses. McLennan feels that this is unfortunate as a video is available at the museum. "The

involvement, the competition, and co-operation among the groups is intriguing, and the public would find it interesting" (1997:43) McLennan also noted the following:

> The construction was an interesting process, and there were always groups of peoples in blue or white hard hats walking through, watching. When the Nuu-chah-nulth were finished putting up their house frame, they did the proper songs and spoke the proper words to give the house life. It was, in a sense, a mini-potlatch, with gifts distributed. So all the blue hats and white hats got paid twice for doing nothing that day (1997:34,35).

In 1984, the curators at CMC saw the necessity of such a collaboration but mostly as a way to enrich the presentation of the Northwest Coast cultures. Consultations with elders from these communities still take place today when changes are made or artifacts are added to the exhibition. Moreover, some of the research on the houses was done from ethnographic documents and archive photos dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century from ethnographers such as Harlan I. Smith, Edward Sapir, Franz Boas and Marius Barbeau.

As I see it, the Northwest Coast Peoples are pleased and proud of the Grand Hall. Despite the distance, they do perform here occasionally. There is definitely a good collaboration between themselves and the Ethnology Division staff, especially since the ethnologists are playing an important role in their land claims and repatriation of artifacts. This will be discussed in the following chapter. However, not all Pacific Northwest Coast nations are represented in the Grand Hall mainly because of lack of space and artifacts: "...[E]ach of the six houses in the Grand Hall represents many different groups of people who, although neighbours to one another in a large territory, are independent, have different names and, in some cases, speak different languages" (Laforet,1992:9).

Consultations and involvement of Northwest Coast Peoples did take not take place for all of the six houses. The Grand Hall became a traditional exhibition with aboriginal

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artifacts from the museum collections. The aboriginal groups that were consulted wanted it no other way.

As mentioned before, it is not possible to represent all the aboriginal nations of the entire West Coast in the Grand Hall but some nations feel ignored. A couple of years ago the Nisga'a Nation requested that they also be represented in the Tsimshian House and that the name of the house be changed to the North Coast House to represent both nations. At the opening of the Nisga'a exhibit, the former executive director acknowledged the North Coast House but the name has not been officially changed yet. A Nisga'a totem pole stands in front of the Tsimshian House. It now remains to be seen how many more nations will request representation.

It is difficult to see, as mentioned in the *Grand Hall Guide*, where the 'contemporary evolution of cultures' is displayed with the exception of various video monitors in each house showing that these cultures are still alive today. For example, the Haïda and the Coast Salish people are still expert weavers and are continuing this tradition. I was told that the use of technology was one way to display these cultures in a contemporary context as well as personal demonstration and interpretation. The artifacts from the collection date from approximately 1880 to 1960 and other measures had to be used to display contemporary times: museums were not interested in First Nations contemporary objects.

> Objects are acquired because they are good examples of "Northwest Coast baskets".....The classification precedes the action of collection, actually structuring it and determining what can and cannot be considered. A good example of how this determines what we may find in a museum is the reluctance, and in many cases outright refusal, of many museum curators and directors to collect the contemporary material culture of First Nations...such as skidoo clothing or even pow-wow costumes are not collected because they cannot fit into the classification systems as known (McLouglin 1994:36, 37).

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As far as the Grand Hall is concerned, in my opinion, the traditional past eclipses the contemporary life of Northwest Coast Peoples today. I realize that this is what the visitors want to see and that the past is what curators are more comfortable with but it only gives half an image of who the Northwest Coast Peoples are. To use McLoughlin words, "The exhibition definitely overrides the contemporary expressions of First Nation tradition and culture" (1994:5).

A few years ago, attempts were made to have cultural interpreters from the West Coast in the Grand Hall. There was a West Coast youth group that did interpretation during the summer that the museum opened. Unfortunately, this project was discontinued due to lack of funding. Also one Tsimshian sculptor and a Haïda weaver demonstrated their art work in the summer of 1997. The main issue regarding aboriginal cultural interpretation is that CMC employees working with the public must speak the two official languages. It is difficult to find French speaking Nisga'a, Tsimshian, Haïda etc. For the time being, the Northwest Coast cultures are interpreted mostly by non aboriginal guides. After eleven years, the Grand Hall has neither a native Northwest Coast presence nor a voice.

Another unusual factor is the display of the totem poles[12] in the Hall. We are told that totem poles (in that time period) were erected in front of the houses facing the sea. If the Hall is an authentic representation of a West Coast village, some totem poles then are actually in the 'sea'. The curator I spoke to agreed that not all the poles were in an appropriate space. I did not pursue the subject further as I felt that this was a very sensitive issue. Upper management had made the decision that displaying these totem poles was more important than placing them in their proper context. The curator eventually withdrew

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[12]Gordon Filewych, architect and one of the speakers at an Exhibit Design Forum held at the Glenbow museum in 1997 had this to say about totem poles "Seeing the poles in their natural habitat, as they had been intended to age – naturally, gave me a whole different feeling for how they should be used in museums. I began to realize some of the difficulties of being true to a culture, as well as being true to the artifacts you are exhibiting" (1997:29)

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from the project. There were many more contradictions in the planning of the Grand Hall but the above demonstrates that the transition to a 'people oriented museum' was taking place and impressing the visitor was slowly taking precedence over education.

The Grand Hall is used not only as an exhibition space but also for entertainment on a regular basis. The boycotting of *The Spirit Sings* in 1988 did not have an impact on the Grand Hall but it had an impact on the First Peoples Hall. The original plan was thrown out and replaced by a new one. Extensive consultations took place with aboriginal communities representing many nations from across Canada. They participated in the planning of the Hall every step of the way. These extensive consultations were not in the original plan and this explains the lengthy delay of the opening of the Hall. It is now due to open in 2001.

The First Peoples Hall

We have lived here for thousands of years.

Our stories remind us of who we are and where we come from.

Our memories are strong.

These are what we believe.

What makes us aboriginal? Why is land so important to who we are?

Come hear our stories in the First Peoples Hall:

some are filled with pride, others with pain, still others with hope.

Discover our heroes, our accomplishments and our aspirations.

And see why we continue to be an important part of Canadian society.

(cited in the Design Concept Report of the First Peoples Hall).

The exhibition team of the First Peoples Hall is a group of people of diverse background, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal, working towards a common goal. In order

to capture the cultural dynamics and diversity of the First Peoples Hall, I quote in its entirety the Design Mission and the 13 General Principles as I have been told that these principles are 'cast in stone' as far as the team is concerned.

Design Mission

With a clear vision and voice, the permanent exhibition of the First Peoples Hall celebrates the aboriginal peoples of Canada from their ancient history to their contemporary contributions.

The design challenge is to express this vision and voice holistically – accenting aboriginal diversity, while reflecting the universality of the First Peoples' relationship to the land; confronting stereotypes, while enhancing the understanding of aboriginal people and their cultures by Canadian and international visitors of all ages.

Various presentation media will be utilized to create a compelling sequence of moods and experiences that conveys the breadth of aboriginal life. To be relevant for years to come, the design philosophy for this "permanent" exhibition embraces natural elegance, durability and flexibility.

Sound – stories and songs and music – will be an important element for drawing visitors into an aboriginal world. Other communication technologies – projections, videos, internet connections, computer learning – will be fully integrated, reflecting the importance of such technologies today for aboriginal communities and artists to share their messages with each other and the world at large.

Throughout, the design will incorporate the textures of the land and the creativity of contemporary aboriginal artists and their ancestors for generations before (copied from the Design Concept Report of the First Peoples Hall, 1998).

General Principles

1.All First Peoples of Canada will be represented in the Hall, including those following traditional and contemporary paths, and living in both rural and urban environments.

2.Recognizing the value of multiple forms of discourse, we affirm that the knowledge and perspectives of Aboriginal Peoples are vital to an understanding of issues in native history and will be a primary element in initiating and planning the form and content of exhibitions and programmes and the messages they represent.

3.The diversity of aboriginal languages, cultures, ways of life and views of the world will be affirmed and celebrated.

4.We recognize that the diversity of traditional and contemporary First Peoples is based on a profound capacity to adapt to natural, social, and political environments and to develop innovative ways to respond to changes in these environments.

5.We recognize that the interpretation of First Peoples history is growing and dynamic, and the design of the Hall and its exhibit spaces should provide for flexibility of interpretation through the decades to come.

6.The importance of aboriginal languages is recognized as the primary vehicle for transmitting and perpetuating First Peoples cultural traditions. Therefore, aboriginal languages will be used throughout the Hall in the interpretation of First Peoples cultures.

7.The Hall will present the history, culture, and current realities of Aboriginal Peoples in the voice(s) of Aboriginal Peoples.

8.The Hall will present to the public an opportunity to hear and understand the voice of the First Peoples, proclaiming that "We are still here, still contributing, and still playing our own distinctive part in the modern world, as we always have." In exhibits, care will be taken to explore the relationship between the present and the past.

9.The Hall will be directed at both aboriginal and non-aboriginal audiences. It will dispel stereotypes and reinforce the value of aboriginal cultures and traditions.

10. Artistic creativity in both traditional and contemporary expression is recognized as an important means of interpreting and communicating First Peoples cultures. Forms of artistic expression from all periods will be used as a means of presenting First Peoples cultures throughout the Hall.

11. The common experience of Native Peoples, including their singular relationship to federal, provincial and territorial governments of Canada, and to all Canadians, will be an important theme.

12. Portions of the Hall will be devoted to exhibits dealing with: contemporary life and traditions; recent history (the past 500 years), including the interactions of First Peoples with Europeans and with each other; the decimation of First Peoples population; aboriginal languages; ancient (pre-European) history; origin and

creation narratives of the First Peoples. In order to present this range of topics, the First Peoples Hall will comprise a mix temporary exhibit space, and space allotted to more enduring exhibits.

13. In developing the exhibits, we are working with ideas. While we recognize and treasure the skill, knowledge, and aesthetic quality represented in the objects in the collections, in exhibits the role of objects will be to illustrate ideas. The shape of the collection will not determine, or limit, the character of exhibits. (copied from an unpublished working document)

An interesting point concerning the future First Peoples Hall is that there are approximately 45,000 aboriginal artifacts in the CMC collection, the majority of which, as mentioned before, were manufactured or collected between 1880 and 1960. There are many issues of a social and political nature with the First Peoples Hall that are not necessarily represented in these collections, for example, residential school experiences and the genesis of the land claim process. Their thirteenth principle explains the team's approach:

> In developing the exhibits, we are working with ideas. While we recognize and treasure the skill, knowledge, and aesthetic quality represented in the objects in the collections, in exhibits the role of objects will be to illustrate ideas. The shape of the collection will not determine, or limit, the character of exhibits (copied from unpublished working document).

One artifact, however, a canoe paddle that was given to Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier by the Nisga'a at the end of the nineteenth or early twentieth century seems to be causing concern. The inscription on the paddle is actually the cause of the debate. Nobody knows why this artifact was not requested by the Nisga'a in their land claim agreement. The inscription reads:

> To the Right Honourable Sir Wilfred Laurier, GC, NG, PC., President of the Privy Council, Dominion of Canada. The Chiefs and people of the Nass [Nisga'a], old time, Bella Coola and Babine Indian Territories, unite with our white brethren to give you a glad welcome to this Northern Country. We look upon you as our Chieftain. We believe you and your colleagues in Council to have the power of government upon the justice

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and amity of which our destinies as a race must largely depend. We thank the Government for it's guardianship in the past and for the assurances of it's interest and protection as new conditions mark our advance toward higher civilization and honourable citizenship. We hereby pledge our zeal for industrial competency, obedience to the law and loyalty to the state (Image notes – object catalogue number VII-C-2030).

Permission from the Nisga'a People from the Nass Valley, BC must be obtained in order to display this object. Nobody understands why such an inscription was written on the paddle but in Chief Joseph Gosnell's speech, (*Appendix # 3*) their population had dwindled from 30,000 to 800 people in that time period. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was Prime Minister from 1896-1911. This short time period may have been a time of hope for the Nisga'a because, before and after this time period, according to Chief Gosnell, the Nisga'a experienced extreme difficulties with the government. It will be interesting to see whether this paddle will be displayed or not. I interpret this inscription as a desperate cry to save a nation and a culture.

The opening of the First Peoples Hall in 2001 is an attempt to demonstrate who we really are and what we have to contribute to society which is definitely more than souvenirs for the tourists. It remains to be seen whether the First Peoples Hall will be successful in convincing visitors that our cultures are still alive and worth knowing. According to Ames, visitors are still mainly interested in how old an object is. "...[v]isitors were inevitably disappointed to learn something isn't old and cannot trace a lineage back to before their own ancestors arrived here. It makes it almost impossible...to convince them that Native peoples and cultures "are still around". They [visitors] resist this kind of message" (McLoughlin in Ames, 1994: 251.)

To conclude, today, in contrast to the cabinet of curiosity of the Renaissance, only a small fraction of an 'authentic' collection is exhibited. It is the storage space in museums

that is now overflowing. During the classical age, authenticity was not important and replicas and copies were used to form complete series. The modern age made a distinction between the real and the copy and authenticity then became a crucial factor in exhibiting. In this new age reproduction of missing artifacts reappears and 'virtual' technology is an added feature. The impossible task of trying to complete an authentic collection of a culture is finally accepted and the curators lose their powerful unique positions.

And finally, in presenting a summary of both exhibitions, it is quite clear that aboriginal exhibitions will never be the same again. A 'rupture' with the colonial past is taking place within First Nations as well and it also involves all the aforementioned transformations that are taking place in society as a whole.

In the next chapter, we will look at the contemporary museum with its unpredictable future as a result of land claims and repatriation of artifacts, a legal condition included in the agreements First Nations are signing with the government of Canada. I would say that the ethnologists are the most informed ones on this new situation as they are representing the museum in the negotiation process. We will also examine the transformation occurring in museums caused by globalization, technology, multiculturalism, human rights and the crisis the social sciences are experiencing. Museums reflect the disruptive society we live in today.

> In a postmodern and culturally pluralistic society it is harder to perceive culture as a coherent whole. Instead, it is more like a jigsaw puzzle whose parts are rearranged into variant pictures, each suiting the eye of the particular beholder, and to which new parts are constantly being added as the composition of society alters. That culture is in constant process of re-creation ultimately defeats attempts to 'museumize' it (MacDonald & Alsford, 1995:15).

CHAPTER III – DISCONTINUITIES AND TRANSFORMATION

CULTURE OF MUSEUMS

> Foucault has analyzed the modern institutions of confinement – the asylum, the clinic and the prison – and their respective discursive formations – madness, illness and criminality. There is another such institution of confinement ripe for analysis in Foucault's terms – the museum ... (Crimp:1985:45)[13]

Because museums are one of the instruments used to shape new knowledge, they are very much influenced by what happens in society as a whole. They experience upheavals and have to adjust to major reorganizations. Consequently, museums have always had to modify the way they work mainly because their mission is so closely intertwined with the social, the economic, and the political aspect of a society.

In this moment in history, museums have been projected into a fast-pace 'revolution' that has not been accepted by everyone. For some, museums remain an interesting learning environment as well as an appropriate and crucial one. Others see it differently. Huges de Varine in *Vague, une anthologie de la nouvelle muséologie* maintains that museums will disappear with the age (pre-industrial), the world (European), and the social class (*bourgoisie cultivée*) that created them. With tourism taking over the institution as it is doing with everything else, he says that the community does not feel at ease in a museum that has appropriated the things which were the basis of its traditions. Consequently, these objects have lost their vitality and significance and retain only the appearance that must appeal to the foreign visitor – *pitoresque* and *exotique*. He maintains that museum professionals are not always conscious of what is happening. Often their

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[13] Crimp's essay *On the Museum's Ruins* is on Postmodernist art applying Foucault's concepts of discontinuity and rupture to the art work of Robert Rauschenberg. "If Rauschengerg's flatbed pictures are experienced as effecting such a rupture or discontinuity with the modernist past, as I believe they do...then perhaps we are indeed experiencing one of those transformations in the epistemological field that Foucault describes" (1985:45).

university studies have separated them from their own cultures.

Vivant en marge de la société, dans un ghetto physique et moral, privés des contacts humains et interdisciplinaires qui sont aisés dans d'autres institutions, victimes de la désaffection et de l'indifférence qui s'attache au musée en raison même de l'inutilité de celui-ci, ils ne peuvent généralement évoluer aussi vite que le monde où ils vivent, ni s'adapter aux besoins réels de la communauté qu'ils servent (1992 :52-53).

When powerful events, such as the French Revolution or the present impact of technology, force society to change its way of thinking, a new knowledge emerges and museums acquire a new role. This new role requires adjustments that cause 'ruptures' and eventually leads to a transformation of knowledge. Hooper-Greenhill in her book *The Educational Role of Museum* sees museums playing an important role in the post-modern world "if they are able to move successfully from their modernist roots, ...this is the area where museum educators can make a substantial contribution." She stresses the importance of the learning theory of constructivism whereby "knowledge is constructed by the learner in interaction with the social environment." (1999:68).

Nation Building and Museums

The transition period from one *epistemic* age to another is difficult and unpredictable as mentioned previously. Consequently, disciplines dealing with cultures are often seriously threatened. Some disciplines may eventually disappear and yet new ones are being created. One example is given in Martin Segger's article "The Dubrovnik Museology Program – Building for Global Understanding": "War and its social consequences give rise to a new academic field of study, victimology, which itself has become an industry" (1999:35) As a result, the challenges for museums become diverse, numerous and are now global.

The people who work in museums have collectively struggled over the proper definition and role of their institutions. Their struggle has been, in part, to differentiate museums from other near relatives – the other storehouses of collective memory. The resulting definitions have often centered on things – on objects and their permissible uses. I believe the debate has missed the essential meaning (the soul, if you will) of the institution that is the museum (Heumann Gurian, 1999 :164,165)

An international symposium held in Dubrovnik in 1998 discussed and examined the global role of cultural institutions in preserving and interpreting cultural heritage as well as preventing armed conflict. Segger believes that museums could play a significant role in assisting the community-healing process where the aftermath of war is concerned. Heumann Gurian adds that groups such as the Serbs and the Croats, for example, destroyed each other's historic sites and museums rather than military targets in the hope of breaking each other's spirits. (1999,163). Segger writes that Sir Bernard Fielden coined the phrase "cultural war" to explain these tragedies. "Thereafter, to the victor [whoever wins the war] go not only the spoils but the power to adjust the message, the meanings and history itself." (1999:35)

Whether museums are prepared or willing to play such a role is another matter. Here in Canada, museums have now been drawn into the political process of First Nations through their participation in the negotiations of their land claims. One example is *The Nisga'a Final Agreement* which was given royal assent in Ottawa on April 13, 2000 with the final passage of Bill C-9 by the Senate.

The Nisga'a Final Agreement

The Nisga'a are the original inhabitants[14] and owners of the Nass River Valley area

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14 In his speech, Nisga'a Chief Joseph Gosnell says the Nisga'a population was approximately 30,000 but was devastated by European diseases of smallpox, measles and fevers (like most other First Nations) and dwindled to 800. The population today is 5,800. (*Appendix # 3*)

of north-western British Columbia. They have never entered into a treaty with the government because, until this year, British Columbia has always refused to recognize aboriginal title.

Despite major setbacks, they have never lost hope that they would one day regain control of their land. They have finally succeeded: "This historic and controversial $487-million Nisga'a land claim and self government provides 5,800 Nisga'a citizens, of whom roughly 4,000 live in the Nass Valley, with about 2,000 square kilometers of land...and broad self-government powers." (Peter O'Neil, 2000:2) Attached as *Appendix # 3* is Chief Gosnell's historic speech to the British Columbia Legislature in February 1998. His words could apply to all First Nations in Canada. The ratification of the Nisga'a Treaty in Ottawa took place on April 13, 2000. Their fight for justice had lasted over a century. "The royal assent of our treaty signifies the end of the colonial era for the Nisga'a people. It's a great and historic day for all Canadians, and this achievement is a beacon of hope for colonized people in our own country and throughout the world" (Chief Joseph Gosnell, *Appendix # 3).*

For First Nations and museums, this agreement signifies the 'rupture' with the colonial past and introduces a new role for both First Nations and museums with aboriginal artifacts. The impact has not been fully grasped by the museum community, with the exception of the disciplines of anthropology. Some ethnologists have already assumed their new role. They know that the consequences will have a significant impact on museums as well as on their own professions. Andrea Laforet in *Narratives of the Treaty Table* explains what dominates the discussion at all treaty tables with First Nations.

As the players of the past are defined by this narrative, the treaty negotiators of the present become, for the space of the meeting, their symbolic heirs. It is often extremely painful for First Nations representatives to make plain at a treaty table the familial costs of poverty and systemic discrimination, or to recount their experiences at residential schools, and it is also hard for museum representatives, who have often seen

themselves as working to add to the world's knowledge and to oppose racism and the perpetuation of stereotypes, to find a place in the schema which they can recognize as representing their moral, intellectual or social condition, or would want to inhabit (1999c:5).

The reason that I took the Nisga'a treaty as an example is that this is the first nation to include a repatriation clause in their comprehensive land claim agreement and that forced CMC to join the negotiation table.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization joined the federal government discussions of the treaty late in 1993, and was represented directly at the negotiation table beginning early in 1995. As Director of the Ethnology Division, and the museum's representative in negotiations, I have been involved with this treaty since 1993. These negotiations became a meeting place for Western and Nisga'a ideas about the relationship of objects to history, historiography and the organization of knowledge in society (Laforet, 1999:258).

This may be the first comprehensive land claim agreement to include a list of artifacts to be returned to the Nisga'a. However, it is not the only one. Other nations all over Canada have followed suit.

There are over fifty First Nations negotiating comprehensive claims in British Columbia alone, with many more expected over the next few years. Comprehensive claims are being negotiated in Newfoundland, Quebec and Ontario. Many aboriginal groups in parts of Canada which are under treaty will be negotiating self-government agreements. All of these claims now include the repatriation of objects from museums....within Canada as well as from museums abroad. (Laforet,1997:5,6).

Consequently, museums that have large aboriginal collections such as the one at the CMC will be involved in these negotiations for many years to come. As mentioned earlier, ethnologists are now representing museums at these negotiations but how long will they play that role? It is becoming a very difficult role to play as many nations, especially nations that are closely connected through intermarriage or exchange of objects in a

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potlatch ceremony such as the Nisga'a and the Tsimshian, for example, are claiming the same artifacts. Sometimes only the ethnologists know where the artifact originally came from. Some aboriginal nations already have control over certain collections. Museums are not always satisfied with the outcome. Also, the multiculturalism of First Nations is becoming more evident everyday and representation of aboriginal cultures in museums is becoming very complicated.

Multiculturalism and Museums

"Museums are one of society's principal agencies for defining culture, largely through their determination of which elements of the past are of value, memorable, and worth of preservation" (MacDonald and Alsford, 1995:15). For the first time, this unique role is being challenged. Indeed, all these changes brought about by new nations, including multiculturalism and human rights, mentioned earlier, are forcing museums to redefine their approach to culture.

> ...[T]he very concept of "our", in speaking of Canada and "its" cultural property, has been increasingly problematic by a long protected policy of multiculturalism which has nurtured a vision of nations within nation.....And while the very essence of the relationship between these two words [national distinctiveness] is currently being questioned in Canada, museums continue to maintain the "credibility" of an overarching national identity (McLoughlin, 1994:138).

It is becoming almost an impossible task for museums to represent all these cultures when everyone has a right to an opinion – freedom of speech. MacDonald and Alsford add that "[i]ndigenous, ethnic, and women's groups are paying increasing attention to how museums represent culture, and are acquiring sufficient influence to oblige museums to address their concerns" (1995:15).

The consequence is that curators have come to the realization that they can no longer be the sole interpreters of cultures. Despite consultations with ethnic or aboriginal groups, controversies arise and have to be dealt with. Museums are not well equipped to deal with these complicated issues and most try to avoid controversies at all costs. They also do not want to be offensive as was the case with the exhibition *Into The Heart of Africa*. The exhibition was curated by Jeanne Cannizzo.

[Her] mission was to show the origins of the ROM's [Royal Ontario Museum] African collection within the context of white Canadian imperialist history. It was first an exhibition of nineteenth-century Canadians *in* Africa and Canadian attitudes *towards* Africans...What may have been for some a passing comment on the questionable adventures of an earlier generation became for others a painful reminder of a history of oppression. (Ames, 1992 :157)

The Afro-Canadians protested and accused Jeanne Cannizzo, of racism and asked that "the exhibition text be changed or the exhibition be closed" (Ames, 1992:157). The ROM did not comply to these requests. The consequences were very serious. The projected North American tour was cancelled. CMC also refused to present this exhibition. Jeanne Cannizzo resigned as curator at the museum as well as professor at the University of Toronto where protesters were disrupting her class.

The theft of cultural or ethnic copyright or cultural trespassing is also what Afro-Canadians in Toronto accused the Royal Ontario Museum of committing in its 1989 exhibition...This exhibition, curated by anthropologist Jeanne Cannizzo (1989) is an example of good intentions gone wrong or being misconstrued (Ames: 1992:157).

Another example is a First Nation exhibition *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary. This exhibition wanted to show the richness, diversity, and adaptability of Indigenous Peoples but the Lubicon Lake First Nation boycotted the exhibition during the olympic games of 1988 to obtain support

for their fifty-year dispute with the government over land claims. (Please see footnote # 2 on page 7) "While the focus within the museum was directed toward this past, the dissenting voices heard outside it were clearly located in the present" (McLouglin, 1994:10). To add to the dilemma the exhibition was sponsored by Shell Oil which was drilling on land claimed by the Lubicon. Moreover, they found it offensive that "it showed 300 year old stuff" and not the contemporary problems of First Nations (Ames 1992:161). The display, at the same time, of objects created by the now extinct Beothuk Nation did not help matters. The Lubicon, like many other nations in Canada, were themselves on the brink of extinction. "90 % of the reserve population was receiving welfare payments. Alcohol, tuberculosis and suicide had become the new indicators of the Lubicon "worldview"" (McLouglin 1994:10).

Although the boycott attracted a lot of attention it did not solve the land claim problem. The attention shifted to the Glenbow museum and it was faced with a number of challenges which had wider implications, including its right to:

1. borrow or exhibit Native artifacts without their permission, even though those artifacts are legally owned by other museums;

2. use money from corporation involved in public disputes (the exhibit was sponsored by Shell Oil, which was drilling on land claimed by the Lubicon);

3. ignore contemporary political issues, such as land claims, even when presenting an exhibition of the history of indigenous peoples;

4. employ non-Natives to curate an exhibition about Native cultures;

5. claim neutrality in public disputes (Ames, 1992 :161-162).

For the reasons mentioned above, Ames is of the opinion that "non-Natives, including curators and other scholars, cannot themselves adequately *represent* the views of others, and should no longer try" (1992:6). Cultural issues are very sensitive for ethnic and

other minority groups. The access to information, a right for everyone now, and easily accessible through technology, has made museums a target for dissatisfied groups. The outcome of the Lubicon boycott made museums aware that they had to involve aboriginal groups in the process of exhibiting and it also resulted in the publication of *The Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples*, produced jointly by the Assembly of First Nations which represent 'Status Indians' in Canada and The Canadian Museum Association. This report will be discussed in the next chapter.

The discipline of anthropology in museums and its raison d'être are being challenged and it remains to be seen what the outcome will be.

> The eminent Canadian ethnologist Marc-Adélard Tremblay said recently (1983:332) that anthropology is undergoing a crisis that is threatening the very foundations of the discipline. Its traditional objectives, methodologies, and findings are all being called into question.... (Ames, 1992:36).

It would be inaccurate to say that museums and its anthropologists are the only source of the problems experienced by First Nations in the past centuries. Other political factors played a major role in trying to eliminate Aboriginal Peoples as distinct peoples. Assimilation policies by the government of Canada and *The Indian Act* have indeed been very damaging as well. Many governments have tried to merge Aboriginal Peoples in the Euro-Canadian society.

> [This] took a form of dishonoured treaties; theft of Aboriginal lands, suppression of Aboriginal cultures, abduction of Aboriginal children [residential schools], impoverishment and disempowerment of Aboriginal peoples (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1991:4-5).

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was established in 1991 to find solutions to growing discontent among First Nations on a variety of issues: political, health, economic, cultural etc.

> We began our work at a difficult time. It was a time of anger and upheaval. The country's leaders were arguing about the place of Aboriginal people in the constitution. First Nations were blockading road and rail lines in Ontario and British Columbia. Innu families were encamped in protest of military installations in Labrador. A year earlier, armed conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal forces at Kanesatake (Oka) had tarnished Canada's reputation abroad – and in the minds of many citizens (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1991:ix).

The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples did not have the impact expected. It was quickly rejected by the government and has been ignored ever since. It still remains an important document for First Nations. Because of technology, the report has not be shelved entirely. It is available on the internet for everybody to see nationally and internationally.

Globalization, Technology and Museums

With the appearance of technology on the international scene, society as a whole is being affected by this transformation. Consequently, museums have indeed had to adapt quickly to the information age and its ramifications. Adapting to the new technology has also been very challenging for many employees. Not all museums are as highly equipped technologically as the CMC. For smaller museums (with limited budgets) keeping up with the latest software is costly and confusing.

> Information technology has been grasped by Nordic society [the author refers here to Sweden] as quite necessary, but to me, responsible for a museum with a static budget, it is an economic threat in the same manner as electronic devices. We need them but we cannot afford them. I see electronics and its associated gadgetry as a symbol of globalization and one I cannot resist (Hermansson, 1999:315).

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Hooper-Greenhill concludes her case studies with the disciplinary museums of the modern age. She does, however, briefly mention what she calls 'the intelligent museum' of today:

> ...[n]ew museums in Japan [this applies to CMC as well] are being built to allow channels of information to be installed. These cables and optical fibres carry information on all aspects of the work of the museum, including documentation on the collections, demographic and other information on the visitors, and data concerning the security and internal environment of the museums (1992:201).

Museums are not alone in the telecommunication race. Indigenous People have been quick to use this method of communication to get to know and understand one another. Indigenous People all over the world can empathize with one another because they have similar problems. They also have the same goal of preserving their cultures that, for many, are on the brink of extinction. The mastering of the technology is extremely important to their future development.

Here at CMC, one of the largest and most technologically innovative museums in the world, there is no doubt that technology is now playing a major role, not only in giving additional information to complement an exhibition for visitors but also in allowing people from all over the world to see exhibitions from their own home – the emergence of the virtual museum. *Le Musée de la Nouvelle France* exists only on the museum web site. One can do a virtual tour of the Canada Hall at CMC, through QuickTime VR. *Civilization.ca* is a new multimedia centre for the museum visitors who can consult CMC online resources such as the Web Site, the Library and Archives database (GESICA) and the artifacts database (KE EMU).

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Ames sees the situation of museums today as "museums in the age of deconstruction" (1992:151). He is right when he claims that CMC is redefining the authenticity of the visitor experience for the authenticity of the 'real' object. The question of authenticity is according to Ames a very significant one. Museums, he claims, have always been proud "on being the last refuge for the 'real thing', the authentic object', however, George MacDonald [former executive director of the CMC] maintains that museums "fail to portray the real cultures from which those real objects derive" (1992:159).

> Museums should give more attention to presenting real experience with the assistance of people from those cultures being represented... The authenticity of the experience, rather than the authenticity of the object, becomes the object, and the use of replicas, simulations, performances and electronic media intertwined with real objects...help recreate, reconstruct, or rerepresent near-authentic experiences (MacDonald, 1988). The 'real thing' is the experience of the visitor, not the object or its interpretation by a curator (Ames, 1992:159).

There is a lot of controversy in the museum community with this new way of thinking and one reason is " [the] implied shift of power and status away from curator, registrar, and conservator towards those more directly involved in public programming, performance, promotion, marketing, other public services and revenue generation" (Ames 1992:159).

CMC has been strongly criticized for their innovative ideas and for "substituting Disneyland-style pyrotechnics for educational substance and for presenting, not artifacts, but contemporary reconstructions smelling like a lumberyard – 'Disneyland on the Ottawa'..." (Ames 158). MacDonald and Alsford in their book, *A Museum for the Global Village: The Canadian Museum of Civilization* defend the museum against its many criticisms. They argue that curators are not capable in giving the entire picture of a culture from artifacts alone:

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North American curators are 98 percent white Euro-American whose knowledge of North or South American Indian, African, Japanese or Chinese culture is definitely second-hand. Most curators, even in anthropology, spend at most a few years in the cultural milieu of their 'speciality.' In fact, they have the cultural credibility and often linguistic competence of a four-year-old child from that culture...They have never been cultural participants and will never have the credibility of the 'real thing'(1987:213-14).

Despite the controversy, CMC remains one of the most popular museum in Canada with approximately 1.2 million visitors a year.[15] The museum must be doing something right. The exhibition *The Mysteries of Egypt* which opened in 1998, was a huge success and attracted 78% of the visitors which was estimated at 1.4 million that year. The exhibition consisted mostly of reproductions, very few artifacts, a great deal of innovative technology with a virtual tour into King Tutankhamun's tomb and an Imax film on Egypt. This new way of presenting an exhibition made the experience exciting, educational and complete which is not always possible when one mounts an exhibition with artifacts alone. The exhibition is presently travelling through the States and is maintaining its success according to the following press release.

The Public Museum of Grand Rapids, located in Grand Rapids, Michigan, hosted the touring exhibition **Mysteries of Egypt** from November 22, 1999 to March 26, 2000. Mr. Timothy J. Chester, Grand Rapids Museum Director, states that this travelling exhibition was one of the most successful temporary exhibitions ever hosted by the Museum. A total of 106,737 visitors took in the show between its November 22, 1999 opening and its final day. The highest single-day attendance was 3,072. These numbers break all of the Museum's previous records for exhibition attendance.

Grand Rapids Museum visitors were particularly interested in seeing treasures included in the exhibition **Mysteries of Egypt**, especially the famous 3,000-year-old mummy of

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[15] Visitor Surveys 1998 – Canadian Museum of Civilization

Nakhte-Bastet-Iru. The forensic reconstruction of her face, coordinated by anthropologists at Michigan State University and organized by the Grand Rapids Museum, drew international attention, with coverage by the Associated Press, BBC, CNN, CBS, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Agence France-Presse (AFP), Weekly Reader, Corbis Sygma, and Gamma French News Service. The Public Museum of Grand Rapids web site (www.grmuseum.org), which covered the progress of the reconstruction, received 373,329 visits during this period.[16]

In addition to the above exhibition, the mixture of replicas and authentic objects are found throughout the museum. In the Grand Hall the totem poles are authentic and the houses are replicas. This is also the case in the Canada Hall where there is a mixture of authentic objects and reproductions. Canada Hall is also the most visited exhibition in the museum. Both Halls have ongoing technological devices to give more information on the exhibitions. Theatre performances and shows are integrated in exhibitions and visitors are more involved. They are allowed to touch and feel because some objects are not in a display case. The possibility of handling is very new at the museum and it is very popular. The controversy, for many, lies in the fact that "[w]e are asked to believe and yet not believe: to marvel at the magic and illusion that recreates reality" (McLoughlin, 1994:155).

Within The Walls of The Canadian Museum of Civilization

In this section, we will look more closely at what is happening within the Canadian Museum of Civilization. It is no longer sufficient to collect objects, there must be a connection to society; a shift from collection to communication. Hooper-Greenhill in her book *Museums and their Visitors* says that museums have to change their focus from a collecting institution to a people oriented one.

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[16] The above press release appeared in the CMC employees' news bulletin *Bleeps & Blips*.

The thrust of the shift is clear – museums are changing from being static storehouses for artefacts into active learning environments for people.... This move towards visitors is understood as the only way forward for the future...For too long, museums have defended the values of scholarship, research and collection *at the expense* of visitors (1994:1).

Well, museums are doing just that and the visitor is getting everyone's undivided attention. One can even go as far as to say that the values of the visitors are being defended at the expense of scholarship, research and collection. I am aware that Hooper-Greenhill's quote is said in an educational context and it is relevant. However, it is not primarily a question of educational value but more one of money that forces museums to turn their attention to the visitor – the visitor as a consumer. Shirley Thomson, former Executive Director of the National Gallery of Canada confirms this statement.

Visitor numbers, whether real or virtual, are the key to museum survival and this is not an exaggeration. Visitor numbers, and the attendant fees paid by visitors, are important performance indicators; they "stand for" the success of a museum in meeting its goals and mandate and they provide essential income (1998:292).

The Museum for all People

CMC is a perfect example of how much priority is given to the visitor. The visitor is no longer a visitor but a client and is often referred to as such. Museums now have one goal in mind and that is to get as many clients into their institutions as is possible. Because of decreasing government funding, museums must now become revenue-generating institutions. The number of visitors is a crucial factor for their survival and this has given the visitor a certain power: "Now the 'client' demands active rights and expects good service. A 'client' has a contract for the delivery of goods or services, and is in a negotiated situation where he or she has an equal position of power" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 211).

These new clients are treated very well at CMC and made welcome by a large number of hosts and hostesses or guides trained to be there especially for them. Strangely enough this group of employees now report to the same director as the security guards – The Property Management, Security and Client Services Division. Prior to that, they were part of the Exhibition and Programs Branch. The clients are also being studied very closely with extensive visitor surveys and changes are made according to their recommendations. Their demands are ongoing. "In the past, knowledge of the object was the most important knowledge required to make an exhibition; now, knowledge about the audience is equally important." (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992:208, 210).

The Imax theatre and the Grand Hall were built to lure the clients into the building with the hope that they might develop an interest in visiting the rest of the museum. But has CMC succeeded in attracting visitors from all strata of society as was their goal in building a museum for all people? Statistics at CMC are not too clear on this question. The museum is undoubtedly a successful tourist attraction. The high season is from May to September and CMC is part of holiday packages. Tourism is supposedly the fastest growing industry in the world. With 1.2 million visitors a year, the museum is definitely reaching many people and I would assume not only the "elite". I could not find out if lower-income earners (less than $25,000 a year) are frequent visitors to the museum. It is probably out of their range since a museum visit is an expensive venture. The following text is a press release announcing the latest increase in admission fees.

Hull, Quebec, April 26, 2000 — The Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) today announced new admission fees. As of July 2, the Museum will offer half-price admission all day Sunday, every Sunday. This will replace free Sunday mornings, which will end after June 25, 2000. The Museum will also have free admission every Thursday from 4:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The following is a breakdown of the cost of a visit to the museum:

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		As of July 2, half-price on Sundays
Adults	$8	$4
Seniors (65 and over)	$7	$3.50
Students	$6	$3
Children (2 to 12)	$4	$2
Family (max. of 5, max. 3 adults)	$20	$10

The above costs do not include the Imax theatre, the most popular attraction, which is $8.00 for an adult and $6.50/$5.50 depending on the age of a child. There are the usual additional expenses of food, souvenirs and parking.[17]

Visitors are no longer viewers walking through an exhibition area, they have become the focus of attention. Live interpretations take place in the exhibition areas bringing the visitor into a role-play experience of what it was like to live in a certain epoch. Special film festivals and performances take place in the theatre and special events are organized related to specific exhibitions. Spectacular blockbuster exhibitions like *Mysteries of Egypt*, which was researched and mounted in only nine months, are the latest style of exhibiting. It's the total experience.

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[17] The above press release and costs for museum visits are taken from the CMC employees' news bulletin *Bleeps & Blips*.

In my view, and Hooper-Greenhill's (1992) as well, visitors have now become an 'exhibit' in themselves. They can be observed through security cameras placed throughout the museum and can be observed in the new spaces that have been created for them such as Les Muses, a restaurant for the affluent; a fast-food cafeteria for the less affluent; boutiques filled with souvenirs including posters, art pieces (authentic and reproduction) clothing and jewelry; mini-boutiques within the exhibition space itself - objects are not only to look at but are for sale as well, with First Nations souvenirs high up on the list; and lounge areas in many parts of the museum. Another important addition to the general museum is the Canadian Children's Museum that is extremely popular and attracts a larger number of families.

Visitors are now target audiences and this new concept has emerged to introduce marketing techniques to museums that did not exist in the past, at least not to such an extent:

> Marketing managers, development officers, and fund-raisers are all now to be found working in museums. In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, education officers and designers were employed in addition to curators. These professionals improved the experience of the museum for those who happened to visit. In the 1990s, however, audiences are actively recruited through the techniques of the salesman and the advertising executive. The technologies of mass marketing and mass communication have begun to be adapted to the museums environment and as the technologies become incorporated, significant changes can be observed. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 211,214).

The Staff

At CMC, the Development Branch was added a few years ago and is responsible for fundraising. Others, to name just a few, such as Public Affairs Branch and Client Services have been given more power. They all have as mission to attract new clients. The target

audience, of course, is the people that never go to museums, the tourists and the regional visitors who are important for the off-season time period.

These new employees are young and dynamic and enjoy the challenges of raising funds and promoting a new field – the museum. They come from the private sector and money is a top priority on their agenda - not necessarily education. They are becoming powerful because the museum is becoming more dependent on them. These divisions are all under the control of what Patricia Pitcher in her book *Artists, Craftsmen and Technocrats* (1995) calls the Technocrats.

There is an eerie resemblance between what she writes and what CMC is experiencing. Pitcher, who witnessed the collapse of a large successful corporation, began an eight-year study of fifteen chief executive officers of that corporation to find out the reasons behind this collapse. In her study she gives examples of three types of leaders in organizations: the Artist, the Craftsman and the Technocrat. She describes the Artist as "imaginative, intuitive, funny, inspiring, exciting and emotionally volatile. He's a visionary" (1995:4). The Craftsman is "dedicated, trustworthy, honest, stable, realistic and wise" (1995:4). She describes the Technocrat as "cerebral, stiff, uncompromising, intense, determined, hardheaded, meticulous, often brilliant"(1995:4). The Technocrat has no understanding of either the Artist nor the Craftsman. "The Technocrat will rarely be described as intuitive. What counts for him are the "facts," the "rules," the "right way to do things"" (1995:21). Working hard is a rule for the Technocrat who usually surrounds himself with other technocrats. Pitcher uses the term Technocrat because the technocrat only sees "the technical side of an issue [and it] takes precedence over the social and the human consequences" (1995:2).

Pitcher maintains that not all people in position of power are leaders. Many acquired these positions through various series of circumstances: "Some may have inherited the position. Some have stolen it. Some may have been compromise candidates." (1995:24) She further maintains that:

> [if] the right information is collected and the analysis is done right, anyone can sit in the executive suite no matter what his character or temperament...It's also a great tool for management consultants hired to develop a strategy for an organization operating in a section of which they have no firsthand knowledge and it's essential for peripatetic managers, who flit from one section to another, for it gives them a way to acquire some superficial understanding of each new section. But I have never met a seasoned manager who needed it, used it or valued it (1995:9,10).

CMC has been controlled mainly by Technocrats for a few years and some have come into their positions in the manner described by Pitcher. But the museum definitely has people that belong in each of Pitcher's three categories of leaders. In accordance with Pitcher, I would say that what keeps this institution on its feet are the Craftsmen, a fairly large group who are not always in a position of leadership but should be. Nevertheless, they "represent the future capacities of the organization". (1995:57). They are "honest, dedicated, loyal and straightforward" (1995:88). But these are not qualities appreciated by the Technocrats. The Craftsmen at CMC are often under scrutiny and are usually the main target when downsizing takes place. When Pitcher's organization collapsed, this is what 'her' Craftsmen had to say about the failure.

> Now the whole group is like an individual with a frontal lobotomy. No memory. They've sacked anyone who knows anything about the business...New people brought on board continually have to learn the business from scratch...They think whiz-kids can run anything ...The Craftsman believes you can't run something unless you have experience" (1995:125,126)

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The CMC Library, Archives and Documentation Services has a small but devoted staff who is working diligently trying to keep records as efficiently as possible. Before 1980, the Director of the division told me that the archives were extremely well documented. The growth of information is substantial and too large for any organization to control unless manpower is increased. In a research report *Titanic 2020* from CENSA, released in December 1999 researcher Dr. Rich Lysakowski notes that "within ten years, the total number of electronic records produced on the planet could be doubling every sixty minutes" (1999:1).

Kathryn May in a recent article entitled "Poor Records Threaten Our National Memory" writes that Canada's national archivist is having serious concerns regarding the "integrity and accessibility of the records governments are leaving today to explain Canada to future generations." She feels that it may rob Canadians of their past and this, I would add, applies to CMC as well.

> Without reliable records, future Canadians will be unable to reconstruct the past or understand such historical events and issues as the APEC and Somalia inquiries, the Westray Mine disaster, residential schools to First Nation land claims...Archivists are also wrestling with how to permanently preserve information that is stored on computers and software with life spans of only several years (2000, A1-A2).

It is not difficult to find people in the Artist category at the CMC; there are many. Unfortunately, few are leaders with power and they are certainly not in a position to show their creativity. Michael Ames quotes Dr. Marie-Françoise Guédon, a former curator at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, in an article entitled "A Case of Mistaken Identity". She deplored the fact that she was obliged to assume so many roles for which she felt she had not be trained "...the impossibility of being at once a full-time researcher, a full-time administrator, a full-time curator, and a full-time exhibit specialist." (1992:32). The following is Pitcher's Artists' explanation for the collapse of their organization: "[t]oo

much time and energy had been devoted to structures, to reorganizations, to systems, to short-term profits, and too little time devoted to development of new products and new markets" (1995 :124).

Finally, we come to the Technocrat group who is presently in control of this institution. The purpose of a museum is beyond their interest or their comprehension. They are not from the cultural field and they certainly have no vision. Answering directly to the state, their role is to ensure that the museum is a good financial investment on the short term as mentioned by Pitcher. A few years ago the Children's Boutique[18] was privatized and hailed as a good decision. The museum would make money by renting the space and would not have to pay any salaries for employees. Clearly that was not so. The boutique as a private enterprise did not make any profit and is now back in the hands of the museum. Pitcher asks herself why were 'her' Technocrats so powerful? This is her explanation and it applies to 'ours' as well.

> One, they're brilliant. They really are. Minds like steel traps. They come into board meetings with their five-part plans and strategies and projections, with their slogans, their grandiloquence and their recipes, and it's pretty impressive stuff. It's intimidating to ordinary mortals. By high-jacking the language of vision, by imitating it, they seem brilliant. Apart from their technical skill and ingenuity, their virtuosity, these *grands parleurs*... have something else: *they're strategic about human relationships* (1995:127).

Pitcher's Technocrats focused only on profit. The following is a craftsman's view of that issue: "they'll never get it because profit comes from the vision and the people, and

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[18] Children's Boutique

You *can* take home the fun and excitement of The Great Adventure! Stop at the Children's Boutique and discover a treasure-trove of fabulous products from Canada and around the world. Located just outside the Children's Museum, the Children's Boutique is full of games, toys, books, and all kinds of colourful and imaginative items that will appeal to the discerning tastes of today's kids. It's a place you'll find countless wonderful gift ideas, guaranteed to delight children of all ages ... as well as the child in all of us! (http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/cmceng/cmboueng.html)

they won't invest on people...Even if they had a vision, how would they get it done? There's no managerial continuity" (1995:121). Pitcher writes that walking into that institution was like walking into a morgue. (Ironically that is what the museum appears to be. On August 15th, 2000, 150 Haida ancestral human remains left the museum for the Charlotte Islands). There was an "atmosphere of tension" and everybody was working to rule, afraid to take risks and "[did] nothing that could later be construed as a mistake." They were constantly looking for other jobs and those who were not fired left of their own accord – "a haemorrhage of experience" (1995:126) In the past few years, many employees of CMC have been fired, pensioned-off or have left voluntarily. As I write, an aboriginal curator and chairman of the First Peoples Hall, an 'Artist', has resigned after eighteen years for another position in the United States.

Although Pitcher agrees that all three groups of leaders are fundamental to an organization, she maintains that when top management is entirely in the hands of Technocrats, they ruin the organization. However, she maintains that the Technocrats cannot be entirely blamed, employees must also assume a certain responsibility for allowing them to acquire so much power. One has to learn to recognize and minimize their numbers and make sure that they are positioned in their proper place. (1995:149). She concludes on a positive note.

[w]e have to get back to a sense of proportion and to the principles of Craftsmanship. Our world has been build by the slow accumulation of knowledge and skill, punctuated periodically by genuinely new and... rare - insights. If you believe Darwin, nature is but a gigantic system of trial and error, of craftsmanship (1995:184).

Museum as Entertainment Facility

Museums no longer have the large financial government subsidies that they once had and they must now become revenue-generating institutions. However, museums are

simply not revenue-generating institutions, no matter how hard they try to be. Consequently, museums have turned to corporate sponsoring for their survival therefore putting these enterprises in a position of control. One exhibition at CMC entitled *Les paradis du Monde* was selected and entirely sponsored by a private enterprise. And one can expect more requests in the future.

Fundraising is a fairly new endeavour in the cultural field and museums have to learn the rules and pitfalls of sponsorship. Not all corporate sponsoring is acceptable, as we have seen earlier with Shell Oil's sponsorship of the exhibition *The Spirit Sings* at the Glenbow Museum. Tobacco firms are now being rejected as sponsors not only for sports but for cultural events as well. They are being replaced by high tech companies and international corporations like IKEA which are acceptable to museums. Other problems can occur, as exemplified by Alexei Yashin's one million dollar pledge to the National Art Centre in Ottawa that had to be returned because "several ethical issues surfaced in the Yashin situation" (Clarke, 1999:34). The learning process will be a difficult one where corporate sponsorships are concerned. The corporations have the money and the power and they will easily turn down a request if there are too many 'ethical issues'. Moreover, some corporations are creating their own museums. A new culture has exploded on the world scene that might complicate things even further – pop culture.

> Perhaps ironically, the cultural proselytism is undertaken not by the bearers of high culture (with which group traditional museums are intimately linked) but those of pop culture (Huey, 1990) such as television, films, and rock music : images and sounds that transcend language barriers and communicate at emotional levels. It is no coincidence that the western world is seeing growing numbers of museums (or quasi-museums) dedicated to stars of the entertainment industry, to the film and mass media industries, and to commercial products such as Coca Cola. (MacDonald and Alsford:1995:16).

In their struggle to obtain funds from the private sector, corporate and other fund raising entertainment events are also becoming very important to museums. They now

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have access to space which previously was for exhibitions only. At CMC, a permanent staff is at their disposal − Client Services. The Grand Hall, an exhibition area, is used for every function imaginable. People love to dine and dance in this space surrounded by totem poles and replicas of Northwest Coast houses.

The Grand Hall is also used for national and international political events hosted by the Prime Minister's Office and other government officials. Political events are very much appreciated by the museum because of the ensuing publicity. However, the message it sends to the world is that the Grand Hall, a First Nation symbol of the past, demonstrates that First Nations are part of Canadian history and unity and this is certainly not the case. It is difficult for me to understand why First Nations' symbols and art works are always used to express Canadian identity. Diana Nemiroff, Curator of the exhibition *Land Spirit Power* at the National Gallery of Canada[19] emphasizes this point by quoting Marius Barbeau, a renowned ethnologist: "[a] commendable feature of this aboriginal art for us is that it is truly Canadian in its inspiration. *It has sprung up wholly from the soil and the sea* within our national boundaries" (Nemiroff, 1992:23). Canada Hall is never used for such occasions, although from the following description, it would seem very appropriate.

Under a domed ceiling 17 m high (56 ft.), a panorama of Canadian history unfolds in a space more than 3,000 square meters (32,293sq. ft.) in area. Life-size settings of buildings and environments from the history of Canada are reconstructed, furnished with appropriate artifacts, and often animated by actors." (Canadian Museum of Civilization. (2000)[Web Page] Accessed June 30, 2000, available at (http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/cmceng/campleng.html)

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[19] The National Gallery of Canada has been strongly criticized for not recognising native art and it is only since 1983 that they have changed their policy of exclusion.

I was told that Canada Hall was neither built to accommodate large numbers of visitors nor as an entertainment facility. The Grand Hall was designed specifically for that purpose.

In conclusion, the emergence of a global culture as a result of industrialization, democratization, immigration, tourism, mass production and consumerism, international corporations, telecommunication and technology are the transformation factors that are catapulting us into this new age. Where museums are concerned, technology not only reproduces virtual images to replace authentic objects but completes an exhibition as we have seen in *Mysteries of Egypt.*

With reference to the criticisms on CMC management, one should keep in mind that our bureaucratic system makes us all 'technocrats' in many ways. Institutions such as the government, universities, hospitals, the military etc. are also facing the same bureaucratic process. It strongly supports Max Weber's worst fears on bureaucracy that the "future would be an "iron cage" rather than a Garden of Eden" (Coser:1977:232)

In the next chapter we will examine the impact that the above has had on First Nations, their new role in museums, the emergence of the cultural centres in the communities and the role of the future generation.

CHAPTER IV - REVITALIZATION OF ABORIGINAL CULTURES

FIRST NATIONS RECLAIMING THEIR CULTURES

In the midst of this very chaotic museum world, aboriginal cultures are also going through a transformation process. First Nations are taking control of their cultures and a younger generation is appearing on the museum scene. In this chapter we will examine the impetus that produced this transformation and the subsequent impact on both First Nations and museums.

The Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples

The boycotting of the exhibition *The Spirit Sings* at the Glenbow Museum was perhaps not successful in resolving the land claim problem with the federal government but it was nonetheless the catalyst that changed the relationship between First Nations and museums forever. After this event, a group of 150 participants composed of First Nations and museum representatives met and agreed to establish a task force. The Task Force on Museums and First Peoples was a co-sponsored project by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) (which represents Status Indians of Canada) and the Canadian Museum Association (CMA). At that time, other organizations such as the Inuit Tapirisat which represents the Inuit People as well as the Metis Association were not part of the task force.

The major findings of the national consultations by the Task Force are stated in the *Task Force Report on Museums and Firsts Peoples* as the following:

The importance of cultural objects in museum collections.

The importance of objects is recognized....The primary concern of First Peoples is with the importance of cultural collections to their own particular communities. Nonetheless,... these collections, and the institutions

that care for them, serve a wider function and can contribute to greater public education and awareness of the significant cultural contributions made by First Peoples... (1994:4).

Increased involvement of First Peoples in interpretation

"Interpretation" as discussed in the reports and submissions includes all facets of museum administration, research, public program and exhibition planning...This approach should replace the stereotyped exhibitions that depict First Peoples as dying, primitive and inferior cultures, or as cultures isolated from Canada's history, in "pre-history" galleries... (1994:4).

Improved Access to Museum Collections.

"Collections" include not only human remains and artifacts but also information associated with these materials : research results, photographs, works of art, and any other information related to First Peoples culture and history held in cultural institution...[A]ccess to funding sources, policy development and implementation activities, as well as training and employment in museums and other cultural institutions...(1994:4,5).

Repatriation.

There was a consensus in favour of the return of human remains and illegally obtained objects along with... other burial materials and other sacred objects to appropriate First Peoples... (1994:5).

Training.

The need for training for both First Peoples and non-Aboriginal museum personnel is critical... (1994:5).

Support for Cultural Institutions

The importance of supporting the efforts of First Peoples to manage and conserve their own cultural facilities in their own communities... (1994:5).

Funding

The Task Force consultations revealed an urgent need for additional funding for projects involving First Peoples in existing Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal museums. Funding is also required to assist First Peoples in establishing their own museums. (1994:6)

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International collections

It was agreed [that] First Peoples need governmental assistance in gaining access to and/or repatriating cultural objects held in collections outside of Canada. (1994:6)

This document was written in 1992 and important changes have occurred in some areas because of its recommendations. However, increased involvement of Aboriginal Peoples in interpretation of their cultures has not taken place, at least not at the CMC which is a national museum with one of the largest aboriginal collection in the world. Training of museum employees on 'cultures and values of First Nations' is also not on the agenda.

Consultations with concerned communities have become very expensive, as in the case with The First Peoples Hall. The consultation committee has dwindled down in the past five years, from approximately 35 aboriginal members from all over Canada to eight members and they meet only two or three times a year. Repatriation is now part of land claims, which was not the case when the report was written.[20] The Aboriginal Training Programme in Museum Practices (ATPMP) was developed at the museum in 1993 for aboriginal cultural workers in communities as well as for students, and it has been successfully implemented. The Programme has experienced major budget cuts and now sponsors five interns instead of ten. In 1993, there were many aboriginal training programmes in museums, universities and colleges across the country. Because of lack of funding as well as the difficulties associated with training aboriginal interns, most programmes no longer exist. However, in the past year, many museums are trying to

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[20] See the Nisga'a Final Agreement in the previous chapter.

revive their training programmes and are requesting more funds from the government. (More information on the ATPMP in *Appendix* # 4.)

Indigenous Knowledge

Earlier, I mentioned that Foucault took the magic and the supernatural seriously. This is crucial to the understanding First Nations' cultures. Claude Lévi-Strauss in his book *The Savage Mind* (1962) and Lucien Lévy Bruhl *How Natives Think* (1966) go through great lengths to try and understand traditional logic.

Ruth Bunzel wrote the introduction of *How Natives Think* which was published in France in 1910. She writes that the book aroused both interest and controversy. Lévy-Bruhl rejected the rational and individualistic way of thinking in the anthropology of the nineteenth century stating that it stressed the intellectual rather than the emotional aspects of primitive mentality. Lévy-Bruhl also dealt with social facts in terms of individual psychology. What caused the most controversy was his response to the question of whether the mental process of primitive people was comparable to the white man's mental process: "the psychic responses which seem so strange to us are not the products of faulty perceptions of reality or lack of ability to think rationally; they were the results of a different kind of thinking which he characterizes as pre-logical or mystical" (Bunzel in Lévy-Bruhl, 1966:xi).

It was the terms 'pre-logic or 'mystical' that caused the most controversy and he eventually abandoned the term 'pre-logic' and clarified that his use of the term 'mystical' was not necessarily in a restricted sense of religious experience.(Bunzel in Lévy-Bruhl, 1966:xv). Since Lévy-Bruhl did not see indigenous knowledge as scientific, he identified it as pre-logical. "Mais la mentalité prélogique n'a pas ce souci prédominant d'une valeur objective vérifiable" (Lévy-Bruhl, 1912, 138).

Claude Lévi Strauss, on the other hand expresses a different view to Lévy-Bruhl in that he maintains that primitive thought could be scientific because the order of the universe is a common property to all thought:

> ...le postulat fondamental de la science est que la nature elle-même est ordonnée...Dans sa partie théorique, la science se réduit à une mise en ordre... (Simpson, p.5). Or, cette exigence d'ordre est à la base de la pensée que nous appelons primitive, mais seulement pour autant qu'elle est à la base de toute pensée : car c'est sous l'angle des propriétés communes que nous accédons plus facilement aux formes de pensée qui nous semblent très étrangères (1962:16-17).

At the present time there is a need to go back to unexplored knowledge. Science (also under scrutiny and criticism) is now turning towards indigenous elders all over the world to find solutions both in the medical and the environmental field in order to save the planet from total destruction. The revival of interest in indigenous knowledge expressed by non-aboriginal peoples is not necessarily to understand the knowledge of First Nations as such. "There is a public nostalgia, in various New Age movements, not simply for what escaped destruction, but for something that can now *save us.* " (McLoughlin, 1994:28). The consumer society has perhaps lost its relationship to nature and to its spirituality but many Indigenous People have maintained it.

> For the first time since the great philosophical debates about the "nature of human nature" during the so-called Age of Enlightenment, there has been a rediscovery of the relevance of indigenous peoples and traditional cultures for the making (or re-making) of the modern world. Interestingly, to post-modern or post-industrial era, in trying to come to grips with the social and environmental crisis of both contemporary capitalism and socialism, is finding new ideas and values in the traditional ways of being and thinking of the world's remaining indigenous peoples (Davis, 1991: 42).

Similarly, anthropologists in the study of various cultures have often misunderstood indigenous knowledge because they detached it from its proper context.

[I]t is no longer sufficient to be sensitive to the setting and situation in which an object is collected or a story is heard. We have also to understand its continuing life. And to do that we need to develop ways of *retaining* the setting.... [In northern Canada] some elders order accounts of their life experiences by incorporating ancient narratives to explain contemporary events in their own lives...Many of the explanatory stories they tell were recorded almost a century ago by ethnographers who thought they were recording a disappearing folklore (Swanton 1909 ;Teit 1917). Hearing such stories in 1990 from living narrators, suggests convincingly that these are not so much the 'same stories' as ongoing ideas, continually reinvested with new meaning (Cruikshank, 1992 :7,8)

Indigenous Knowledge and Museums

Museums are organized around knowledge through their study and research; their distribution of knowledge through teaching, publications and exhibitions; their curatorial work and activities. This further evolution of knowledge has once again had its impact on museums. The different changes that museums have experienced dating back to the Renaissance tells us that discontinuities and upheavals in museums are not an unusual phenomenon. However, museums have not always been successful in anticipating them. One change that was perhaps clearly not anticipated is that a time would come when Aboriginal Peoples would want to speak for themselves and introduce a knowledge that may not conform to that established by museum professionals.

Museums may have had as mission to educate the population but they have not succeeded very well where Aboriginal Peoples are concerned. Despite the fact that disciplines in museums all over the world have had to refocus their orientation with reference to Indigenous Peoples and that "classical" ethnology is now something of the past, our existence is still portrayed in the traditional context of hundreds of years ago with the exception of contemporary aboriginal art exhibitions. Exhibitions at CMC, since the Task Force Report, have both a traditional and a contemporary component such as the exhibitions *Threads of the Land* and *Legends of our times*. However, I am told that the

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most popular or interesting part of the exhibitions for the visitor remains the traditional components.

The difficulty is that Aboriginal Peoples today want to be known in a contemporary context, co-existing alongside other Canadians, with a sense of pride and dignity. However, Aboriginal Peoples have to go back into their past history in order to build their future. I would say that it is not possible for us to have a rupture with our traditional past. For many of us, it is too important to ignore even if the contemporary has to take precedence.

Curators here at the museum consult with traditional elders because they assume that elders are the only ones who possess the wisdom and the knowledge. Do curators, despite their research and fieldwork with elders, really grasp indigenous knowledge? Lévy-Bruhl maintains that it is not possible:

> [w]hether it be the North American Indians.....the Negroes of the French Congo, the Maoris of New Zealand, or an other "primitive" people whatever, a 'civilized being' can never expect to see this thought following exactly the same course as that of the primitive, nor to find again the path by which the latter has travelled...We shall never know the inwardness of the native mind. For that would mean retracing our steps for many centuries, back into the dim past, far back to the time when we also possessed the mind of primitive man. And the gates have long closed on that hidden road (1966:55).

Curators are aware that cultures are changing but it may be difficult for them to understand that indigenous knowledge along with the cultures they represent is changing as well. Elders still remain their main source of information. Michael Ames grasps this problem well when he maintains that "museum professionals are not trained to deal with current events. Most are not experts on the present..." (1992:7)

If curators had had a better understanding of Aboriginal Peoples in a contemporary context, this lack of sensitivity with reference to *The Spirit Sings* may not have happened. Indigenous knowledge is an important source of information which, I sometimes feel, is ignored due to Foucault's concept of 'power/knowledge'- curators would lose control because they cannot shape indigenous knowledge. And this is what is presently happening; they are losing this control.

Deborah Eldridge a Noongah from Western Australia explains what aboriginal culture is. Her words are very appropriate to explain aboriginal cultures all over the world.

> The essential core of aboriginal culture is spirituality. In other words, aboriginal culture is built around spiritual beliefs about the land, ancestral country, community and personal custodian responsibilities, kinship systems and ecology, preservation and use of bush food and bush medicine. Our cultural lore and spiritual teachings through time have been passed on by dreams, through song, dance, music and paintings. In essence, this is aboriginal lore (1996: 21-22).

Following centuries of exhibiting and interpreting aboriginal cultures by museums and their professionals, more and more First Nations are showing concern on how their cultures have been appropriated and interpreted entirely by other nations who do not possess or perhaps do not understand what indigenous knowledge is. Cash and Hoover formulate well the missing link between First Nations and museum professionals.

> They (scholars) have studied them, invaded their privacy, and cast theoretical concepts about their image, their past, their future, and their psyche. Through all this activity, few thought to ask the Indians themselves about their past, and even fewer made any attempt to show the history of these great people through their own eyes (Cash and Hoover, 1971: ix).

The above quote may appear to be contradictory because it is well known that anthropologists have always consulted elders. However, one must keep in mind that

anthropologists did not write for Aboriginal Peoples, whom they thought would eventually be extinct. In another context, Edouard Said in his book *Orientalism* maintains the same thing: "[n]one of the Orientalists I write about seems ever to have intended an Oriental as a reader" (1979:336).

Elders as informants were strictly objects and not subjects. "Indians, traditionally [were] treated by museums only as objects..." (Ames, 1986:57). They were interrogated but seldom acknowledged for the information they gave. Clifford calls informants and field notes "direct writing" and asks the question: "who is the real author of field notes?...Many ethnographers have commented on the ways, both subtle and blatant, in which their research was directed or circumscribed by their informants ...[I. M.] Lewis (1973) even calls anthropology a form of "plagiarism"" (1988:44,45). Consequently, efforts are being made by current ethnographers to adequately recognize the authority of the informant.

Furthermore, Clifford notes that at the end of the nineteenth century, ethnography had become the best interpreter of native cultures: "ethnographic writings enacts a specific strategy of authority...[that] has classically involved an unquestioned claim to appear as the purveyor of truth in the text. A complex cultural experience is enunciated by an individual" (1988:25-26). Clifford further maintains that "cultures are ethnographic collections" (1988: 230). The elders as informants were not seen as individuals but more as part of and representing a whole culture or 'truth'. This was especially so when it corresponded with or confirmed the ethnographer's preconceived notion of 'truth'.

The ethnographer thus enjoys a special relationship with a cultural origin or "absolute subject" (Michel-Jones 1978:14)...who sees the task at hand as locating the unruly meanings of a text in a single coherent intention. By representing the Nuer, the Trobianders, or the Balinese as whole subjects...the ethnographer transforms the research situation's ambiguities and diversities of meaning into an integrated portrait. It is important, though, to notice what has dropped out of sight. The research process is separated from the texts it generates and from the fictive world they are made to call. The actuality of discursive situations and individual interlocutors is

filtered out. But informants - along with field notes – are crucial intermediaries, typically excluded from authoritative ethnographies (Clifford, 1988:40).

Ironically, many informants 'lied' for various reasons, one being not to disappoint the ethnographer:

> Every informant, [Marcel] Griaule assumes, enunciates a different kind of truth, and the ethnographer must be constantly alive to its limitations, strengths, and weaknesses. ...Each informant, even the most sincere, experiences an "instinctive need to dissimulate particularly delicate points. He will gladly take advantage of the slightest chance to escape the subject and dwell on another (1957:58 in Clifford, 1988:73).

Today, attempts are made by museums all over the country to include First Nations employees in the development of exhibitions and in the interpretation of their cultures. Aboriginal curators in museums are definitely an improvement but there remains a superficiality in this new endeavour. Aboriginal curators have had to follow the established pattern of the institution in producing exhibitions. Their research work is done in the same manner as other curators; they have acquired their curatorial knowledge from the same institution – the university. There are presently not too many Native curators.

> This though is a relatively new phenomenon – both the curators at Secwepemc and at U'Mista [tribal museums] were the first Native curators that the museums had hired, largely because the pool of individuals trained in the appropriate fields (anthropology, museums studies and/or archaeology) is only now growing. In that sense, the voice has not entirely abandoned its connection to the larger museums and academic disciplines that support them (McLouglin, 1994:314-315).

Exhibitions about First Nations' cultures in national and provincial museums are based on the number and also the nature of artifacts in their collections. There are over fifty First Nations across Canada spread out in over six hundred communities. In the case of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the museum's largest aboriginal collection is from the

West Coast. For this reason, the West Coast communities are over-represented while others are not represented at all due to lack of artifacts in the collection. You can look at the present situation from a negative angle but also from a positive one as well. The negative angle is that the information is not always accurate.

[t]he Nisga'a representatives have complained, justifiably, about inaccuracies and inadequacies in the documentation of objects provided to CMCC by collectors of Nisga'a material, and provision for the collaborative updating of collections documentation is part of the custodial arrangements agreement. (Laforet, 1999:12).

The positive angle is that less well known nations such as the Attikamek Nation who have little information about their culture in the archives and few artifacts in the collection, end up in better control of their culture. They speak their language and know their culture well and the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next has followed a natural process:

...[t]he sturdiest aboriginal language in Canada is Attikamek. It's a small language in terms of numbers; only about 4,000 people speak it, all of them in Quebec. But 97 per cent of people who learned Attikamek as a mother tongue continue to use it. Moreover, the average age of those who speak Attikamek at home –21.5 years is the youngest for all of Canada's indigenous languages. For Haida, by contrast, the average age of speakers is almost 65 (Abley,1998:A6).

They are the ones who interpret their culture with limited, if any, input from anyone else. I took a small group[21] for a visit in the collections one day. There were very few artifacts but two objects identified as 'unknown' Attikamek objects had them laughing. When I asked what was so funny, one said that the objects were a beaver tooth and a hand-

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[21] Many Native groups arrive unannounced and want to see their artifacts which is always a surprise for the museum staff and even more so when rituals, such as smudging, are requested.

made clothes pin. The Attikamek are now developing their own cultural centre and I am quite confident that they will be very successful in telling their own story.

First Nations taking control of their own cultures is not happening without confusion and contradictions among themselves. At home, we changed the community name from Pointe Bleue to Mashteuiatsh in 1983. Some elders still claim today that this is not the correct name and that Mashteuiatsh is ten kilometres down the road. Language is another issue for us as well. The fourteen Innu communities in Quebec and Labrador have had very little contact with one another, various dialects have developed which makes teaching and learning the language difficult. Mashteuiatsh is the only community which identifies itself as Ilnu and not Innu.

Furthermore, First Nations' objects in museums have been preserved but in some cases without the knowledge of the proper care to keep them 'alive' such as medicine bundles, for example. Moreover, at the museum, there is no time to devote to such rituals as smudging certain sacred objects three times a day. When a nation becomes aware of this existing knowledge about their culture, it becomes a tremendous responsibility. Some are successful in reintegrating it into their culture because it confirms what they already know. Laforet in *Ideas and Objects in Repatriation Negotiations* writes that: "...[t]he Nisga'a have repeatedly affirmed and clearly see a continued connection between lineage properties now in museums and contemporary ranking lineage members..." (1999b:13).

Others have not been so successful in reintegrating some sacred objects into their daily lives and they may be interested only in the information. This is the case with some medicine bundles from certain nations who know that these sacred objects are very powerful but who no longer possess the rituals, ceremonies, paintings related to the medicine bundles to transfer the knowledge to the next generation. Consequently, they are

not in a position to properly care for these sacred objects and would rather not have them at all, at least, for the time being. One of the challenges for Aboriginal Peoples today is how to deal with knowledge, such as ethnographic reports, written by another nation that may no longer be part of their cultures today.

Ames sees museums as outdated and strongly feels those non-native curators and scholars should not attempt to represent the views of others. He is very critical of the role of museums in that respect. "Museums are cannibalistic in appropriating other peoples' material for their own study and interpretation." (Ames, 1992:3)

I do not entirely agree with Michael Ames that it was inappropriate for anthropologists/ethnologists to have studied and interpreted other cultures. When one is born and lives within a specific culture, it is not always possible to see what is so special about it. Many things are taken for granted and behavior is a habit. Not everyone in a society is interested in interpreting his/her culture. Despite the fact that many ethnologists tried to be as accurate as was possible in the interpretations of the cultures they were studying, I feel that it is unacceptable for them to assume that these cultures would not survive. Consequently, they would be the 'experts' on aboriginal cultures and many still believe so to this very day.

Nevertheless, some did attempt to learn the language, which is an important element of understanding a culture. Under unfortunate circumstances, many Aboriginal Peoples do not speak their mother tongue today.[22] Therefore, many First Nations appreciate all the

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[22] *The Indian Act* eventually made education compulsory for aboriginal children. They were sent to residential schools and were forbidden to speak their mother tongue in order to accelerate the assimilation process. This, I would say, is the saddest part of Canadian history and most Canadians still do not know what a residential school is.

information they can get to bring pride and self worth back into their communities and especially to their youths.

Many anthropologists studied the Innu (Montagnais) culture. I was often surprised at what they noticed and found interesting enough to write about. The most touching experience I had at the museum was finding a picture in the archives, taken by Frank G. Speck, of my grandmother whom I never knew. We look so alike. There is a down side to this story though. Members of my family told me that she frowns on the picture because she did not want to be photographed. The Innu way of life, at that time, appeared harsh but basically simple – it was a challenge to survive. Anthropologists write that the challenge to survive was anything but simple and there was a great deal of knowledge in the Innu mythology and complexities in their spirituality related to hunting and the land. Hunting is still an integral part of the Innu culture today but the life style has changed to a more sedentary and modern one in some communities. Is the knowledge and spirituality related to the hunting the same as that of our ancestors? I would say to a certain extent, yes, but in a contemporary context. The Innu are acutely aware of the impact of environmental disasters in comparison to the consumer society because many are still in a close relationship with the land, with nature and the animal world. This relationship is still their spirituality.

Another important study by Daniel Clément, former researcher at the CMC, deals with the zoological knowledge of the Innu (Montagnais). He compares it to Western knowledge and concludes that it could also be scientific. The following is an abstract of his book *La zoologie des Montagnais* :

Le savoir de ces autochtones est présenté en cinq parties : l'anatomie, le savoir comportemental (les sons, les sens et la locomotion). L'écologie (l'habitat et l'alimentation; les relations entre les animaux et les phénomènes saisonniers), la reproduction et la systématique (l'identification et la nomenclature; la classification).

Parallèlement, ce savoir autochtone est comparé au savoir scientifique afin de montrer qu'il peut également prétendre au titre de science en autant que celle-ci soit définie par ses méthodes (l'observation, la comparaison et la classification), des concepts propres et son fondement épistémologique qui est la logique extravertie (1995:VII).

Ames is nevertheless right when he claims that museums have to change their attitude and understanding of aboriginal cultures. The role of First Nation informants giving anthropologists the authority to represent entire cultures is not acceptable anymore.

Faced now with increasing calls for the repatriation of artifacts and reburial of skeleton remains, museums are recognizing that First Peoples have a legitimate stake in museum operations and in how their histories are represented. Theses issues are volatile and evolving, and the literature is scattered, voluminous and prolific (1992:12).

Another issue that is having an impact on ethnologists and archaeologists is the fact that their fieldwork is not as uncomplicated as it once was.

The irony of contemporary anthropology: the more widely Indians accept the anthropological definition of their former greatness, the less willing they are to accept the anthropologists themselves. Anthropologists are taking on the second class role among Indians that Indians have always held among Whites. (Ames, 1986:57)

Consequently, ethnologists and archaeologists are not always welcome in aboriginal communities, as they once were. Aboriginal communities in North America have "become increasingly disenchanted with anthropology". The Band Council of the Massett Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands passed a resolution in 1983 stating that "no further contact be made with any of the members of the Massett Band" (Ames, 1986:43-44).

Museums with large aboriginal collections, like the CMC, are still extremely popular nationally and internationally. Nevertheless, as the social contemporary life of

Aboriginal Peoples becomes more and more visible everyday, museum cultural workers are finding it difficult to deal with these issues in a museum context.

> As the public presence of Native Canadians in the national political, social and economic spheres increases, there is a shared sense amongst the staff that their museum's movement along the spectra has isolated the collected works, their artists and the readings of the visitor from both historical and contemporary realities (McLoughlin, 1994:254).

First Nations reclaiming their cultures and demanding control over their artifacts are already having an impact on the production of exhibitions. Museums are in the process of signing Memoranda of Understanding with First Nations to facilitate this transition and reach an agreement suitable to both parties. As it was mentioned before, it also involves their land claims.

> The repatriation of objects from national museums to new tribal institutions such as the U'Mista Cultural Centre and the Kwagiulth Museum seemed to be a striking example of how a dominant practice of collection and display has been turned to unanticipated ends. Master narratives of cultural disappearance and salvage could be replaced by stories of revival, remembrance, and struggle (Clifford, 1991:214).

The stipulation attached to repatriation of artifacts to aboriginal communities is that they must have appropriate facilities. In other words, they must have a museum to properly store these artifacts. However, more and more communities are rejecting the word museum because of what it represents. Clifford brings to our attention what happens to the word museum in a passage by Chief Harry Assu at the Kwagiulth Museum's opening ceremony of 1979:

> [t]he Spirit of Dancing, referred to as "Klassila," had been imprisoned in Ottawa for many years and was not being released to the Kwagiulth people. The Power of the Spirit was symbolically thrown from ship to shore,

where it was "caught" and set the catcher dancing. He turned hurled the spirit across the beach and through the museum doors. The spirit had entered the *ceremonial house*.(italics added)(1991:249).

One other discipline which finds itself at a crossroad is archaeology. Some archaeologists have joined forces with ethnology – ethnoarchaeological research – to fill a gap that Nicholas and Andrews call 'a vacant core'. This vacant core is the lack of communication that existed between archaeologists and First Nations. They quote Kelly and William (1996:16) to explain:

> ...[a]rchaeologists are now in contact with aboriginal peoples in ways approximating earlier ethnographic contexts. It is important to realize that the social and political context of these archaeological-aboriginal contacts are different from the interaction between ethnographers and aboriginal peoples a few decades ago...Perhaps the widespread perception that the politically weak must be heard has in a sense led some archaeologists to accept First Nations history from the First Nations people themselves – a kind of applied yet politically correct anthropology (1997:4).

Despite efforts[23] made, there remains, without doubt, tensions and controversies among these disciplines and First Nations, and the tensions are growing. Nicholas and Andrews (1994:2) tell us that some archaeologists are no longer willing to work in situations that deal with native band politics. Others have changed professions entirely.

One relevant example where the First Peoples Hall is concerned is the origin of First Nations which will have an archaeological and an aboriginal perspective. The Iroquois creation narrative of Sky Woman is one example.

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[23] Attached as Appendix #5 is the Canadian Archaeological Association's Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Peoples.

Iroquois Creation Story

Sky Woman floated to earth from the heavens. The only existing animals on earth were all water-dwelling creatures that created a dry place for Sky Woman to land which is now North America. Sky Woman gave birth to twins, the Good Spirit and the Bad Spirit. The Good Spirit created the other animals and the rivers and the hills. Everything the Good Spirit created the Bad Spirit tried to destroy, until the Good Spirit finally challenged his brother to fight to see who would rule the earth. The Good Spirit won and banished his wicked brother to a dark cave under the earth. Sky Woman had died giving birth to her sons, and the Good Spirit fashioned the sun, moon and stars from her body. All living things find nourishment from the soil, where the rest of her body is buried. (http://staff.lib.muohio.edu/nawpa/skywoman.html) 2000-07-06

The archaeologists who are part of the exhibition team have their own version – the crossing of the Bering Straits. *The Inuit Art Quarterly* interviewed an aboriginal curator and a non-aboriginal archaeologist, both co-chairing the First Peoples Hall, on the subject of origin and on how Aboriginal Peoples know the past. The aboriginal curator had this to say:

> The one we're are most familiar with...is archaeology...This museum [CMC] is filled with archaeologists and objects that they have found across Canada...They are able to map where these objects came from and what Indians were doing there...The most obvious record that we have is in our memories, because Aboriginal cultures are oral. Stories were handed down from generation to generation: stories about life long ago, about how the world came to be, about how they saw the world around them, about the plants, the animals, the birds, the fish, the sky, the sun, moon and stars. That's how they know their world. That's how they came to understand the environment around them. (McCarthy, 2000:24).

The archaeologist had this to say:

> Do you represent them as non-Aboriginal archaeologists would present them: as people who are biologically part of the human race, all of whose ancestors came out of Africa at one time in the distant past.... [S]ome people on the committee found this repulsive and degrading and wanted to be represented as people who have always been in this country and who were put here by the Creator to protect its environment.... Eventually the formula that we came up with was the statement "Well, you've been here since the world of Canada appeared, because before you were here there were two or three miles of ice on top of it and there wasn't a 'world' here (McCarthy, 2000:20).

The archaeologist was not impressed with the oral transmission of knowledge:

> ...It puts Aboriginal people in a difficult position, especially given the current popular belief that oral tradition has some sort of mystical component to it and that Aboriginal people have an ingrown ability to transmit knowledge from generation to generation unfailingly over vast periods of time.... It puts Aboriginal people in an awkward position when you say "Look, we're talking about something that happened 4,000 years ago to people that *might* have been your ancestors. (McCarthy, 2000:21).

Ames quotes an artist who felt misunderstood at a raising of a totem pole at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology:

> [w]hen you talk about origins you refer to archaeology and the Bering Straits, and "origin myths", "legends" and "prehistory". We don't know anything about the Bering Straits or about myths and legends. We *know* who we are and where we come from. Our elders tell us that. They speak in truths not in myths (1986:43).

This is only one example of what museum professionals have to deal with. While they are reluctant to contradict what Aboriginal Peoples say about themselves, they are not pleased with the situation. Not all Aboriginal Peoples dispute the archaeological theory of their origins. However, archaeologists have difficulty in accepting First Nations' versions as being based on facts[24] but some do admit that "...were it not for oral tradition, remarkably little could be known abut the past of subarctic peoples because so much of their material culture perished" (Cruickshank, 1992:12). Cruickshank further argues that "oral history has only one purpose – reconstitution of the past, not collection for its own

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[24] An archaeologist, here at CMC, told me that archaeology deals with some verifiable facts and interpretations they derive from them while native oral tradition deals with interpretations based on facts which are not as easily verifiable.

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sake, that oral traditions are texts to be heard, not documents to be stored – cultural forms that organize perceptions about the past, not 'containers of brute facts'" (1992:6).

In the following section, we will examine the emergence of the cultural centre in aboriginal communities where oral tradition is again playing a vital role.

Cultural Centres Vs Museums

The problems associated with museum anthropology have become very apparent: "Third-world voices now call into question the right of any local intellectual tradition to construct a museum of mankind." (Clifford, 1988:145) One can therefore empathize with Stanislas Adotevi, former director of *L'Institut de recherches appliquées du Dahomey*, when he speaks about museums in Third World countries:

> ...[l]es principes, la présentation, la méthodologie, la formation des muséographes, doit être repensé et exprimé en termes de développement à partir de la culture. [De plus,] il est très absurde d'envoyer des futurs muséographes africains apprendre dans les musées européens l'ethnographie africaine (1992 :133,136).

Reserves are not exactly located in Third World countries but the social conditions are similar as well as the various issues that arise where museums are concerned. In that respect Linda Jules from the Shuswap Nation, as cited by Moira McLouglin, has a similar opinion to Adotevi on the interpretation of aboriginal cultures.

> [w]e have a feeling that if you are going to study Shuswap culture you shouldn't go to Ottawa to study it, you shouldn't go to Victoria to study it. You should come to where the culture sprang up because then you are able to experience the climate and the environment; you are able to experience the community and you can talk to the people. We are part of the culture, you know – we really don't like the idea of studying Native culture in isolation from Native people (1994:305,306).

All cultures must adapt to changes or else they die: "[d]espite enormous damage to indigenous cultures and continuing economic and political inequality, many tribal groups and individuals have found ways to live separate from and in negotiation with the modern state." (Clifford, 1991:214) Aboriginal Peoples are now in control of their cultures, their way of life and their identity. They are no longer "Indians"; they are Nisga'a, Tsimshian, Innu, Cree, Mohawk; over six hundred communities in Canada alone with a population estimated at approximately 1,399,300.[25] They are now strongly voicing what they claim is rightfully theirs. They value the written information about their cultures but they also challenge some of its interpretations. They want to tell their own stories from their own traditional and contemporary point of view and are educating their children to do likewise. They have adapted to the changing environment, especially in recent years.

Cultural centres are being developed in many native communities all over the country and are acquiring many functions besides producing exhibitions and interpreting their cultures. Many cultural centres are becoming the heart of many communities with language, dancing, and craft classes. More importantly, oral tradition is being acknowledged in its original setting and with the proper respect. The new permanent exhibition *Pekuakamiulnuatsh* of Le Musée [26]amérindien de Mashteuiatsch, Quebec was developed to show the Ilnu identity in its totality and answers three fundamental questions; Where do I come from? (the past),Where am I (the present) and Where am I going (the future). (Paul, 2000:37):

L'exposition révèle ce que sont les Ilnuatsh en utilisant leurs relations au territoire comme fil conducteur. Les objets en témoignent, les aînés l'expriment, la tradition orale l'affirme et l'histoire écrite le confirme : tous sont

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[25] (Source: "Profile of Canada's Aboriginal Population" 2000-2001 Report on Plans and Priorities (April 2000) page 10: (http://www.inac.gc.ca/pubs/estimates/index.html)

[26] Some aboriginal communities still use the word museum like the one mentioned here which is over twenty-five years old. Today, aboriginal communities prefer 'cultural centre' instead of museum.

révélateurs de la relation étroite et privilégiée qu'entretiennent les Ilnuatsh avec le territoire depuis des millénaires (Paul, 2000:33).

The museum included a space especially for the elders and artisans in their architectural plan. The elders are always consulted in most aspects of museum project development. Some come almost everyday; they do beadwork, moccasins, tan leather etc. The staff likes having them around and are learning a lot at the same time. They breathe life into the museum. The most significant difference between museums and cultural centres are that objects are not only evidence of the past, they have a life history. The Innu drum the *Teuaikan* for example, is a sacred object which was traditionally preserved by women but fabricated and played by men only. Today, women have also acquired this privilege. "The Northwest Coast copper...accumulates value during its life" (Cruickshank, 1992:8)

Cultural centres are and will be playing a significant role not only in the preservation of First Nations' cultures but in reconstructing their own social and economic development. Interpretation of aboriginal cultures in their proper environment will give a more accurate interpretation of who First Nations really are than national/provincial museums were ever capable of doing. "The establishment of cultural facilities in aboriginal communities throughout Canada is likely to redefine the landscape of the interpretation of First Nations culture and history." (Laforet:1997:6).

The above quote explains the reason why I believe that there is a subtle resistance by non-aboriginal museum professionals in accepting First Nations in the museum community. Anthropologists are perhaps more conscious, than most museum employees, of the consequences not only to their professions but to the entire institution as well.

The inclusion in every treaty of a clause to facilitate the access by First Nations of museum collections outside the purview of federal or provincial governments, and the complementary intention of establishing community

archives and cultural centres carries the entire discussion beyond a government-to-government conversation about sharing the Canadian wealth. It has implication for museums, both private and public, elsewhere in Canada, and particularly for museums in the United States and Europe (Laforet,1999b:16).

More and more cultural centres are being developed in communities across Canada and the United States. Not all national and international museums are happy with the repatriation of artifacts. Many claim that, without the conservation of many artifacts in museums, these artifacts would not exist at all. Others claim that repatriation of these objects back to communities would make them unavailable for the scientific study that is presently possible in non-native museums (McLouglin, 1994:54). These are weak arguments as many aboriginal artifacts have been preserved by aboriginal families for generations (such as wampum belts) and scientific studies in the appropriate environment would certainly be more accurate.

The Next Generation

Cultural centres in communities are also important for the aboriginal youth population which is quite large. Furthermore, there is, unfortunately, still a lot of healing to be done not only in the communities but in the urban areas as well. A revived interest in their cultures is taking place among the young generation nation wide. They are now keen to increase their knowledge of their cultures. They are living in urban settings as well as in communities. Some live in both. How is the younger generation reacting to these changes? Judging from the interns I have had in the Aboriginal Training Programme since 1993, I would say extremely well but with their own adjustments to the changing times. The traditional pow wow regalia, for example, is now made with modern materials and the dances and music are also changing but the spirit and the *raison d'être* of the pow wow is still there. " [In some native communities] people from different age groups have different interpretations of which objects are 'sacred' and which 'profane', with younger people

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often giving greater latitude to those boundaries than do their elders (Cruickshank, 1992:10)

The next generation has entered the new millennium in many fields: education, health, law etc. and is now entering the museum field. But, most of all, they have and are playing a crucial role in establishing the aboriginal identity, showing cultural differences as well as expressing their views on historical issues through their sensational traditional and contemporary art. Gerald McMaster in his dissertation, *The New Tribe- Critical Perspectives and Practices in Aboriginal Contemporary Art* examines several works of young aboriginal contemporary artists and observes:

[t]here is a critical depth of interpretation often ignored by critics, curators and scholars. [The aboriginal artists of today are] idea-based artists who are acutely sensitive to the ramifications of political changes; artists who derive inspiration from concepts based on new theoretical ideas; artists whose approach to their work is demanding, earnest, and often humourous; artists who are philosophers in their quest for subjecthood based on their existence and how they fit in the world; artists whose outlook on life can be described as "tricksterish;" artists whose beliefs are inspired by tradition, yet who are fired by the passion of a promise of tomorrow; artists whose opinions are never lacking in meaning; artists whose attitudes are informed by an ever-expanding interest in the world; artists whose convictions are founded in the efficacy of their ideas; and whose view of the world is neither tradition-bound nor modern, but both (1999:16).

There is no doubt that it was first through their art worldview that First Nations succeeded in expressing their freedom of identity as well as their freedom of culture.

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CONCLUSION

It is clear that the collecting and exhibiting of cultures have now entered a new age and that a new knowledge has emerged along with it. Where museums are concerned, during the Renaissance, collecting of artifacts was done by cross-reference and similitude. Artifacts were exhibited to give a circular, harmonious view of the world – natural and artificial curiosities. Knowing was related to God and the supernatural, a symbolic rather than causal relation through resemblance and correspondence. (12 apostles and the 12 signs of the Zodiac – a correspondence) A new type of collecting emerged, ready-made items were bought rather than commissioned and artifacts became a commodity.

The classical age rejected the complexities of similitude, and classification of things emerged. Collecting became mainly the work of scientific naturalists and objects were classified in categories: food, clothing etc.. Theory and nature became two separate entities and comparison replaced resemblance. In a museum, knowledge acquired a two-dimensional structure – the curators controlled the displays with visitors as passive observers.

Cataloguing the whole of nature became an impossible task and the modern age emerged with totality and experience as its basic function. What becomes important during the modern age is the relationship between the parts and the functions that they perform. Knowledge is three-dimensional, defined through its relationship to people. Visitors become participants and objects are given meaning. Collecting becomes a fanatic venture for the authentic creating massive areas to store these collections. Museums become instrumental in the state education system and curators are responsible for the collections and for educating the masses.

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With the end of the modern age, we are in the process of entering a new age and society is again going through major transformations with a focus on economic growth based on the diffusion of knowledge through technology and globalization. New nation states are emerging some peacefully and others with violence and chaos creating world-wide repercussions. Ethnic differentiation within and among the new nations are increasing. Exposure to new cultures, new ideas and values have led to 'discontinuities' and 'ruptures' to the traditional cultures. A new truth of multiculturalism is emerging.

In the museum community, collecting appears to have reached its limit. The storage areas are overflowing and there are very limited space and funds for new acquisitions. Contrary to the Renaissance a very small percentage of artifacts are exhibited, the majority are kept in storage. The visitors have direct access to the archives and the collections through technology and open storage. The visitors can also browse through Web sites and look at virtual exhibitions from their own homes. Curators have now come to the realization that their attempt to complete collections - the aim of the classical age - is an impossible if not an irrational task. Reproduction and technology are now filling in the blanks of what is missing in the collections to make an exhibition more comprehensive and perhaps more interesting. This was demonstrated by the huge success of *Mysteries of Egypt*. CMC and other museums are now replacing the authenticity of real objects with authenticity of the visitor experience. The new blockbuster concept applies to exhibitions as well; they must become profitable.

In an age where everything has to have a spectacular effect to interest the visitor, the buildings housing the exhibitions must also be spectacular. At CMC, some visitors come only to have their picture taken in front of the building. The spectacular Grand Hall has become a symbol of all First Nations, eclipsing the 'truth' that it is not. Museums as

entertainment facilities are slowly taking precedence over their educational mandate. Marketing is now part of the museum culture, seen in the development of plans based on the concept of tourism.

The five-year scientific research necessary to produce an exhibition has now significantly been reduced and curators are expected to do work other than pure research – something they have not necessarily been trained for. Their academic knowledge is under scrutiny and is no longer the only 'truth'. Consequently, they have lost their unique position of power and must learn to work in a very diverse work environment as part of a team. Interpreting living cultures is proving to be a very difficult task with conflicts arising unexpectedly such as those encountered with the exhibitions *The Spirit Sings* and *Into the Heart of Africa.*

Tourists have become very important museum clients. Museums have no choice but to focus on visitors because what is crucial for their survival is the number of visitors that they can attract. A new dimension has now emerged whereby the visitors not only have an opinion on what they expect from the museum but also in the representation of their cultures. They no longer want their cultures to be interpreted exclusively by curators. They want to have input in the process. This is especially pertinent to First Nations who want to be active participants in the interpretation of their cultures.

In such a chaotic situation, museums are definitely struggling to maintain what once constituted a museum – one with scientific research as its foundation. In any case, a rupture with the past has occurred and a shift into the contemporary is taking place. With limited contemporary artifacts and limited contemporary experience, it remains to be seen whether museums will be able to survive this transition.

At the present time, a new relationship is developing between First Nations and museums in the specific area of land claims and repatriation. I, like many other First Nations' members involved in museums, have come to the conclusion that the best route to take to have control over the interpretation of our cultures is through the repatriation of artifacts with the subsequent development of our own cultural centres. Cultural centres are crucial in native communities and they are not only producing exhibitions and interpreting their cultures but have acquired many other functions such as the important role of oral tradition as well as the teaching of languages, dancing and crafts. They are not only helping their people to be proud of their culture and their identity but they are also helping them in the healing process. As stated earlier by Linda Jules from the Shuswap Nation, one should not have to go to Ottawa to study Shuswap culture. One should go where the culture sprang up. First Nations' cultures are finally going home. How we will deal with this transition is another story.

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VL∩ᔑᐠᑦ ∪ᐸᕐᑕᑯᔑᐧᐃᓇᐧᑫ ᒥᔑᐧᐁᐳᒥᐧᑫ ᐧᐃᐊᑕᒪᕐᑫᐧᐃᐊ

ᑯᑕᑊᕐᔥᑫ ᐧᐃᓯᑕ ᐃᔑᔆᐧᐅᐧᐃᓇᐧᑫ

LLᐤ ᐅᐧᑳᐱᐃᐊᔑᑎᐧᐃᓇᐧ ᐅᓇᑑᑫᐧ·ᐃᐧ 217 A (lll) ᕲᐅᑕᖾᓇ·ᓇᑫ·ᐤ ᑲᕾ ᕲᐃᕲᑑᐊᓇᐧ·ᑭᔆ
ᔕᐧᑲ ᕲᕿᔑᐧᒥᐧᑲᕾᔑᑲᓇ ᕲᕾᔑ 10, 1948 ᕲᐃᐊᕾᔑᑯᑲᑫᐧᓇᐤ.

ᔕᐧᑲ ᕲᕿᔑᔑᒥᐧᑲᕾᔑᑲᓇ ᕲᕾᔑ 10, 1948 LLᐤ ᐅᐧᑳᐱᐃᐊᔑᑎᐧᐃᓇᐧ ᒥᔑᐧᐁᐳᕾᔆ ᑲᕲᓇᐧᑫᐧ·ᐧᓇᑫ ᐧᑲᔑᐧᐃᕾᑯ·ᐤ ᕲᐅᑕᖾᓇ·ᑲᕾᐤ ᑲᕾ ᕲᐃᕲᑑᐊᓇᐧ·ᑭᔆ ᒥᐧᑕ·ᑕᒥᐤ ᐅᕾ VLᐣᔆᑦ ∪ᐸᕿᑕᑯᕾᐃᐊᓇ ᒥᕾᐧᐁᑲᕾᐤ ᑎᕲᒫᑕ·ᐃᐊ ·ᐃᑭ ᐧᑭ ᕲᕾᐧᑫ ᑲᐃᕾ ᐅᕐᔥᐃᐧᐃᑲᕲᐤ ᒪᕾᐊᒋᐧ ᐅL ᑲᕐᑕ ᐅᕐᔥᐃᐧᐃᑲᑲᕾᐧᐣ ᒪᕾᐊᒋᐧᐤᐧ. ᑲᐃᔆᕿ ᐅᐧᓇᕐᑲ ᓇᐧᐃᐊᒋᑯᐧᑫ ᐅᐳ·ᐧᐅ LLᐤ ᐅᐧᑳᐱᐃᐊᔑᑎᐧᐃᓇᐧ ᐅᓇᑑᑫ·ᐃᐊ ᑲᕲᓇ ᑲᑊᕾ ᑎᐧᐁᐊᖾᕾ·ᑕ ᐅᕾᑕᖾᓂ ᕾᐃᕾᕾᓕᒥᔑ ᐃᑲᕲᐤ ᐅᐧᓇᕐᑫᐧ·ᐃᐊ, ᒥᕾᐧᐁ ᕾᐃᕾᕾᐃᔑᑕᑲᕲᐤ ᕾᕲᐧᑕ·ᑲᕲ·, ᕾ·ᐧᑕᕲᕾᑲᕲᐤ, ᕾᐧᑕᕲᕲᑲᕲᐤᐧ ᕾᓇ·ᐧᑕ ᕲᕲᓇᕐᑎᐃᐊᑲᕾᑯᐧ ·ᐧᐁ·ᑕᐧᓇ ᕾᐃᕾ·ᐧᑕ·ᑕ∪ᕲᐤ ᕾᓇ ᕾᕲᑯᕾᑯ∪ᕲᐤᐧ ᕾᐧᐅᑑᕲᑲᑫᐤ ᕾᓇ ᑯᑕᑊᕾᕐᑫ ᑲᐃᕾ ᐧᑕᕲᕾᐧ ᕲᕲᓇᕿᐣᐃᐊᑲᕾᑯᐧ ᕾᐃᕾ ᐸᕲᓇᑲᑲᕾᐧ ᒥᕾᐧᑕ ᑲᐃᕾ ᐧᑕᕐᑯᐧᑫ ᕾᓇ ᑲᐧᑕᐃᕾᑕᑲᓇᐧ·ᑭᐤ ᐃᕾᕟ ᐧᑭ ᑲᑕ·ᕾᐧᑕᐊᕾᕾᑯᐧᑭ ᕾᐃᕾ·ᐧᑕ·ᐧᐃᕾᑲᑐᐤ ᐅ·ᐧᑕ ·ᐃᐊᑕᒪᕐᑫᐧ·ᑕᐧ.

ᐧᑕᕐ·ᐧᑕ·ᐃᐊ∪ᕲᑫ

ᒥᐅ·ᐧᑕ ᐃᑕᕾ ᔕᑲ ᑲᐃᕾᕿᑫ·ᐃᐊᐧᑭᐤ ᑲᕲᓇ·ᐧᑕᐧᐧ ᐅᑕᕾ·ᑫ ∪ᐸᕿᑕᑯᕾ·ᐃᐊᐤ ᑲᕐᑕᕾ·ᐧᑕᐊᕾᕾᑯ·ᐃᐤ ᑲᕾ ᑕᐃᕾ ᐃᕾᕿᑲᐧᐧᑕᕐᑎ·ᐃᐊᐤ ᒥᕾᐤ ᐅL ᑲᐅᕾᑕᕲᕿᐤ ᑎᐧᐁᕾᑎᕾᐧ·ᐃᐊᐤ, ·ᑲᕾ·ᑲᑎᕾᐧ·ᐃᐊᐤ ᕾᓇ ᐃᕐᕾᕾᓇᕐ·ᐃᐊᐤ ᐅL ᕲᑭᐤᐧ.

ᒥᐅ·ᐧᑕ ᐃᑕᕾ ᔕᑲ ᑲᑕᑯ ᐃᕾᕐᐧᑕᕿᐤ ᑲᐸᕐᕐᐃᐊᔑᕐᑫ·ᐃᐊᐧᑕᐧᐤ ᕾᓇ ᐧᑕᕿᔑᒥᐧᐁᕾ·ᐧᑕᐧ·ᐧᐃᐊᔑᕾᕐ·ᑫ·ᐃᐊᐤ ᕾᕾᑊᐊᔑᕐᔆᕐᕿᐧ·ᐃᓇᐧᑫ ᑲᕲᕾ ᓇ·ᕐᑲᑲᑲ·ᑭ ᐃᕾᐣᔆᕐᐧᐃᐊᐤ ᕾᓇ ᐅᐅL ᐃᕐᑯᑕᕾ·ᐃᐊᐧᑫ ᐧᐃᑕ L·ᑕ ᑲᑭ·ᐅᓇᑫ·ᐧᑭᐤ ᕾᐃᕾᐧᐃᕾᕿᐤᕲᐤ VLᐣᔆᕾᐧᑕ ᕿᕐᐧᐅᑕᑕᕾᐧᑕ ᑎᐧᐁᕾᓇᐧ·ᐃᐊᐤ ᑲᕾᕲᑑ·ᐃᐊᐤ, ∪·ᐧᑕᕿᑯᑕᑕᕾ·ᐃᐊᐤ ᕾᓇ ᐧᑕᐣᑐᐧᑕᕿᑐᑕᐧᐤ ᑕᕾ ᑯᕿᕾᐃᐊᐤ ᕲᐅᕐᔆᕾᐧ.

ᒥᐅ·ᐧᑕ ᐃᑕᕾ ᔕᑲ L·ᑕ ᑲᐸᕐᕐᐃᐊᔑᕐᑫ·ᕐᕐᐤ, ᐸᕲᐅᕲᐤ ᐃᕾᔑᓇ·ᕿᕾᐧᑕᐤ ᐃᔆᕾ ᖾᐅᕲᐸᕲᐅᐧᐃᕐ·ᑭᑲᐤ ᐃᕐᕐᕐ·ᑲᕐᕿ ᑲᕲᕾ ·ᐧᑕᕐᕲᕾᕿᑐ ᕾᕲ ᐅᕾ ᑲᑊᕐᕿᕲᕿᕾ ᐣᐃᓇ·ᐧᑕ ᕟᐧᑕᐧᕲ·ᐃᐊᐤ ᕾᓇ ᑲᐃᕾᕐᑕᕐᑕᕿᕐᑫᐧᕿᑊ ᐃᕲᐣᔆᕾ·ᐃᐊᐧ ᐃᕲᐧᑕᐤ ᐅᕲᑭ ᐧᑭ ᕿᕲᐅᕲᕿᑲᐧ VLᐣᔆᑦ ∪ᐸᕲᑕᑯᕾᐧ·ᐃᐊ ᕾᐸᕿ·ᑲᕾᕟᑯᑲᑫᐤ ᐃL ᐃᐊᑯᓇᕿᐧ·ᐃᐊᐧ.

ᒥᐅ·ᐧᑕ ᐃᕿᕐᐧᑕ ᔕᑲ L·ᑕ ᑲᐸᕐᕐᐃᐊᔑᕐᑫᐧᕿᕐᕿ ᒥᐃᕾᕿ∪ᕲᑫᐧ ᑲᕲᕾ ᕾᓇ ·ᐃᕾᐧᐃᐊᔑᓇᔑᓇᐧ·ᑭᕐᕿᐤ ᒥᕾᐧᐧᑕ

ᏤᏟ·ᐂ·ᐊᗣᏒᗢᓂ·ᐊᑉ.

ᒥᐅ·ᐁ ᐃᏟᗮ 7·ᗭ ᐅᐱᏍᏄᏎ ᒥᒐ·ᐸᏭᏓ ᒥᑭ·ᐁ ᐊᐳ·ᐊᶜ ᐡ·ᐁᐊᏟᒫ·ᐃᵃ ᐂᒪ ᐂᏟᐊᏟᐱᐃᏎᓂ·ᐃᓂ ᑌᐂᏕ ᏉᐅᏎ Ꮯᐧᗂ Ꭶᗳ ᏤᐂᏕ ᐂᏟᐊᏟᏎᑐ ᗞᏟᏎᐧᐊᓫ ᐊ·ᐊᶜ ᒐᗳᐊ ᐂᐊᒪ ᐃᏎᓂ·ᐊᵇ ᗞᏎ ᐃ·ᐁ·ᐊᶜ ᏟᐊᏟ ᐃᓄᏟᐧᏎ·ᐃ ᗂᵇ ᒐᗳ ᒥᗂ·ᐁ ᐂᏎᏒ ᗞᓂ·ᐊᶜ ᐊ·ᐊᗢᏆ ᒣᐊᏒ ᐃᏴᗢᗮᗲ ᒼᐧᗞᗢ ᓄ·ᐊᓂ ᒥᐧᗢᏓᗢᏎᗮᐊᏝᶜ ᐱᏟᐱᏒ·ᐃ ᓂ:

ᒥᐅ·ᐁ ᐃᏟᗮ 7·ᗭ ᗂᐊᐂᏟᏄᏙᏟᐪᐧᐧ ᗂᗂᗢᏟᐧᗣ·ᐧᗢ ᏓᐅᏕ ᐸᏓᗲᓂᐧᐧᐧ ᐊᏟᗳᐊᐧ·ᐃᗢ ᒥᗂ·ᗱ ᐃᏟᏐᗂ·ᐧᐧ ᒥᒐ·ᐁ ᗂᐂᓫ·ᐃᗢ·ᐧᶜ ᐊᗢᏒᗢᗢ·ᐃᵃ ᏟᏟᐧᗢᏲᐧᗢᗢ ᒐ ᒥᗂᗢ·ᐧᏟᗂᐧᗢᗢ ᐁᏟᐱᏒᶜ ᗞᐂᏟᐊᏟᏎ·ᐃᵃ ᗂᏟ
ᏄᐧᗢᒥᏄᏒᏎᐊᓂᵃ .

ᒥᐅ·ᐁ ᐃᏟᗮ 7·ᗭ ᒥᑭᐂᏒ ᗢᏒᗞᏒᗱᐧᐧᶜ ᗞᗢ·ᐁᗢ·ᐊᶜ ᐂᏟᐊᏟᏎ·ᐃᓂᵃ ᒐ ᏄᐧᗢᒥᏄᏒᏎᐊᓂᵃ ᒪ·ᐊᶜ ᒥᑭᐂᗢ Ꮯᗲᓂᵃ
ᗂᏫᗪ ᐧᒼ ᒥᑭᏟ ᏆᏟᏟᗲᵃ ᗞ·ᐁ ᐊᏟᗳᐊᏆ·ᐃᓂᵃ, ᐊᒥᏟᗮ ·ᐧᏕ ᏄᏟᏟᐧᐊᶜ ᗞᏙ ᒪᒪᵇ ᗞ·ᗂᐠᐃᏄᐧᐊᓂᵇ ᗞ·ᐁᗢ ᗞᒥ
ᒥᒐ·ᐁᏒᵇ ᐁᏟᐱᏒᵇ ᐂᏟᐊᏟᏎ·ᐃᓂᵃ ᏄᏟᐧᐃ·ᐃᵇ ᒥᐂᏒᏆᏟᗂ·ᗂᵇ ᗂᐃ ᐊ·ᐊᗢᐧ ᒐ ᒥᒐ·ᐁᏒᵇ ᗂᏟᏎ ᐊᐁᏟᐧᐃ·ᐧ ᗂᏎ
ᗂᏟᏒᐁᵇ ᗂᏟᏎᐧᗂᗢ·ᐊᶜ ᒥᗂᐂᐧᐁᏟᐧᐧᶜ ᗞ·ᐁᗢ ᐂᐧᐊᏒᗣᐧᐧᐧ·ᐊᶜ ᗂᏟ ᗩᓂᵇ ᒥᒥᏒᒥᗂᐅᵇ ᒐ·ᐊᶜ ᗂᏟᏟᗢᏟᏴᏎ·ᐊᶜ ᒥᐂᏒ
ᏆᏟᏟᗪ·ᐃᵇ ᐊ·ᐊᐠᐠ ᒥᑭᐂᗢᏟ·ᗂᵇ ᗞᗢ·ᐂᗢ·ᐁᶜ ᐂᏟᐊᏟᏎᏎ·ᐃᓂᵃ ᒐ ᏄᐧᗢᒥᏄᏒᏎᐊᓂᵃ ᗂᐂᏎ ᗂᐂᏒᏎ·ᗂᗢᗢᐧ ᒥᐂᏒ
ᗂᐧᐱᗞ·ᐊᶜ ᒥᑭᐅᗂᐧᐧᶜ ᐧᐊᏎ·ᐃ ᐃᑭ·ᐁᗢ·ᐊᶜ ᒥᐂᏒ ᗂᗞᐱᒪ·ᐁᏟᐧᐧ·ᐃᶜ ᒐ ᐧ·ᐊᏎ·ᐃ ᐊ·ᐊᏒᵇ ᗂᐊᐧ Ꮔᐁᐊ·ᗂᗢᗢᐧ
ᗂᐂᏟᏄᐅᏟ·ᐊᶜ ᐊᏓᗢ ᒥᐧᏓᵇᗂᒥᗢᗂᗭᵇ ᒥᒐ·ᐁ ᐂᒪ ᒐ ᒥᒐ·ᐁᏒᵇ.

1. ᗞᏟᏅᐂᗂᵃ ᐁᏟᵇ.

ᗂᐂᓂ·ᐁᗢᵇ ᗂᐱᏟᐱᏒ·ᐊᶜ ᗢᏟ·ᐂᐱ·ᐊᵇ ᏄᐧᗢᒥᏄᏒᏎ·ᐃᗢᵇ ᒐ ᏟᏟᏟ ᒥᑭᐂᗢᗂᏟᐧᐃ·ᐂᵃ ᗂᏟ ᐂᏟᐊᏟᏎᏎ·ᐃᓂᵃ. ᗞᏟᗢ·ᐃ
ᒥᗂ·ᐃ·ᐂᵃ ᗂᏟ ᗢ·Ꮯᗂ·ᐂᵃ ᒐ·ᐃ Ꮯᗮ ᒥᐂᏟᗂᗂ·ᐊᏟᏄ·ᐊᏟᵃ ᐊᗂᐊ ᒥᗢ·ᐂᏒ·ᐊᏄ·ᐃᗢᵇ.

2. ᗞᏟᏅᐂᗂᵃ ᗢᏟᵃ.

ᗂᐂᓂ·ᐁᗢᵃ ᗞᏟᗂᗢ·ᐃ ᗂᐂᏒ ᐂᏟᐊᏟᏎᏎ·ᐃᓂᵃ ᒐ ᏄᐧᗢᒥᏄᏒᏎᐊᓂᵃ ᗂᐊᐂᗪᵇ ᗞ·ᐁᗢ ᐊᑭᏎ·ᐃᵃ ᗂ·ᐃᶜ 7·7ᵇ
ᗢᏟᏟ·ᐂᐊ ᐊᏒ·ᐃᵃ ᗞᒥ ᏟᐊᏲᐂᵇ ᗂᏄᗢ·ᐃᶜ, ᗂᐃᐊᏲᏆᶜ, ᗂᐂᏟᐊᐊᏒᶜ, ᗂᐂᏟᏆ·Ꮖᶜ, ᗂᐂᏟᐊᏴᏓᏆᶜ, ᗞᏴᒪ·ᐃᵃ,
ᐃᗢᏟᐧ·ᗂᵃ, ᗂᗞᏟ ᗂᗢᐧᏟᶜ, ᏟᏄᒪᏲᏟᐠᐃᵃ, ᗢᏟ·ᐂᐱ·ᐃᵃ ᒐ ᐊᐧᶜ ᐃᏟᏐᏆᏟᐧᏟ·ᐃᵃ. ᗢ·ᐁ ᒐᐧᐃ ᗂ·ᐃᵃ 7·7ᵇ
ᗢᏟᏟ·ᐂᐊᐊᏒᐧ·ᐃᵃ ᏟᐧᏐᏝᗂᗂᗢᵇ ᗞᒥ ᗞᏴᒪ·ᐃᗢᵇ, ᗂᐊᏄᏟᐧᏟᵇ ᐧᒪ ᒥᒐ·ᐁᏒᵇ ᗂᐂᏒ ᏄᏟᐧᏟᏲᗢᗢ·ᐧ ᐊᏒᵇ ᒐ
ᗂᏄᏟᐧᏟ·ᐧᶜ ᗞᏟᏟ·ᐃ ᗂᐂᏒ ᐁᏟᐧᏟᶜ ᐊ·ᐊᏒ ᐧᒪ ᗂᏟ ᗞᒥᏄᏟᶜ ᐊᏓᗢ Ꮔᐊᐊ·ᐁ, ᐊᐧᗢᐧᐧ·ᐃᓂᵇ, ᗞᏟᒪᗞᗢᵇ ᗂᐧᏒᏟᗂ
ᒪᏟᗢᐧ ᗂᏟ ᐊᗢᏟ ᗂᗢᏟᗮᗂᐧ·ᐃᶜ ᒥᒥ ᗞᏟᒥ·ᐧᏟᐧᏎ·ᐃᗢ.

3. ᗞᏟᏅᐂᗂᵃ ᗢᏟᵃ

ᗂᐂᓂ·ᐁᗢᵃ ᐂᏟᐊᏟᏎᏒ ᐱᏟᐱᏒ·ᐃᵃ, ᒥᏓ·ᐊᗂᐊᏟ·ᐃᵃᶜ ᒐ ᐊᏒ·ᗂᒥᏒ·ᐃᓂᵇ ᒥᐊᏒᵇ.

4. ᗞᏟᏅᐂᗂᵃ ᗢ·ᐃᵃ

ᗂ·ᐃᵃ ᏟᐂᏟ·ᐁᏟᐧᗢᵃ ᒥᐧᐊᏊᗢᗢ·ᐧᵇ ᐊ·ᐊᏒ ᐧᒪ ᐧᏟᏟᐊ·ᐃᵃ. ᗂ·ᐃᵃ ᗂᏟ ᏟᐂᏟ·ᐁᏟᐧᗢᵃ ᗂᐂᏒ Ꮖᐧᵃ ᗂᐂᏟᗢ·ᗂᵇ
ᗂ·ᗂᏟᏟᐧᐊᵃ ᗢᵇ ᒐ ᒥᒥᐱᏄᗢᐅᵇ ᏟᐂᏟᏆᏆ·ᐧᶜ Ꮠᐧᗂᵇ ᗂᗞᏄᗢᒪ·ᐂ·Ꮯ ᐧᏟᏟᗞ ᐊᗢᐧᗂᗢᵃ.

5. ᗞᏟᏅᐂᗂᵃ ᐊᐊᵃ

ᐧᐧ·ᐃᵃ ᐊ·ᐊᏒ ᏟᐧᗂᗢᗢᐧᏟ ᐊᗢᏖᏟᐱᏄ·ᐃᗢᵇ ᗂᏟ ᒪᏟᐧᏟᐧ·ᐃᓂᵇ ᗂᗞᏟ ᏟᏟᏎᏟᐧᐂ·ᐧ ᗞᐱᏟᏄᏒ ᐧᒪ ᗂ·ᗂᏟᐱ·ᐁ·ᐃᓂᵇ.

6. ᐅᏪᏆᐃᑳᵃ ᐃᑯᐧᑕᒉ

ᒥᕈᐧᖇ ᐃᑯ ᐅᒪ ᑲᑭᐅᐧᑐᵃ ᑌᕈᐌᑕᒉ ᑭᐃᏪᕿᐅᑕᒉᕆᐟ ᑲᐃᐊᕶᕈᐧᐟ ᐃᐁᐃᐧᑐᕿᐧᐃᵃ.

7. ᐅᏪᏆᐃᑳᵃ ᓂᐧᐃᕈᒉ

ᑲᐃᐊᕶᕆᐟ ᐅᐊᐃᑐᕿᐧᐃᵃ ᑲᕶᐊ ᐊᐃᐅᕝ ᏟᏟ ᐊᕈᐊᑊᕆ ᒣᐊ ᕈᐅᕞ ᑲᐊᐧᖇᕿᑯᐊᐟᵈ ᕈᐊᑐᕿᐧᐃᐊᵎ, ᑲᕶᐊ ᐊᐃᐅᕝ
ᏟᏟ ᐊᕈᐊᑊᕆ ᕞᑲᐊᕶᕆᑯᐊᐟᵈ ᐅᐧᐃᕘ ᐃᐊᑐᕿᐧᐃᵃ ᐅᕞ ᕈᕈᕙᐢᐟ ᒣᐊ ᐃᑯ ᐃᕈᐧᕘᐧᑐᵃ ᑲᐅᕞ ᐃᕈᕈᕿᕙᕈᐊᵈ.

8. ᐅᏪᏆᐃᑳᵃ ᓂᏵᐧᖇᒉ

ᑲᕶᐊᐧᕘᕃ ᑲᐊᒪᕈᕆᕝ ᐅᏟᕈᵃ ᑌᑕᒉᕿᐅᐃᵃ ᒥᕈᐧᖇ ᐊᑌᐊᑐᕿᐧᐃᐊᵎ ᑲᕶ ᐅᕞ ᑌᒨᕈᕿᑲᐅᕞᵃ ᐅᑯ ᕃᕈᐊᑐᕿᐃᐊᵃ ᑲᕃ
ᐃᐊᑐᕿᐧᐃᵃ ᑊᕈᕞᕃᕙᕃ ᑊᐧᒉ ᑲᕙᐊᑐᕿᕃ ᐅᕈᐧᕘᕈᕿᐈᵃ ᑲᕶ ᐃᕈ ᐅᐊᕃᑲᐅᕞᵃ ᑌᑕᒉᕿᐅᐃᐊᵎ.

9. ᐅᏪᏆᐃᑳᵃ ᕈᑲᕆ

ᑲᐧᐃᵃ ᐊᐃᐅᕝ Ꮯᐊᕈᐧᖇᕞ ᐧᐃᵃ ᕙᑯᐊ ᐅᏟᑐᕈᕈᐧᐃᵃ ᕞᕈᏟᐊᐅᵃᶜ, ᑲᐊᕶᏟᑕᕆᐊᵃ ᕿᕶ ᕞᕈᕆ ᕈᐊᕆ ᑭᕆᐊᐊᑲᕈᐧᐃᵃᶜ ᕙᑲᵃ
ᐊᕙᵎ.

10. ᐅᏪᏆᐃᑳᵃ ᕞᏟᕆ

ᑲᕶᐊᐧᕘᕃ ᐅᏟᑲᕃ ᒥᕈᐧᖇ ᐧᕘᐧᑐᕈ ᏟᏟ ᐧᑲᕞᕽ ᑭᐊᏟᕘᑲᐧᐃᑊᑲᐅᕈᕝ ᑲᐊᕈᏟᏟᐊᑲᐅᕞᵃ ᐊᕈᕏᐊᕈᵃ ᑌᑕᒉᕿᐊᕈᕿ
ᒣᐊᕝ ᐊᕘ ᑌᑕᒉᕿᐊᕿᵃ ᑲᕙᐧᕈᐊᕞᕞᕙᕃ ᑲᕆᕙᕿᐧᐅ ᕘᏟ ᐅᕞᕙᕃ ᒣᐊᕝ ᑌᑕᒉᕿᐊᵃ ᑲᐊᕞ ᑲᕿ ᕽᕿᕿᕙᕃᐈᵃ
ᕈᐊᵃ ᕃᕿ ᑲᐊᕏᕞᕞᕈᕝᶜ ᑲᕃ ᐅᕙᕙᕆᕝᐃᵃ ᒣᐊ ᕃᕿ ᕽᕞᕞᕈᕝᐃᵃ ᑲᐅᏟᕙᕈᏟᐊ ᕈᐧᐈᕽ.

11. ᐅᏪᏆᐃᑳᵃ ᕞᏟᕆᏟᕝᕆᕽ

(1) ᑲᕶᐊᐧᕘᕃ ᑲᕃᕽᑕᕈᕝᏟ ᐅᕞᕞᕈᕝᐃᕈᕝᐊ ᐅᏟᕎᐊᕙ ᑌᑕᒉᕿᐅᐃᐊᵎ ᕃᐊᕞ ᕞᕞᕈᕽᐊᑲᕈᐊᵃ ᕞᐧᕃ ᐧᕘᕞᏟᑕᕝᐃᶜ
ᑲᐊᐅᕝᐈ ᑌᑕᒉᕿᐅᐃᵃ ᐅᏟᕝᵃ ᕿᕈᕞ ᐊᏟᏟᕈᕏ ᐅᕃᕽᑕᕈᕝᐊᵎ.

(2) ᑲᐧᐃᵃ ᐊᐃᐅᕝ ᕙᕿᐊᕐᕞᕃᕙᕈᐊᕆ ᐅᕆ ᕿᐈᵃ ᐊᐊᐧᕘ ᐊᕃ ᑲᕞᕈᑕᕽ ᕙᐊᕞ ᕽᕈᕃᕙᕃᕙᕈᕽ ᑲᕈᕞ ᑌᑕᒉᕈ ᕃᐊᕈᐧᐈ
ᐅᐧᕘ ᕿᐈᵃ ᑲᕶᐊᕈᕐᑲᕈᐧᐈ ᕿᕃ ᕙᐊᐧᕘᐊᕆᐧᐊᵎ ᕿᕃ ᑲᐊᕏᐊᑕᐧᖇᑲᕽ ᕿᐈᵃ ᐅᕞ ᒥᕐᕙᑲᕏᕽ ᕃᕿ ᒥᕐᕘᕿᐈᵐ ᕃᕿ ᐊᏟᕞ
ᕞᐊᐧᐈ ᑲᐧᐃᵃ Ꮯᐊᕈᕏᕙᕃᕈ ᐅᕞᕞᕈᕝᐃᵃ ᐊᕐᐈᵐ ᐊᐧᐈᏟᖇ ᑲᕽᕆᕆᑲᕽ ᕞᐊᐊ ᕽᕙᐊᑲᕈᕝᐃᵃ ᐊᐧᕘ ᐊᕃ ᑲᕶ ᐃᕞ
ᐃᕿᕈᕿᶜ.

12. ᐅᏪᏆᐃᑳᵃ ᕞᏟᕆᕈᕃᕈᕝᵃ

ᑲᐧᐃᵃ ᐊᐃᐅᕝ Ꮯᐈᕽᕈᕙᕆ ᕃᕈᕆ ᑲᐈᕐᕙᕌᕞᐧᐃᵃᶜ ᐅᕞᕞᕈᕝᐃᵃ ᐅᕃᕎᕙᐧᕘᐊᕆᐊᕈᕿᵎᕽ, ᐅᕃᕙᕞᕿᐊᕈᕝᵎ, ᐅᕙᕽ ᐃᑲᕈᕽ ᕿᕐ
ᐅᏪᏆᐃᑌᕞᐊᕈᕿᵎ, ᕞᐊ ᕃᕿ ᕃᕈᕆ Ꮯᕙᕞᕽᕙᕈᕿᕈᕽ ᐅᏟᐊᕿᐅᏟᕆᐈᐊᵎ ᕞᐊ ᐅᕃᕞᐧᕙᕆᐧᐊᕈᐊᵎ ᑲᕶᐊᐧᕘᕃ ᐅᏟᕝᵃ
ᑌᑕᒉᕿᐅᐃᐊᵎ ᕃᕈᕆ ᑲᐊᐧᖇᕈᑯᐊᵈ ᕈᐊᑐᕿᐃᐊᵃ ᐅᐧᕘᕈ ᕿᕿ ᐊᏟᕃᐃᐈᐃᐊᵃ ᕃᕿ ᕈᐊᏵᕿᐃᐧᐊᕈᐃᐊᵎ.

13. ᐅᔅᏁᐃᑕᐳᵃ ᒥᐦᕐᑲᔨᓯᑲᓂᑲ

(1) ᑲᐸ·ᐁᓂᵃ ᐅᑕᕐᵃ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᕐᐧᐃᵃ Ꮑᐁᓂᑎᕐᔨᐧᐃᓂᵃ ᒥᐸᐸᑲᐳᔅ ᑲᐧᔤ ᒥᐅᔅᕐᑕᔅ ᑲᐧᔤ Ꮑᓂᓯᑲᐁᵃ ᐊᕐᔨ.

(2) ᑲᐸ·ᐁᓂᵃ ᐅᑕᕐᵃ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᕐᐧᐃᵃ ᒥᓂᑲᑕᐁ ᐸᑲᐁ ᐊᕐᐁ ᑲᐧᔤ Ꮑᓂᑲ·ᐁ ᐅᒋᑲ ᒥᓂᐧᐊ ᒥᐅᔅᐸᕐᐁᐧᐃᔅ ᑲᕐᐱᐅᑎᔅ ᐅᒋᐸᐧᑭ.

14. ᐅᔅᏁᐃᑕᐳᵃ ᒥᐦᕐᔨᓯᓂ·ᐃᵃ

(1) ᑲᐸ·ᐁᓂᵃ ᐅᑕᐳᵃ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᐳᐧᐃᵃ ᑭᒪᏁᵃ ᐸ·ᐸ ᐃ·ᐧᐁᓂ ᐅᑎ Ꮤᐦᑕᐧᐁᔅ ᐊᓄᐧᐁᓂ ᐊᐃ ᑲᐱᐸᔅᐳᓂ ᐧᐃ·ᐧᐃᔅ ᐧᐊᕐᔨᓂ ᓯ·ᐊᕐ ᑲᐅᔅᓂᐊᐧᔨᕐᔅ, ᑲᏁᓂ·ᐃᔅ ᐊᐸ ᐅᐧᓰᐧᑲᑐᔨ·ᐃᕐᓂᐧ ᐅᐸᏁᑕᐁᐧᐃᐧᐃᵃ ·ᐧᏁ ᐃᑕ·· ᐸᑲᔅ ᐊᕐᵃ ᐃᔅᐧᑲᐧᐃ·ᐧᑲᔅ ᐃᑲᔅ ᐊᐃ ᒥᐅᐧᑲᐧᑲᔅ ᒥᓂ ᒥᐅᓂ·ᐁᔅ.

(2) ᐅᐧᐃ·ᐧᐁ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᕐᐧᐃᵃ ᒪᑭᓂᑲ ᑲ·ᐃᔅ ᑕᑕᔅ ᑲᐁᔅ·ᐧᐊᑲᑕᐅᕐᐁᵃ ᑭᒪᏁᵃ ᐸ·ᐸ ᐃᔅᏁᓂᐧᑲᐧᐁᵃ ᑲᑎᕐ Ꮤᐦᑕᐁᐧᐃᔅ ᐁᐧᑲ ᐧᑭᑲ ᒪᒪᔅᏔᐅᔅ ᐃᐧᑲ ᐧᑭᑲ ᐊᔤᐧᑭᔅ ᑲᐃᑲᐅᓂᵃ ᐃᑲᔤᐁᐧᐃᵃ ᐊᒪ ᐸᔅᐧᐁᒥᕐ ᐊᐁᕐ ᒪᒪᐧᐃ ·ᐃᐁ·ᐊᏁᐧᐃᓂᵃ.

15. ᐅᔅᏁᐃᑕᐳᵃ ᒥᐦᕐᔨᓯᓂᓂᵃ

(1) ᑲᐸ·ᐁᓂᵃ ᐅᑕᕐᵃ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᕐᐧᐃᵃ ᔤᐁ ᐊᒥᐧᔤ ᐅᑕᑲᐅᕐᐁᵃ ᑲᐃᔅᐊᐅᕐᔅ.

(2) ᑲ·ᐃᵃ ᐊ·ᐊᔅ ᑕᐁᏁᑲᑕᐅᕐ ᐅᐧᐁᓂ ᐅᒪᑲᐅᕐ·ᐃᵃ ᑲᐃᔅᐊᐅᕐᔅ ᑲᔅ ᒥᔤᐁᐧᐁᑕ·ᐃᔅ ·ᐃᐧᐁᔤᔅ ᐅᒪᑲᐅᕐ·ᐃᵃ.

16. ᐅᔅᏁᐃᑕᐳᵃ ᒥᐦᕐᔨᓯᔤᐧᐃᕐᔨ

(1) ᐃᔤᔤ·ᐊᐧᔤ ᒥᐧᓇ ᐃ·ᐁ·ᐊᔤ ᑲᐅᐱᐧᑲᕐᕐᔤᔤᐧᐃᔅ ᐅᑕᕐᑲᐁ·ᐊ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᕐ·ᐃᵃ ᐃᔅᵃ ᐊᐃ ᒥᐱᑕᐁᏁᐁᐧᔤᑲ ᑲ·ᐃᔤᵃ ᐁ·ᐃ· Ꮑᐧᒪᔤ ᐊ·ᐁᔤᔤ·ᐃ·ᐁᔅ, ᐊᔤᵃ ᐁᔤᕐᏔᔅᐊᐁᔤ ᒥᓇ ᑲᑕᐅᑭᔅᐁᔅ ᐅᑕᑲᐅᕐ·ᐃᵃ ᐅᑕᕐᑲᐁ ᏔᏔ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᕐ·ᐃᵃ ᑭᒥ ·ᐊᏁᐧᐃ·ᐃᵃ. Ꮤᐁ ·ᐊᏁᐁ·ᐃᵃ ᑲᔅ ᑭᒪᏁᵃ ᐁᔤᔅ ᐃᔤᐁᑲᔤᕐ ·ᐊᏁᐁ·ᐃᵃ.

(2) ·ᐃᐊᑲᐧᐊ ᐊᐃ Ꮑᓂᑲ·ᐧᐁ ᑲᐊᔤᑕᑲᐧᑐ·ᐃᔅ ᑲᐃᔅᔤᐧᔨᑕᔅ ᑕᐊᔅᒪᕐᔤᑲ ᒥᑭᐁ·ᐊᏁᐁ·ᐃᵃ.

(3) Ꮑᐁᕐᔅᐧᐁ·ᐃᔤᵃ ᑲᑕᑲᐅᕐᔨᐧᐊᔤᐁ·ᐊᐧ ᐊᒪᑲᑲᐁᏁ·ᑲᐧᔤ ᐅᒪ ᑲᐃᔅᔤᐃᔤᔤᐧᐃ·ᐊᐧ ᐁᔤ·ᐁ· ᒥᒥᔤᐁ·ᐧᐁ·ᑲᐸᑲᐧᔤᵃ ᑲᔅ ᒥᐧᔤᐁ·ᑲᒥᔤᑲᐅᒋᔅ.

17. ᐅᔅᏁᐃᑕᐳᵃ ᒥᐦᕐᔨᓯᔤ·Ꮑᑕ

(1) ᑲᐸ·ᐁᓂᵃ ᐅᑕᕐᵃ ᐱᏁᐧᔤᑕᐸᔤ ᑲᐃᔅᕐᔅ ᒥᓇ ᑲᔅ ᑲᐅᐁ ·ᐊᕐᒪᒪᏁᕐᒪᔅ ᐅᒪ ᐊᕐᔨ.

(2) ᑲ·ᐃᵃ ᐁᐅᕐ ᐅᐧᔤᒪᓂᐊᐁ Ꮑᐁᐧᔤᔤ·ᐊᔤᕐ ᒥᔤᐁ·ᐧᐁᒪᏁ·ᐃᔅ ᑲᐃᔅᏁᑲᐅᔅ ᐅᐸᔅᓯᐁ·ᐃᵃ.

18. ᐅᔅᏁᐃᑕᐳᵃ ᒥᐦᕐᔨᓯᔤᔤ·Ꮑᑕ

ᑲᐸ·ᐁᓂᵃ ᐅᑕᕐᵃ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᕐ·ᐃᵃ Ꮑᐁᓂᑎᕐᔨᐧᐃᔅ ᑲᐃᔅᔤᐊᔤᑲᑕᐁ·ᐧᔤᔅ, ᐅᐸᔤᑕᐅᕐ·ᐃᵃ, ᐅᑕᕐᒪᔤ·ᐃᵃ ᒥᑕᵐ ᑲᔅ ᐁᔤ ᑕᐧᑲᔤᵃ ᐅ·ᐁ ᐅᐸᕐᑕᑕᕐᐧᐃᵃ ᐃᔅᵃ ᐊᐃ ·ᐊ ᐃᔤᕐᑲᐅᑐᔅ ᐅᑕᕐᒪ·ᐃᔅ, ᐅᐅ·ᐁᑕᐃ·ᐃᔅ ᒥᓇ Ꮑᐁᓂᑎᕐᔨᐧᐃᵃ, ᐅᔤ ᐁᔤᐁᔅ ᐧᑭ ᐊᑕᐱᐧᑲ ᐅᑕᕐᔨᐁ·ᐊᔤᕐ ᒥᓇ·ᐊ ᔤᔅᔨᕐᐃᔤᕐ ᒪᑭᓂ ᑲᔅ ᑲᐃᔅᔤᐊᔤᑕᐁᐧᐃ ᒥᐅᔅᐊᑲᔅᵃ ᐅᑕᕐᒪᐊᐧᐃ·ᐃᵃ, ᑲᐃᔅ ᐱᐱᐅᑕᔤᔤ·ᐧᔤᔅ ᐅᑕᕐᒪᐁᔅ·ᐃᔅ, ᒥᐅᔅᐃᔨᕐ, ᐊᔤᕐᓂᑕᐁᵃ ᒥᓇ ᑲᐃᔤ ᐊᕐᑲᐅᐧᑲᔅ. 127

19. ᐅᓯᐱᐃᐦᑲᐣ ᒥᒋᓲᐱᓯᒋ

ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐣ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᑌᐸᐊᒐᑎᐧᐊᐣ ᐣᑎᓇᑎᐱᓯᐦᐊᔏᐟ ᒦᕲᐊᐦᑖ ᐸᕪ ᑭᐅᓯᐧᐊᐸᐟ ᕀᑕᐢ ᒦᒪᐧ ᐅᒪ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᐊᒦᓇᐧᐊᐣ
ᐧᐊᓯᑳᐯᒪᐸ ᐱᐢ ᐊᐤ ᒦᐊᓲᐊᓱᐅᑭᐣ ᐸᕪ ᕀᐅᑕᐱᓇᑭᐣ ᒦᓇ ᒦᑭᐧᐊᑯ ᐧᐃᐊᒐᔏᐊᐣ ᐊᐦ ᐊᑎ ᑲᐅᓯᐧᐊᐟᐧᑕᐸ᙮
ᐣᑭᓂᒍᐃᐊᐣ ᒥᕀᐧᐊ ᐊᐦ ᑲᐅᓯᐦᑕᐱᐧᐊᐸᐣ ᕀᐣᑭᓂᒍᐃᐊᕀᐧᐊᐧ᙮

20. ᐅᓯᐱᐃᐦᑲᐣ ᓂᐦᒐᐣ

(1) ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐣ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᐊᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᒪᐧᐊᑯᐱᑎᐃᐊᓂᐣ ᓂᑭᐧᑕᐊᑯ ᐸᕪ ᐅᒪ ᕀᐊᓯ ᐧᐊᐅᑭᐅᑎᓇᓄᐧᐊᐟ
ᐸᑕᐊᐧ᙮

(2) ᕀᐊᓯ ᐧᐊᐅᑭᐅᑎᓇᓄᐧᐊᐟ ᐸᑕᐊᐧ ᕀᐊᓂᕀᑕᓄᐧᐊᐟ ᐅᒪ ᐊᑭᐧ ᕀᐊᐣ ᐧᐊᐊᕀ ᒪᐊᓱᕀᐧᐊ ᓇᑎᑯᐊᐢ ᕀᐟᑭᐱᕀᐊᐢ᙮

21. ᐅᓯᐱᐃᐦᑲᐣ ᓂᐦᒐᐣᓱᐯᒍᐢ

(1) ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐣ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᐊᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᕀᐊᓯᐅᑕᒦᕲ ᑫᐊᐣ ᒦᐊᕲᑕᐢ ᐅᒪᐸᓱᐣ᙮ ᐧᕀᐧ ᐊᐅ ᒪᕇᐢ ᐸᕪ ᐧᐊᐣ ᐊᐧ
ᕀᐊᓯᐅᐧᐊᐢ ᕀᐊᐢᕀᐧᐊᐟ ᕀᐸᑎᐱᐧᐊᐣ ᐊᓴᕇᐊᐣ᙮

(2) ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐟ ᐅᒍᔭᐟ ᐊᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᕀᐊᓯ ᐅᑭᕲᐊᓴᐅᐧᐊ ᕀᐅᑎᐊᕀᑫ ᕀᐊᐣ ᕀᐊᓯ ᐧᐊᐅᕀᐊᐸᕀᑲᓱᐧᐊᒍᐧ ᐸᑕᐊᐧ᙮

(3) ᕀᐟᑭᐧᐊᑎᓄᐟᐧ ᐅᒍᓇᕀᔏᐊᐢ ᑕᐅᕀᐱᒐᕀᕀᐸᕪ ᓱᓯᓱᓂᐧᐊᐢ ᕀᐊᓯ ᐊᕀᐧᐅᕇᓱᕲᐢ᙮ ᕇᑫᐧ ᐅᐧᐧ ᐧᕀᐧᕀ ᐧᑯᐸᕪᕀ
ᐧᕀᐧ ᕀᐅᓇᕇᕲᐧᕀ ᕀᐧᐱᐧᑕᐧᕀ ᕀᐱ ᐊᓯᐧᐅᕇᕀᕀᕲ ᕇᐊᓯ ᒪᕀᐱᒐᐧᕀᕀᐸᐣ ᕀᐊᓯᕀᐊᓱᐃᐊᕀᐃᐊᐧᐧᐊᐟ ᕀᐣᐧ ᐸᕪ ᐧᐊᕀ
ᐧᕲᐧᕒ ᕀᐅᐧᐱᐧᕀ ᕀᐊᐣᒐᐧᐃᐣᕀᐧᐊᐟ ᐊᕀᕀᐃᐣᐧᐊᓯᐊᕀ᙮

22. ᐅᓯᐱᐃᐦᑲᐣ ᓂᐦᒐᐊᓱᐧᐊᐢᐧᐊ

ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐣ ᕀᐊᓯᐧᕀᐊᕀᕲᕲ ᐅᒪ ᐊᑭᐧ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᐊᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᕀᐊᐣ ᐅᕲᕲᕀᐃᐊᕀᐧᐧ ᕇᐧᐊ ᕇᐊᓯᕀᐊᑯᐧᐊᐢ ᐅᕲ ᕇᕀᐧᕀ
ᔏᕀᐢᕀᐧᕒᐧᐧᐢᕀᐃᐊᐣ ᕇᐧᐊ ᕇᕒᐧᕲᕲᕒ ᐅᐧᐊᕀᐧᐊᐢᐃᐊᐧ ᕀᐊᓯᕀᐊᑕᑕᐧᐧ ᕇᐧᐊ ᐊᐧ ᐊᕀᐧᐊᕀᕀᐊᕀᐸᐧᐣ ᕀᐟᐧ ᐊᕀᕀᐧᐊᕀ ᐊᕀᐧᕀᕀᐧᐊᕀ
ᐅᑕᐧᕀᐊᕀᑎᐊᕀᐧᕀᐧ ᕇᐧᐊ ᐅᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᕀᐊᓯᕀᐱᕀᐧᐅᕀᕀᐱᕀ ᐊᕀᕀᐊᕀᐃᐊᐣ ᕇᐧᐊ ᐸᕪ ᕀᕀᐧᐅᕀᐣᕀᐃᐊᕀᐧᐊᕀᐧᕀ ᕀᐃᐊᕒ ᐅᕀᐧᐸᕀᓱᐣᕀ
ᐧᐟᓯᕀᐧᐧᐧᕀᐧ᙮

23. ᐅᓯᐱᐃᐦᑲᐣ ᓂᐦᒐᐊᓱᕀᐧᐃᐣ

(1) ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐣ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᐊᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᕇᕀᐧᐅᕀᐸᕀᐧ᙮ ᐧᐊᐣ ᐊᐧ ᕀᐅᕀᐊᕀᕀᕒᕀᐢ ᐧᐊᕀᐊᕀᐅᐸᐢ᙮ ᐸᕪ ᕀᐧᐧᐣ ᕀᐧᕀᐧᕀᕀᐧᐅᐧᐣᕒ
ᕀᕀᐸᐧᕀᕀᕀᐧᕀ ᕀᕒᐧᕀᐧᕀᕀᕀᕀᐧᐧ ᐧᕀᐧᐧᕀᐅᐧᕀᐧᐧᕀ ᕇᐧᐊ ᕀᐧ ᕀᐧᕒ ᕀᐧᐧᐧᕀᕲᐣᕀ ᕀᐧᕒᐧᕀᐧᕀᐧ ᐧᐧᕀᕀᐧᐧᐧ᙮

(2) ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐣ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᐊᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᕀᐧᕒᕀᐧ ᕀᐧᕀ ᕀᕒᑭᕀᐅᐧᕀᕀᓱᕀᐅᐧᕀᐢ ᐧᐟᔭᕀᐧᕀ ᕀᐊᓯ ᕇᐅᕀᐢ ᐸᕪ ᕀᐧᕒ ᕀᐧᐅᕀᕀᕒ
ᓱᐧᐧᕒᕀ᙮

(3) ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐣ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᐊᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᕀᐊᕲᕀᐢ ᕀᐧᕀ ᕒᕀᐧᕀᕒᕀᕒᕀ ᕀᐊᓯ ᕇᕀᕒᐃᐣᕲᐧᕀᕀᐧ ᐧᐧᕒ ᐧᕀᓱᕀᐧᕀᕀᐧ ᐅᕒ
ᕇᐧᐊᐧ ᕇᐊ ᐅᕀᐧᕒᕀᕒᐧᐧᕀᐧ ᕀᕀᐧᕀᕒᕀᕀᕒᐢ ᕇᐧᐊᕀᐧᐧᕀ ᐧᐊᕀᕒᕀᕒᕀᕒᕀᕀ ᕇᐧᐊ ᕀᕒᐧᐊᕀ ᐧᕀ ᐊᕀᕒᕀᐧᕀᕀᐧ ᐸᕀᐧ ᕀᐧᕒ ᕀᕀᕀᕀᐊᕀᐧᕀ
ᕀᐧᕒ ᕀᐊᐧᕀᐧᕒᕒᐧᕀᕀᐧ᙮

(4) ᑲᐸᓇᐯᐅᐣ ᐅᒍᔭᐣ ᐊᒍᔭᐟᑎᐃᐊᐣ ᕀᕀᐧᕒᐧᕀᕀᕒ ᕇᐧᐊ ᕀᐧᕒᐊᔏᕀᕒ ᕀᐊᓯ ᕒᕒᐧᐊᓱᕒᐧᕀᕀᐧᕀ ᐧᐧᕒᐧᕀᐧᕀ ᕀᐧᕒ
ᕀᐊᐧᐧᕀᕀᕒᕀᕒᐧᐣᕒ ᕀᕀᕒᐧᕀᕒᐧᕀ ᕇᐧᐊ ᕀᐧᕒᕇᕀᕒᐧᕀᕲᐧᕀ ᐸᑕᐊᐧ᙮

Plan of Exhibition

MIERS PEUPLES FIRST PEOPLES
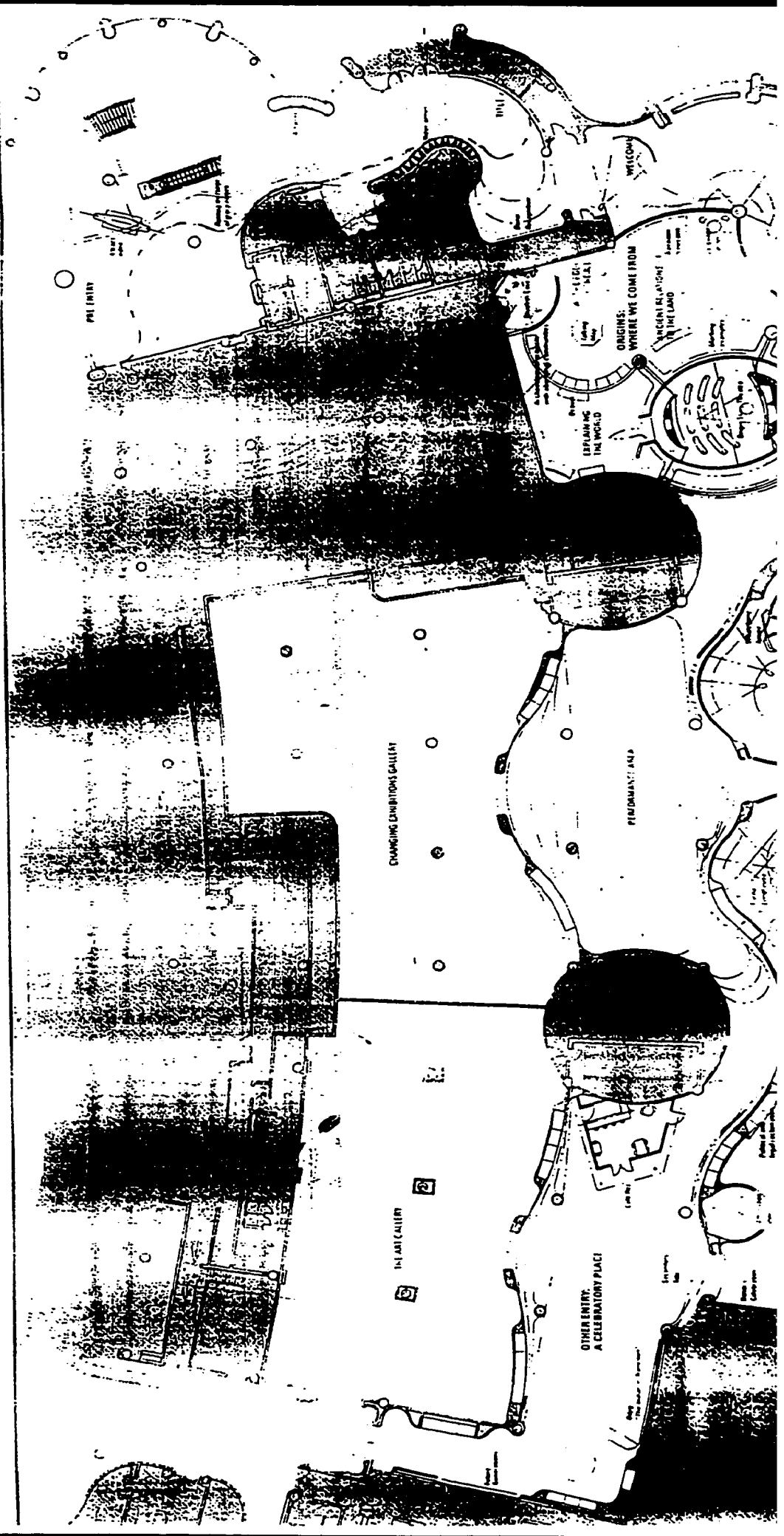
Chief Gosnell's Historic Speech to the British Columbia Legislature

[12/02/98]

BIOGRAPHY
Chief Joseph Gosnell

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Madame Speaker, Honorable Members, ladies and gentlemen.

Today marks a turning point in the history of British Columbia. Today, aboriginal and non-aboriginal people are coming together to decide the future of this province.

I am talking about the Nisga'a Treaty -- a triumph for all British Columbians -- and a beacon of hope for aboriginal people around the world.

A triumph, I believe, which proves to the world that reasonable people can sit down and settle historical wrongs. It proves that a modern society can correct the mistakes of the past. As British Columbians, as Canadians, we should all be very proud.

A triumph because, under the Treaty, the Nisga'a people will join Canada and British Columbia as free citizens - full and equal participants in the social, economic and political life of this province, of this country.

A triumph because, under the Treaty, we will no longer be wards of the state, no longer beggars in our own lands.

A triumph because, under the Treaty, we will collectively own about 2,000 square kilometres of land, far exceeding the postage-stamp reserves set aside for us by colonial governments. We will once again govern ourselves by our own institutions, but within the context of Canadian law.

It is a triumph because, under the Treaty, we will be allowed to make our own mistakes, to savor our own victories, to stand on our own feet once again.

A triumph because, clause by clause, the Nisga'a Treaty emphasizes self-reliance, personal responsibility and modern education. It also encourages, for the first time, investment in Nisga'a lands and resources, and allows us to pursue meaningful employment from the resources of our own territory, for our own people.

To investors, it provides economic certainty and gives us a fighting chance to establish legitimate economic independence -- to prosper in common with our non-aboriginal neighbors in a new and proud Canada.

A triumph, Madame Speaker and Honorable Members, because the Treaty proves, beyond all doubt, that negotiations - not lawsuits, not blockades, not violence - are the most effective, most honorable way to resolve aboriginal issues in this country. 130

A triumph that signals the end of the Indian Act -- the end of more than a century of humiliation, degradation and despair.

In 1887, my ancestors made an epic journey from the Nass River here to Victoria's inner harbor.

Determined to settle the Land Question, they were met by a Premier who barred them from the Legislature.

He was blunt. Premier Smithe rejected all our aspirations to settle the Land Question. Then he made this pronouncement, and I quote: "When the white man first came among you, you were little better than wild beasts of the field."

Wild beasts of the field! Little wonder then, that this brutal racism was soon translated into narrow policies which plunged British Columbia into a century of darkness for the Nisga'a and other aboriginal people.

Like many colonists of the day, Premier Smithe did not know, or care to know, that the Nisga'a is an old nation, as old as any in Europe.

From time immemorial, our oral literature, passed down from generation to generation, records the story of the way the Nisga'a people were placed on earth, entrusted with the care and protection of our land.

Through the ages, we lived a settled life in villages along the Nass River. We lived in large, cedar-planked houses, fronted with totem poles depicting the great heraldry and the family crests of our nobility. We thrived from the bounty of the sea, the river, the forest and the mountains.

We governed ourselves according to Ayuukhl Nisga'a, the code of our own strict and ancient laws of property ownership, succession, and civil order.

Our first encounters with Europeans were friendly. We welcomed these strange visitors, visitors who never left.

The Europeans also valued their encounters with us. They thought we were fair and tough entrepreneurs, and no doubt today, negotiators. In 1832, traders from the Hudson Bay Company found us living, in their words, in "two story wooden houses the equal of any in Europe." For a time, we continued to prosper.

But there were dark days to come.

Between the late 1700s and the mid-1800s, the Nisga'a people, like so many other coastal nations of the time, were devastated by European diseases, such as smallpox, measles and fevers. Our population, once 30,000, dwindled to about 800 people. Today, I am pleased to report, our population is growing again. Today, we number 5,500 people.

We took to heart the promises of King George III, set out in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, that our lands would not be taken without our permission, and that treaty-making was the way the Nisga'a would become part of this new nation.

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We continued to follow our ayuukh, our code of laws. We vowed to obey the white man's laws, too, and we expected him to obey his own law - and to respect ours.

But the Europeans would not obey their own laws, and continued to trespass on our lands. The King's governments continued to take our lands from us, until we were told that all of our lands had come to belong to the Crown, and even the tiny bits of land that enclosed our villages were not ours, but belonged to the government.

Still, we kept faith that the rule of law would prevail one day, that justice would be done. That one day, the Land Question would be settled fairly and honorably.

In 1913, the Nisga'a Land Committee drafted a Petition to London. The Petition contained a declaration of our traditional land ownership and governance and it contained the critical affirmation that, in the new British colony, our land ownership would be respected. In part the Petition said quote:

"We are not opposed to the coming of the white people into our territory, provided this be carried out justly and in accordance with the British principles embodied in the Royal Proclamation. If therefore as we expect the aboriginal rights which we claim should be established by the decision of His Majesty's Privy Council, we would be prepared to take a moderate and reasonable position. In that event, while claiming the right to decide for ourselves, the terms upon which we would deal with our territory, we would be willing that all matters outstanding between the province and ourselves should be finally adjusted by some equitable method to be agreed upon which should include representation of the Indian Tribes upon any Commission which might then be appointed.

The above statement was unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Nisga'a Nation or Tribe of Indians held at the village of Kincolith on the 22nd day of January, 1913."

Sadly, this was not to be the case.

Also in 1913, Duncan Campbell Scott became deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs. His narrow vision of assimilation dominated federal aboriginal policy for years and years to come and was later codified as the Indian Act.

Mr. Scott said, "I want to get rid of the Indian problem. "Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question."

One of this man's earliest efforts was to undermine the influence of the Nisga'a Petition to London and to deflect attention away from political action.

But these men, Smithe and Scott failed; and are now deservedly only dusty footnotes in history.

Still, the situation of the Nisga'a worsened. In 1927, Canada passed a law to prevent us from pursuing our land claims, from hiring lawyers to plead our case.

At the same time, our central institution of tribal government, the potlatch system (yuukw), was 132

outlawed by an Act of Parliament. It was against the law for us to give presents to one another during our ceremonies, which our laws instructed us to do. It was even made illegal for us to sing, to dance.

But still, we never gave up. And then finally, under the leadership of President Emeritus Frank Calder, the Nisga'a Land Committee was reborn as the Nisga'a Tribal Council in 1955. In 1968, we took our Land Question to the B.C. Supreme Court. We lost but appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, where in 1973 -- in what is now known as the Calder Case -- the judges ruled that aboriginal title existed prior to Confederation. This initiated the modern day process of land claims negotiations.

The government of Canada agreed it was best to negotiate modern-day treaties. Canada agreed it was time to build a new relationship, based on trust, respect, and the rule of law.

In time, as you well know Madame Speaker, the Province of British Columbia came to the negotiating table as well. For the past twenty-five years, in good faith, the Nisga'a struggled to negotiate this Treaty and finally, it was initialed in August in our village of New Aiyansh.

How the world has changed. Two days ago and one hundred and eleven years after Smithe's rejection, I walked up the steps of this Legislature as the sound of Nisga'a drumming and singing filled the rotunda. To the Nisga'a people, it was a joyous sound, the sound of freedom.

What does "freedom" mean? I looked it up in the dictionary. It means "the state or condition of being free, the condition of not being under another's control; the power to do, say, or think as one pleases."

Our people have enjoyed the hospitality and warmth of this Legislature, this capital city, its sights and its people -- in churches, schools, malls, streets and public places. Our people have been embraced, welcomed and congratulated by the people of British Columbia, Madame Speaker.

People sometimes wonder why we have struggled so long to sign a Treaty?

Why, we are asked, did our elders and elected officials dedicate their lives to a resolution of the Land Question? What is it about a Treaty?

To us, a Treaty is a sacred instrument. It represents an understanding between distinct cultures and shows respect for each other's way of life. We know we are here for a long time together. A Treaty stands as a symbol of high idealism in a divided world. That is why we have fought so long, and so hard.

I have been asked, has it been worth it? Yes, a resounding yes. But, believe me, it has been a long and hard-fought battle. Some may have heard us say that a generation of Nisga'a men and women has grown old at the negotiating table. Sadly, it is very, very true.

Let me share some personal history. When I began this process I was a young man. When I first became involved in our Tribal Council, I was 25 years old. Now I am 63. Today, my hair is grey. The terms of six Prime Ministers chart the years I have grown old at the negotiating table:

The Right Honorable Pierre Trudeau,   133

Joe Clark,

John Turner,

Brian Mulroney,

Kim Campbell, and

Jean Chretien.

And five British Columbia Premiers:

Bill Bennett,

William Vander Zalm,

Rita Johnson,

Mike Harcourt, and

Glen Clark.

I will spare you the list of deputy ministers, senior bureaucrats and other officials we have met across the table during the past quarter century. Their names would paper the walls of this Chamber. At least twice, I'd bet.

We are not naïve. We know that some people do not want this Treaty. We know there are naysayers, some sitting here today. We know there are some who say Canada and B.C. are "giving" us too much. And a few who want to re-open negotiations in order to "give" us less.

Others -- still upholding the values of Smithe and Scott -- are practising a willful ignorance. This colonial attitude is fanning the flames of fear and ignorance in this province and re-igniting a poisonous attitude so familiar to aboriginal people.

But these are desperate tactics -- doomed to fail. By playing politics with the aspirations of aboriginal people these naysayers are blighting the promise of the Nisga'a Treaty -- not only for us, but for non-aboriginal people as well.

Because, Madame Speaker, this is about people. We are not numbers. In this Legislative debate, you will be dealing with the lives of our people; with the futures of our individual people. This is about the legitimate aspirations of people no longer willing to step aside or be marginalized.

We intend to be free and equal citizens, Madame Speaker. Witness the flags that have been waved in this Chamber over the past two days -- by the Nisga'a people of British Columbia, the Nisga'a people of Canada.

Now, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, this Legislature   134
embarks on a great debate about aboriginal rights. The Nisga'a people welcome that debate --

one of the most important in the modern history of British Columbia.

And we have every confidence that elected members of this Legislature will look beyond narrow politics to correct a shameful and historic wrong. I ask every honorable member to search their hearts deeply and to allow the light of our message to guide their decision.

We have worked for justice for more than a century. Now, it is time to ratify the Nisga'a Treaty, for aboriginal and non-aboriginal people to come together and write a new chapter in the history of our Nation, our province, our country and indeed, the world.

The world is our witness.

Be strong. Be steadfast. Be true.

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Programme Overview

DESCRIPTION

The Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation (CMCC) in accordance with its mandate, and in response to the recommendations contained in the 1992 Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples (which the CMCC initiated and participated in,) established the Aboriginal Training Programme in Museum Practices (ATPMP) in September 1993. The goal of the Programme is to offer Aboriginal participants professional and technical training in museum practices while providing the opportunity to work in both official languages.

The ATPMP provides opportunities to learn about different aspects of museum practices; to work on special projects under the supervision of professionals; to share experiences with other interns; and to maintain and develop relationships with the CMCC and the intern's community, museum or cultural centres.

The programme includes a practicum and an internship. Both are aimed at Aboriginal individuals either enrolled in university programmes, or those with experience in community museums or cultural centres but without university, college education or other formal training. The Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College have signed an agreement for developing co-operative projects to foster the cultures of Aboriginal peoples.

The programme will commence with an orientation period of four to six weeks in which each division will give a series of conferences.
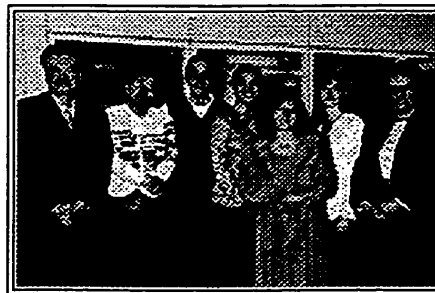
Interns 1998-1999

PRACTICUM

The practicum is a general introduction to museum practices. Interns will spend three to four weeks in various divisions of the Museum working on a specific assignment or small project, either alone or in a team, under close supervision.   136

INTERNSHIP

The internship is designed to allow interns to work towards specific academic and/or professional goals within the Museum's professional and multidisciplinary environment. The content and structure of the internship will be determined by the intern and the programme supervisor.

Students currently attending university who are accepted as interns in the Aboriginal Training Programme in Museum Practices are encouraged to enrol at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College; their training at the Museum can be credited towards a College programme.

ELIGIBILITY

Practicum: Candidates should have Grade 12 education or equivalent. Those with less than Grade 12 education will be considered on the basis of demonstrable experience in cultural interpretation or preservation, or related skills.

Internship: Students who have completed either all or part of a post-secondary programme in the fields of museology, arts or social sciences.

EVALUATION

The evaluation of the programme will be based on the successful completion of all the assignments and projects and on the professional responsibility and initiative of the intern. A report will be made by the designated division supervisors concerned. A yearly evaluation to bring forth recommendations and assess the current efficacity of the programme in general will take place in April of every year.

Interns 1997-1998

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FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The Museum provides training and facilities for the Programme. Participants are encouraged to seek sources of financial support to cover travel and living expenses. The Programme can make recommendations as to possible sources. Financial assistance will be available for interns who are unable to find such funding. The programme will begin in September and end in April (dates to be announced in the brochure). Interns will be required to work 7.5 hours per day, 5 days a week on a full-time basis for a period of eight months and will be paid on a bi-weekly basis. There will be a two-week break over the Christmas holidays.

SELECTION PROCESS

Applications will be reviewed by the programme's Steering Committee. Eligible applicants will be invited to participate in the programme.

If you wish to participate in this programme, please submit the following documents:

- A résumé with permanent and current addresses, telephone numbers, academic background and employment history.

- A personal statement indicating how the the practicum or internship relates to your experience, academic goals, and/or professional development.

- Two letters of reference attesting to your previous experience and career goals in a museum or cultural heritage field. The letter should be from an Aboriginal community or organization, or an individual who occupies a position of responsibility.

APPLICATION DEADLINE

DOCUMENTS MUST BE RECEIVED BY March 15th of each year. Please forward them to:

Coordinator, Aboriginal Training Programme in Museum Practices
Canadian Museum of Civilization
100 Laurier Street
P.O. Box 3100, Station B
Hull, Quebec
J8X 4H2
Tel: (819) 776-8270
Fax: (819) 776-8300

Upon acceptance into the Programme, the intern will sign a formal agreement with

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the CMCC.

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APPENDIX #5

Canadian Archaeological Association canadienne d'archéologie

Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Peoples

en français

Preamble

The objectives of the Canadian Archaeological Association include the promotion, protection and conservation of the archaeological heritage of Canada, and the dissemination of archaeological knowledge. Canadian archaeologists conduct their activities according to the principles of scholarly practice and recognize the interests of groups affected by their research. Whereas the heritage of First Nations Peoples constitutes the greater part of the Canadian archaeological record, this document presents a Statement of Principles that guides members of the Association in their relationships with Aboriginal peoples.

Principles

Members of the CAA/AAC agree to abide by the following principles:

I Consultation:

1. To recognize the cultural and spiritual links between Aboriginal peoples and the archaeological record.

2. To acknowledge that Aboriginal people have a fundamental interest in the protection and management of the archaeological record, its interpretation and presentation.

3. To recognize and respect the role of Aboriginal communities in matters relating to their heritage.

4. To negotiate and respect protocols, developed in consultation with Aboriginal communities, relating to the conduct of archaeological activities dealing with Aboriginal culture.

II Aboriginal Involvement:

1. To encourage partnerships with Aboriginal communities in archaeological research, management and education, based on respect and mutual sharing of knowledge and expertise.

2. To support formal training programs in archaeology for Aboriginal people.

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3. To support the recruitment of Aboriginal people as professional archaeologists.

III Sacred Sites and Places:

1. To recognize and respect the spiritual bond that exists between Aboriginal peoples and special places and features on the landscape.

2. To acknowledge the cultural significance of human remains and associated objects to Aboriginal peoples.

3. To respect protocols governing the investigation, removal, curation and re-burial of human remains and associated objects.

IV Communication and Interpretation:

1. To respect the cultural significance of oral history and traditional knowledge in the interpretation and presentation of the archaeological record of Aboriginal peoples.

2. To communicate the results of archaeological investigations to Aboriginal communities in a timely and accessible manner.

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