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Canada

ISSUES OF CROSS-CULTURAL HERITAGE INTERPRETATION WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ABORIGINAL CULTURES OF CANADA

by

RHODA BELLAMY, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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"Issues of Cross-Cultural Heritage
Interpretation with Particular Reference
to the Aboriginal Cultures of Canada"

submitted by Rhoda Bellamy, Hons. B.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Director
School of Canadian Studies

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

September 1994

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores cultural representation in heritage institutions by using as a case study, the Algonquian speaking indigenous peoples whose ancestors occupied central Canada. It evaluates cultural perceptions held by non-Aboriginal people and their impact upon First Nations' societies.

These perceptions are shown to be a major factor in determining portrayals of Aboriginal lifestyle, history, world view and spirituality in heritage institutions. Communication of cultural values has long been the prerogative of specialists who are not members of cultures under consideration. The ethics of this common precept regarding 'the specialist' is questioned in terms of growing support for cultural self-expression. It is proposed that the perceived history of the Aboriginal peoples be re-evaluated.

The ultimate purpose is to suggest ways to interpret and portray indigenous peoples' heritage, by changing the focus and operation of heritage institutions so the cultures under consideration determine the form and direction of the institution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the people who have aided me with the research for this thesis. I was pleasantly surprised by the number of people who willingly shared their thoughts and, in some cases, their written documents and research. I entered into my investigation expecting to have to beg or coerce my resource contacts into sharing some of their time and thoughts with me, but instead I was often overwhelmed with ideas and new perspectives

This is an exciting era for the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. The domains of heritage conservation and interpretation have the potential to help ensure a revitalised pride in an enduring cultural legacy for future generations For those individuals working in the museum and heritage interpretation fields, my topic was not entirely new. During recent years there has been a growing interest in cross-cultural interpretation and education. Other people I spoke with were not aware of this changing trend, but were excited by the possibilities and they often expressed the feeling that it represented a long-overdue reassessment of the relationships between mainstream Canada and her Aboriginal cultures

Several people have given me invaluable editorial advice while proof-reading this thesis. For their willingness to accept this onerous task, I give them my heartfelt appreciation. To the members of my family, who have been unwillingly subjected to my strange work habits and fits of temperamental anxiety -- thanks for putting up with me. Remember, it is never too late! Life is for learning!

Lastly, I wish to acknowledge the contributions of Julian Smith, my advisor in the Heritage Conservation programme at the School of Canadian Studies In spite of the fact that our mutually hectic schedules and other pressing commitments often made it difficult to get together for discussion, Julian always had an uncanny ability to put his finger on 'the problem' or to make a seemingly innocent comment that would lead me to question either my assumptions or my sometimes overly-direct 'turn of phrase'. He endeavoured to keep me on track whenever it looked as if I was about to go off the rails into a quagmire of conflicting ideas.

PREFACE

As a preliminary note to the reader of this thesis, I want to take the opportunity to express some reservations that I have concerning its theme. During the course of my studies within the School of Canadian Studies, Heritage Conservation programme, I have become increasingly interested in the presentation and interpretation of one culture to another. This is especially challenging when one culture assumes some form of hegemony over another -- be it economic, political, social or religious. Within the fabric of Canadian multi-culturalism, I belong to the 'white Anglo-Saxon Protestant' majority, which has traditionally held the reins of power since the British defeat of France in the mid-eighteenth century. I have enjoyed some of the benefits that my membership in that particular culture brings. The fabric of Canadian society is changing at an ever increasing rate and a new culture is evolving which wears a face very different from the historical one. Whether this new Canada will be an amalgamation or an association of many cultures has yet to be determined.

Currently, the descendants of the original inhabitants of the Canadian land mass are engaged in a process of cultural reaffirmation. Many Aboriginal people have committed themselves to their cultural recovery from the disastrous events that were heralded by the arrival of European explorers upon the shores of America several centuries ago. This struggle has many components -- some of the most visible ones relate to political self-government, land claim issues, social and economic well being, fine arts and literature, spirituality and constitutional rights.

In moving towards the achievement of cultural reaffirmation and recognition, many Aboriginal people wish to deny non-natives the right to declare their perspective of Aboriginal culture: be it literature, fine arts or academic analysis and research. This form of restriction is common amongst many groups engaged in struggles for identity -- women, homosexuals, blacks and visible minorities. The question is, "How can anyone who has not lived the experience assume they are capable of interpreting it to others?" This calls into play an entire philosophy of existence, of who we are -- both as individuals and as members of a group. Any group that is engaged in a struggle is very sensitised to the potential for attack from without. I do not have a definitive answer, other than to suggest that the compromise of working together to interpret one culture

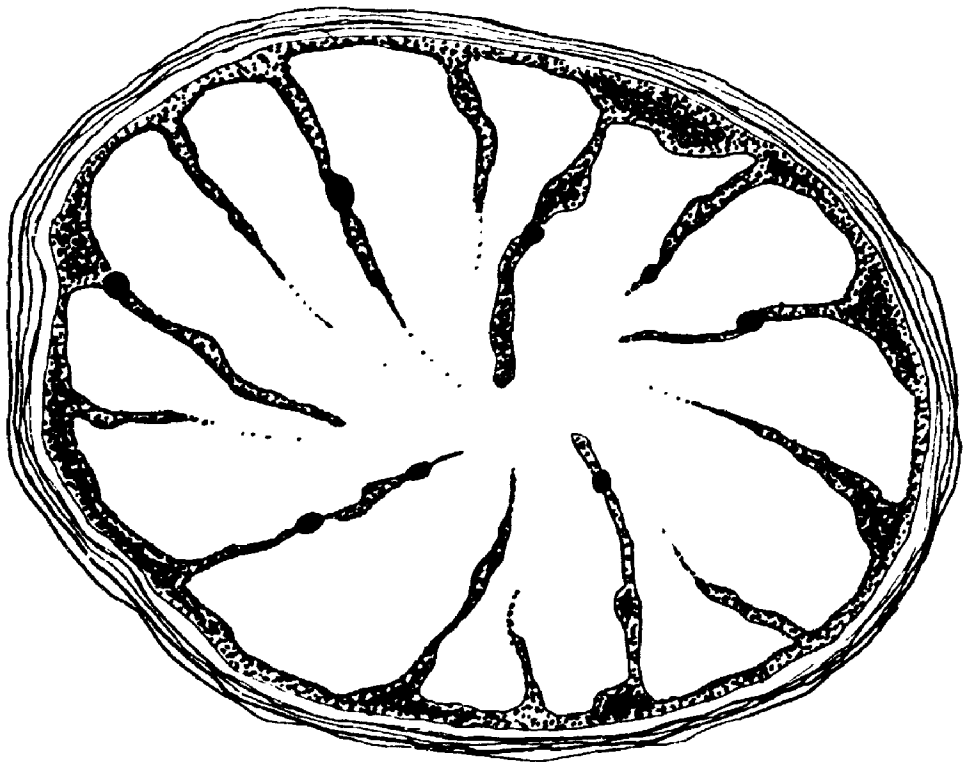
to another merits consideration as a potential solution. Communication is a two-way street -- no matter what one group says or how they say it, if the other group does not understand then the message will not be received Communication occurs only when there is a common ground of shared 'language' [I mean this in the figurative sense].

I cannot belong to a group if I do not have the attributes necessary to be a member. There is nothing I can do to transform myself into an Aboriginal Canadian. That is not who I am. At best, I can try to put aside my cultural biases and acknowledge people on their own terms. It is my personal belief that we often fear those whom we do not know or understand. We can best learn about a culture from the people who are of that culture. However, I don't believe that this prohibits me from writing about an Aboriginal culture, so long as I do not claim to represent it. This is analogous to disclaimers frequently published with essays and statements in newspapers or journals: "The opinions expressed by the author do not necessarily reflect the editorial policy of this magazine."

In this thesis, I acknowledge that my recommendations do not necessarily reflect the views of Aboriginal people, either individually or as a group. However, I hope that by putting diverse concepts and opinions together in the same document, I will facilitate discussion and evaluation of new approaches for fostering the growth of knowledge about a particular linguistic culture -- the Algonquians. These ideas have come from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal sources. I recognise that by setting this task for myself, then I, a Canadian of European ancestry, run the risk of doing that which I caution people against -- choosing cultural values on behalf of another culture. Nonetheless, if such discussion inspires new perspectives on cultural heritage interpretation and understanding, then this thesis will have served its purpose.

Rhoda Bellamy,
August 1994.

The indigenous peoples of the Americas lived for millennia, like a circular pool of water upon the land. With the arrival of the Europeans heralding an ever-increasing flow of immigrants from a perpetually broadening spectrum of the world's cultures, a spigot has dripped oil onto the pool of indigenous waters. This oil has dripped onto the pool faster and faster as time has gone by, so that it has spread out to cover the pool. Now the clear unsullied water of indigena is but a thin circle at the very edge of the pool. It is spread across a large territory and its many parts have been separated and dispersed -- one from the other. The Aboriginal cultures are trying to bridge the layer of oil which is hiding them from the light, sending tentacles of energy out to one another across the oily surface of the Canadian status quo -- very much like the webbing on a snowshoe. This energy is derived from the accretion of millennia of evolving cultural heritage. The tentacles are successfully forming a strong supportive network, comprised of both cultural diversity and unity. If we who exist beyond the boundaries of the Aboriginal experience wish to understand what is going on, where this energy is coming from and where it might lead us all, we need to clear aside the layer of oil and let the founding peoples show us the nature of the depths lying beneath us within their pool of time, place and existence.



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"Who are you?" someone asks.
"I am the story of myself," comes the answer.

N. Scott Momaday.

As you walk down the road of time,
do you travel into the past or into the future?

Aboriginal Teaching

INTRODUCTION

THE MEETING OF DISPARATE CULTURES

> *Everything is so new in Canada! People living here still have no true sense of history. They have come here to gain a fresh start, to create their own place in history. After all, there was no one living here until just a few hundred years ago, except for small bands of Indians scattered about the countryside. To gain a real appreciation of history, one must visit the old worlds -- Europe, the Middle East, Asia.... There, one can find people living in buildings that have existed for centuries in towns and cities established long ago. Their twisting, narrow streets are impossibly crowded, but are wonderfully exciting as throngs of people and cars jostle for space between buildings flanking the roadways. Visitors from the New World welcome the opportunity to savour the lands of their ancestors -- to see awe-inspiring religious monuments, marvellous works of painting and sculpture, the world's great museums exhibiting artefacts from around the globe and to sample unusual foods! Many go to Europe to forge a link with their past; yet, ironically, those very same ancestors came to North America in an often desperate attempt to sever these links and to make a new future for themselves and their descendants.*

This descriptive narrative paints a picture that, for many Canadians, accurately reflects their perception of their world and their history. They see Canada as a new land of opportunity, while retaining ties to the 'old country', the land of their predecessors. Frequently, pilgrimages are made to find their 'roots', to see the people and places they have heard about from their family or through the media -- to soak up the ambience. There is certainly nothing wrong with this. We all seek to forge ties with our past, but this picture is limited in its focus and the resulting image is quite inaccurate!

For many people living in what is now Canada, their past does not lie in Europe. Instead, their family roots lie in other parts of the world. The prevailing focus upon British and French cultural history is not their personal reality. In certain cases, these cultures may have had some degree of impact upon the history of their country of origin. These citizens may study this European past because it influenced the contemporary form of their adopted country, Canada. These

relatively recent Canadians are helping to shape the Canada of the future, but it should be recognised that they are merely detached observers of her past.

Another group of Canadians who have a more direct link with our nation's past and who also do not share the European roots are the First Nations of Canada. The fact that their ancestors were living on this continent long before even the arrival of Nordic adventurers a millennium ago is seldom acknowledged by the average person of European background. Indigenous peoples have been considered as mere bystanders during the development of our nation and its culture. The overwhelming migration of people from the European continent, especially France and the British Isles, irrevocably altered the evolutionary pathways of the First Nations peoples. This imposition of foreign culture began with the first meeting between the Europeans and the Aboriginal Nations and it continues, still.

THE ONSLAUGHT

The quest for a passage to the Pacific Ocean was the incentive for the early trans-Atlantic voyages by opportunistic explorers. Prior forays of the Nordic adventurers and the Basque fishing fleets that harvested fish from the Grand Banks did not merit the attention of history for a long time. Rather, it was the enticements of the Far East that served as a lure for the westward advance across the continent. This quest continued for centuries and, as a by-product of these efforts, Europeans acquired unexpected riches along the way. They eagerly harvested the resources of the wilderness, along with the apparently willing fodder of pagan souls for Christian evangelism. The concept of '*terra nullius*' is succinctly explained by Boyce Richardson, who adopted it as the title of his book exploring the condition of Aboriginal Canada: ". . . a land that is empty of people. This is a legal concept used by Europeans when they first arrived in North America. They wanted to justify their claim to own all the land, pretending that no one else had been there first."[1]

---

1 Boyce Richardson.
PEOPLE OF TERRA NULLIUS - Betrayal and Rebirth in Aboriginal Canada.
Vancouver, Douglas & McIntyre, Limited, 1993.
Page vii.

APPLICATION OF CULTURE

However, people **were** there before them. The true discoverers of the North American continent had been living with the land for thousands of years. The Europeans called them Indians, in the erroneous belief that they had found the eastern shores of the Indian subcontinent -- and they have been getting it wrong ever since! The attitudes of the newcomers towards the indigenous peoples have helped to shape the concepts of the ruthless warrior, the noble savage, the vanishing culture, the perpetual loser of battles, the celebrity Indian, the drunken Indian, the welfare Indian and the outsider. These stereotypes have shaped our conceptions of Aboriginal cultures and fabricated 'the imaginary Indian'. "The Indian began as a White man's mistake, and became a White man's fantasy. Through the prism of White hopes, fears and prejudices, indigenous Americans would be seen to have lost contact with reality and to have become 'Indians'; that is, anything non-Natives wanted them to be."[2]

Without any overtly malicious intent, the Aboriginal peoples were incorporated into our cultural institutions. The belief that the indigenous societies of North America were on the brink of extinction (a belief that was reasonable considering the staggering decline in population due to disease, war and starvation) resulted in collecting of cultural materials, taking photographs and analysing lifestyles. The Europeans were preoccupied with trying to salvage what was to be lost, without taking the time to evaluate the role which they had played in this destruction and to address the possibility of rectifying their negative impact.

THE ALGONQUIAN PEOPLES

RATIONALE[3]

> Before examining the historical pattern of contact, it is necessary to make a simple point. There is no single starting point for direct contact between indigenous peoples and newcomers. While the peoples in the far east of the continent

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2 Daniel Francis.
THE IMAGINARY INDIAN: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture.
Vancouver, Arsenel Pulp Press, 1992.
Page 5.

3 To gain a better understanding of the cultural, linguistic and geographical extents of this thesis and of the term 'Algonquian", the reader is referred to the Case Study included in the Appendix.

> encountered Europeans very early, and those of the Hudson Bay area had considerable experience with the newcomers by the seventeenth century, others in the interior did not have direct contact until almost a century later. Indigenous groups in the interior did, however, learn about the newcomers from other aboriginal peoples, and were typically well-prepared for them when the first European explorers finally arrived.[4]

It has been nearly four hundred years since the Europeans began their concerted impingement upon the lands that are now known as eastern and central Canada. Jacques Cartier, on behalf of the French king, made some preliminary journeys up the Saint Lawrence as far as present day Montréal in the 1530's and Martin Frobisher initiated England's search for a northern passage to the far east in 1576. It was not until early in the following century that the French, lead by Champlain, began an intensive encroachment into the lands bordering the Saint Lawrence and the Great Lakes. Almost simultaneously, the English began their expansion into the lands draining into Hudson's Bay, after a seaman spent the winter near Port Nelson in 1612-13.

The people who inhabited this vast land area were among the first to be exposed to the European arrivals. In some respects, both groups enjoyed mutual benefits that sprang from this meeting, but the negative consequences of disease and cultural assimilation had an even stronger impact upon the indigenous people. Although Europeans had always been fascinated by the newly discovered peoples of North America, it was not until the 1800's that the growing population of immigrants who had settled Upper and Lower Canada responded to the romantic image created by the news media, writers, poets, artists and photographers. 'Indian' people living in a state of anticipated extinction captivated the attention of curious Easterners. However, by this time, the Algonquian-speaking peoples of central Canada were overlooked, as the public's fascination with the tribes of the western plains took precedence. The ambitions of the portrait painter, Paul Kane, who acquired his reputation recording the vanishing indigenous Canadian, are described by Daniel Francis:

> Kane's travels that summer [1845] took him by canoe to Ojibway villages and seasonal gathering places around the shores of the Great Lakes, but he was not happy with what he found. His main impression of the Ojibway was of a people

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[4] Ken Coates and William Morrison.
THE FORGOTTEN NORTH - A History of Canada's Provincial Norths.
Toronto, James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1992.
Page 24.

> debauched by their contacts with White traders and settlers. . . . His objective was to make a record of the 'noble savage' in his natural setting, not to witness the unhappy effects of White encroachment. Kane hoped that further west he would find Native inhabitants who were less tainted by contact with outsiders.[5]

I have selected the people of central Canada as the focus for my case study because they made valuable contributions to the beginnings of contemporary Canadian society. By the time the dominant Canadian culture was willing to acknowledge such contributions, the traditional cultures of the Algonquian-speaking peoples manifested the consequences of extensive contact with European immigrants. This culture was not totally annihilated; due, in part, to the isolation and wide-spread location of many of the small native communities. It still exists, albeit in a much altered state, and its people are engaged in an ongoing struggle to restore their cultural strengths, knowledge and territories while living in concert with a multi-cultural Canada. The past needs to be acknowledged, the present realities confronted and the future anticipated.[6]

GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES

The geographical limits of this case study are quite extensive. The Canadian shield, as it stretches from the eastern edge of the prairie grasslands to the Hudson Bay shore and on into northern Québec roughly defines the territory under consideration[7]. The southern edge is the territorial boundary of the Iroquoian people after their migration north of Lakes Erie and Ontario Although

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5 Daniel Francis.
THE IMAGINARY INDIAN.
Pages 16 - 17.

6 These attitudes towards the Algonquian speaking peoples of central Canada still prevail A recently published promotional journal (TAWOW) destined for the lucrative German tourism market, focused on the west coast, great plains and northern cultural groups A representative of the publisher agreed that the decision was based upon the fact that the central and eastern Aboriginal communities do not have an extensive network of sites and events to draw the visitor. In addition, the anticipated visitors have an attractive image of the plains, west coast and northern indigenous peoples, with little or no knowledge of the Aboriginal peoples of eastern and central Canada. Future issues of this journal are expected to continue with their emphasis on the western cultures, although there is always the possibility that some space might be devoted to the Aboriginal peoples of the east.

7 Although it was the intention of the researcher to explore the cultures and heritage opportunities of the Aboriginal citizens of western and northern Québec, the Québec region requires a more in-depth study than what I have presented here. The interactive history of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this area of the country has evolved into a set of circumstances and attitudes which are quite different from the province of Ontario, immediately to the west.

the Aboriginal people of the Maritimes and eastern Québec belong to the same linguistic group, they are not included because their history and culture is quite distinct from the people who lived in the wooded shield country. A comparable situation exists for the Iroquois-Six Nations people, whose origins lie south of the Great Lakes. The course of their history was also irrevocably altered by the Europeans, but their structured political and social fabric enabled them to cope with the Europeans on a more equitable basis for a longer period of time. This resulted in less diminishing of their culture over the succeeding years.

THESIS OBJECTIVES

This thesis seeks to look at the cultural history that has evolved between the Aboriginal nations of Canada and the newer Euro-Canadians, whom we (their descendants) have had the audacity to call 'our two founding cultures'. Today's Canada is more culturally diversified than ever, yet there is a need to reconsider the forgotten past of her Aboriginal cultures and their undervalued contributions to our nation's evolution

It will examine the masks that non-Native Canadians applied to the faces of our Aboriginal peoples and the reasons for doing so. These reasons are the logical extensions of the cultural differences that lie between us. These differences are evident when one considers the inconsistencies in our cultural attitudes towards time, history, the natural world, concepts of spirituality and values attributed to place. Such variations have affected the ways in which Aboriginal cultures are presented to others and to their own people through the media of such heritage institutions as historic sites, museums, art galleries and living history museums.

My initial objective for this thesis was the exploration of these issues. I had hoped that this would lead me to make concrete recommendations for the planning and implementation of a specific heritage institution to promote the Algonquian peoples of central Canada. Instead, I found that conflicting perceptions relating to cross-cultural interpretation must be resolved before such specifics can be dealt with in any great detail. In order to achieve a more honest revelation of the experience of Canada's indigenous peoples, I will suggest modifying the approach to provide a more perceptive interpretation of Aboriginal culture. Occasionally, I will make specific reference to Algonquian-speaking peoples of central Canada.

CHAPTER 1

BEHIND THE MASKS OF CULTURE

SHAPING THE IMAGES

Difficulties may often arise when one culture attempts to interpret or understand either one or several other cultures. Those aspects which give a society its unique characteristics are often the very things which obstruct a harmonious understanding or preclude the possibility of easily working together towards a common goal. From the very first contact when the Europeans 'discovered' this new continent and its peoples, there has been miscommunication of ideas, intentions and interests. Today, after several centuries of enforced sharing of the same land and the inevitable exchanging of values and perspectives, along with the ongoing process of assimilation, there are still many aspects of Aboriginal culture that are not understood by non-Native people.

What has contributed the most to such an impasse is the tendency of the non-Aboriginal society to impose its own perceptions upon the Aboriginal people. Those Europeans who first came to the American continent (religious outcasts, criminals, soldiers, labourers, etc) were not necessarily the most tolerant or enlightened members of their societies . However, the confines of any society of that era were very restrictive. This always presents us with the difficulty of looking back through time to analyse why things were as they were. The mere transporting of a contemporary individual back in time, so that they might develop an appreciation of life as it was, does not guarantee accurate understanding of the fabric and reality that moulded people and their culture.

The meeting between the First Nations of North America and the new arrivals from Europe exhibited this same lack of true appreciation of each other's worlds. In still more recent times, the issues and concerns of the Aboriginal nations are frequently discounted and discredited by non-Aboriginal people. Concerns about the environment, logging, hunting and fishing, government, education, religious freedom, social services and financial autonomy have only just come to

the forefront of our joint political agenda, after years of steady and unrelenting pressure applied to those institutions which have held the reins of power in our land. The reality of existence is that not everyone shares the same interests, has the same concerns or wants to understand a point of view that is at variance with their own.

Aboriginal Canada, itself, has never been a homogenous community. There are numerous distinct cultures that have become aware that they share many problems and concerns. They have decided, for the most part, to work towards the common goal of negotiating a better slice of the Canadian pie. During the past several decades, Aboriginal Canadians have joined together for both political and cultural purposes. National groups and organisations are better able to secure the respect and attention required to create the future they want for their people. Many changes are also occurring at the cultural level. Traditions and customs that were formerly part of quite distinct cultural groups are now used by people across the country. This sharing of knowledge and ritual is creating a new pan-continental Aboriginal culture that overlays the panorama of indigenous societies. This cultural network has helped to unify scattered communities, tribal groups and urban-dwelling Aboriginal people who are distant from their ancestral or reserve lands.

Non-Aboriginal Canadians place high value on certain formalised traits such as European-derived formal education, writing, public speaking, financial success and the acquisition of material things. Many in the Aboriginal community have decided that they must play the image game in order for their words to be heard with respect and attention by the rest of Canada. In order to survive, many have subsumed their past, their nationality, their differences, their heritage -- either by personal choice or because it was forced upon them[8]. They are not alone in taking such measures to acquire acceptance and tolerance, but considering their long association with this land, it is not surprising to find that many Aboriginal people hold within them a sense of bitterness.

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8 The deleterious effects of the religious missionary strategies and the residential school system upon Aboriginal cultures are well documented and it is not essential that they be repeated here.

THE VIEW FROM AFAR

People throughout the world have a fascination with the story of the North American Aboriginal peoples. As a particularly visible example, there are numerous societies in Germany devoted to the study and emulation of Aboriginal cultures. These groups study the recorded history, reproduce the clothing and homes of Aboriginal groups and hold ceremonial gatherings patterned after those of indigenous North Americans[9]. This is done in much the same manner as those groups of people in North America who cultivate their fascination with European cultural history by joining medieval societies or by playing renaissance music on new versions of traditional instruments.

Often, however, this is a fascination with the Aboriginal societies of the past, or rather, an approximation of the past through non-Native eyes. The Aboriginal history of more recent times does not seem to warrant the same fascination as during the era of the "noble savage." This has resulted in distorted perceptions and often a lack of respect given to contemporary Aboriginal people who cannot and do not hold themselves to this image. It is comparable to the expectation that everyone in the Netherlands wears wooden clogs. Yes, the inhabitants of some provinces *did* wear such apparel in historic times and that particular custom came to be erroneously ascribed to all 'Dutch' people. Except for special events when people celebrate their culture for everyone's enjoyment, wooden clogs are no longer standard footwear in the Netherlands.

In a heritage institution, this same approach to history must be considered, for the story is always evolving. It is never static. Many museums and heritage sites have had difficulty grappling with this notion, if they have bothered to really address it at all. Once again, they exploit the fascination with the Aboriginal cultures of the past (usually the so-called historic, rather than the pre-historic), and neglect to focus much upon the 'pre-contact' times. The more recent era following the signing of the treaties, which confined many of the Aboriginal cultures to their designated place, has also been overlooked. Little attention is

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9 Peter Bolz.
"Life Among the 'Hunkpapas': A Case Study in German Indian Lore", **INDIANS AND EUROPE**.
Aachen (Germany), Rader Verlag, 1987.
Pages 475 - 490.

devoted to the modern manifestations of Aboriginal culture. Having evolved out of past traditions, these cultures are, however, no longer the same as in times past. If there is to be any growth in awareness of Canada's Aboriginal people (both by non-Aboriginal and indigenous peoples, themselves), the entire historical continuum of this land must be granted equal energy and exposure.

Many of today's First Nations people are bridging two worlds. The conflict and confusion that can arise from the demands of such a role may create a painful situation. If more non-Aboriginal Canadians were to become aware of the complete history of our land and its people, they would better understand the resulting implications upon the socio-economic and political circumstances of today's Aboriginal cultures.

> . . . to defend themselves adequately, aboriginal communities need leaders who understand and can relate to the Canadian political structure. What they are defending, however, is a value system and a way of life that is inimical to the very qualities they need if their defence is to be effective. To walk that fine line between remaining true to aboriginal beliefs and traditions, and relating effectively to the power structure, is not an easy task: many native leaders have stepped over that line and been rejected by their people, while others have given up in despair.[10]

CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

Over a period of several decades that followed the signing of several land treaties and the subsequent decree of The Indian Act in 1876, there were stringent efforts to assimilate the Aboriginal peoples of Canada into the European society. A variety of programmes, such as the establishment of farming communities, enforced education, restricted travel off of reserve lands, prohibition of traditional ceremonies and the Christian missionary movements, were intended to bring the surviving indigenous peoples into the mainstream of Canadian society. As it was believed that traditional cultures were on the verge of extinction, the Canadian bureaucracy believed that the best interests of native people would be served if they embraced these enterprises.

Yet these efforts met with varying degrees of success in different parts of the country. Valda Blundell's experience in the field of the cultural anthropology of

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10 Boyce Richardson.
PEOPLE OF TERRA NULLIUS.
Page 343.

Aboriginal people has led her to observe that Canadians made several incorrect assumptions about indigenous peoples and their responses to Canadian society:

> . . . Because some individual native people had become assimilated into Canadian society, and because the Indian cultures were clearly changed from what they had been at earliest European contact, non-Indians assumed that all Indians were being assimilated.
>
> . . . While whites interpreted all change in Indian societies as evolution toward assimilation of a Euro-Canadian way of life, Indian people were in fact creating new syntheses which, though different than their own traditional cultures, were nonetheless distinctively Indian in nature. . . . For many Canadian natives, the adoption of white technology and economic pursuits has been synthesised with a continuation of many traditional values. . . .[11]

THE TREND TOWARDS CULTURAL EQUALITY

"We do not want to be a "museum for anthropologists" but we wish to be able to choose our style and speed of development. . . . We share a planet with other societies and we must learn to live together in harmony. We are different, but not enemies. Rather we have common enemies to fight together: Ignorance, fear, hatred and violence. . . ."[12] These direct and honest wishes were part of a speech given by the Venerable Bimal Bhikku of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh at the Opening Ceremony of the International Year of the World's Indigenous People.

For centuries indigenous peoples have been examined under the microscopic eye of world travellers coming primarily from the ports of Europe. This phenomenon of looking in on the societies and cultures of heretofore unknown peoples has provided the livelihood and intellectual reputation of many researchers. In spite of the current uneasiness with this pattern of cultural analysis, it has managed to bring to us the knowledge of many long vanished

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11 Dr. V. Blundell in Simon Brascoupé and Richard Hill.
HANDBOOK FOR NATIVE AWARENESS WORKSHOPS. Volume IV: "Planning with Native Peoples: Economic Development" [draft].
Ottawa, Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce and Regional and Economic Expansion, May 1983.
Pages 17 - 19.

12 United Nations.
INDIGENOUS PEOPLE, Newsletter of the United Nations Centre for Human Rights.
Geneva, Switzerland, No. 1, June 1993.
Page 5.

Aboriginal cultures. Such academically validated knowledge has contributed to the efforts by indigenous peoples to restore a sense of pride and strength in their heritage. Christian Feest makes the following observation in his essay that concludes a collection devoted to the interaction between Europeans and the indigenous Americans:

> . . . it is obvious that all academic approaches, no matter how innovative, are ultimately part of a European and not Native American tradition of looking at the world. Anthropology as propagated by Franz Boas explicitly makes use of the otherness of cultures that are studied by participant observation, and its practitioners are thus invited to identify with the people they study.[13]

Associated with the traditional Eurocentric perspective of the world's cultures is the tendency to view 'the other' as somewhere beyond the confines of one's own culture. On the surface, this approach is logical, but it has led to the belief that 'the other' is somehow inferior to one's own society, rather than simply different. This, in turn, reinforces stereotypical perceptions, as explained by the historian Deborah Doxtator:

> The whole idea of competency is very pervasive. Indians have been told, from at least during the beginning of the nineteenth century and onward, that they're not capable of running their own affairs and that it's not going to be as good as what a white person does. They don't know how to handle all this, you know, modern ways of living, or technological things.
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> . . . they're seen as people who were sort of on the fringes of society who are not really part of the world as it works, and that their way of seeing the world is not viable because it just can't compete with everybody else and this dominant society out there; they're always the victims in the movies. . . .
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> People get this idea that Indians are oppressed and they're outside of the real world and that they can't participate in it -- basically, essentially, because they *are* Indian.[14]

In the contemporary fellowship of cultural institutions there is a growing recognition of the negative effects that this approach has had both upon the society that is the object of study and the society doing the observing and interpretation. From the first meeting of these cultures, the latter group has

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13 Feest, Christian F.
"Indians and Europe? Editor's Postscript", **INDIANS AND EUROPE**.
Page 623.

14 CBC Radio.
IDEAS, "Isinamowin: the White Man's Indian", by Maureen Matthews [transcript].
Toronto, The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 11 and 12 December 1991.
Page 9.

assumed that it, alone, can correctly determine what is of value in those societies under observation. This peremptory attitude is finally being questioned. There is an acknowledgement of the contributions that Aboriginals have made to our development as a nation and a people -- these have, for the most part, been overlooked. The following chapters of this thesis focus on these changing trends.

As the world's peoples move from their homelands and blend together to form communities with a new identity, the Eurocentric perspective is gradually being replaced by a more holistic view of all cultures. The unilateral vantage point no longer has a place in cultural and heritage institutions. The dispassionate onlooker surveying the dispossessed culture of another society is being thrust aside in favour of interactive communication, where all those involved both give and take from one another

This more open acceptance of the heritage perspectives and values of 'other' cultures is reflected in an effort by the heritage 'establishment' to redress some of the oversights of the past. At a recent meeting of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (Spring, 1992), matters such as these were raised. A report was presented by the Fur Trade and Indigenous Peoples Committee, focusing upon the lack of recognition of the significance of the prehistory within the land area that is currently part of Québec. At this particular meeting, the Board recommended that an in-depth study be done of the following sites with a view towards the possible consideration of these sites for national historic significance.[15]

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15 Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.
"Minutes of the Spring 1982 Meeting".
Saskatoon, June 14, 15 and 16.
Pages 2 - 4.

SITE	CULTURE	LOCATION
Pointe aux Boussons	Iroquois	St. Lawrence
Mingan	Montagnais	St. Lawrence
Blanc Sablon	Maritime Archaic, Dorset, Thule	Strait of Belle Isle
Beaumier	??	St. Lawrence
Rivière Duparaquet	??	near Lake Abitibi
Rivière La Marthe	late Paleo Indian	Gaspésie
Allumette Island	Algonquian	Ottawa River
Indian House Sites	Maritime Archaic	??

Québec is not alone in such oversights, but the long term preoccupation of French speaking citizens with their own struggles for cultural recognition has created a lack of interest for the concerns of the province's Aboriginal peoples. The above example is included to give an indication of the results of this cultural self-preoccupation.

> The strain in the relations between the aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples of Québec arises from the fact that, in a context where two peoples fired by nationalism confront one another, each is struggling for greater autonomy and neither knows, for the present, whether the efforts of the one will not prejudice the cause of the other.[16]

When examining the province of Québec in comparison with Ontario and Manitoba, it has proved more difficult to uncover as much information concerning the Aboriginal history and issues. The recent escalation of conflicts between the provincial authorities and Native communities and political organisations emphasize the fact that communication difficulties between Aboriginal peoples and the mainstream of Québec society do exist. Not only is there no common

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16 Québec, Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones.
THE NEED FOR PANEL DISCUSSION - The Relations between the Aboriginal Peoples and the Other Inhabitants of Québec.
Québec, Fall 1991.
Page 17.

linguistic heritage, but their cultural values also diverge. The energy of the average Québecois is apparently devoted to their own struggle for an enduring heritage. While this choice does not openly repudiate those citizens who are not of the cultural majority, it does leave them with very few public supporters for their causes. It is not easy to be relegated to second class status within a society that preoccupied with its own struggle to maintain a sense of self worth.

This is the legacy of both the political uniformity engendered by the provincial government of the mid century and the strength of the religious culture that has been prominent in Québec since the coming of the Europeans. The Québecois resistance to cultural assimilation by English Canada has not apparently increased their sensitivity to others who are undergoing similar struggles for their cultural identities.

It has taken the unrelenting efforts of the northern Cree and the open defence of their lands by the Mohawk people of the south to shake the government and the people out of their disregard of Aboriginal concerns. As a direct result of the increasing tensions and demands to have a fair hearing, the Québec Minister for Native Affairs began the process towards developing a provincial government Policy on Aboriginal Affairs in the early months of 1991. He conducted an informal tour of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities to listen to the concerns of the people, with the intention of trying to reflect their interests in the new policy. In the closing months of the same year (1991), the government sponsored four more structured symposiums to hear the views of individuals and organisations. These sessions were the precursor to the preparation of a draft Policy on Aboriginal Affairs by the summer of 1992 for public consultation during the later half of the year.[17]

This is not to say that a similar lack of communication does not exist elsewhere in the country, but the tensions and misunderstandings seem to be exacerbated in Québec as the province strives towards political and cultural sovereignty. The Aboriginal community fears that it could become even more of an outside group than is now the case. It is the case that Aboriginal cultural and political struggles

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17 The reader is referred to the six-document series relating to these consultations, produced by the Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones du Québec.

are very much intertwined, so that to examine the first aspect invariably leads one to the second.

The issues currently facing the government of Québec and her Aboriginal citizens are reviewed in the most recent report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, **TOWARD RECONCILIATION** (pages 33 - 39). Until these political and social issues have achieved some degree of harmonious resolution, any efforts towards cultural promotion will be unlikely to gain the interest and respect of the general population.

CHAPTER 2

THE COLLISION OF DIVERGENT REALITIES

TIME AND HISTORY

PREHISTORY AND HISTORY

". . . The textbook Indian is very much a figure of the past, frozen in time like a butterfly in amber. Textbooks implied, if they did not state outright, that the important business of civilisation went on without them. History was something that happened only to White people."[18] This passage from Daniel Francis' book, **The Imaginary Indian**, illustrates the stereotypical attitudes that evolved out of the written traditions of the new Canadian society. By referring to knowledge which is written as 'history' and knowledge that is kept by some other means as 'prehistory', we have created a schism in the records of time.

We have ruthlessly separated the time when Aboriginal cultures were not influenced by European perceptions from the time when they were. The 'discovery' of the Americas was, indeed, a major watershed in the history of Europe and proved also to herald the beginnings of dramatic evolutionary change for the Aboriginal cultures of North and South America. However, the European perspective neglects the fact that what may be 'prehistory' in their minds is not perceived as such in the minds of Aboriginal peoples. Their history is their own and it spans many thousands of years. The history of Aboriginal societies of Canada does not belong just in a museum, frozen in time and context. This is a living history that has led Aboriginal people to where they are today. There is no real break between the more distant and the more recent past. To take this concept yet further, there is also no real break between the recent past, the present and the future!

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18 Daniel Francis.
THE IMAGINARY INDIAN.
Page 167.

Europeans arrived in North America with their cultural ideologies to sustain them in a foreign environment. These included the notion of hierarchical ranking of all forms of life on the earth. Such rankings were extended to sub-groupings within the human species, based upon the belief that the Creator exemplified perfection and all people were striving to achieve such perfection in their own existence. The new arrivals also held strong beliefs in the associated concept of progress through history and time, whereby humanity continually improves along a scale extending from the primitive to the civilised. Valda Blundell postulates that these approaches to existence enabled the Europeans to view the peoples of the new continent as being beneath them on the evolutionary ladder. Yet, any individual had the potential to achieve a degree of civilisation equivalent to the Europeans -- by merely following their superior guidance and encouragement.[19]

THE CONTINUUM OF SPACE AND TIME

For those Aboriginal people who follow traditional spiritual beliefs, the concept of time is without the limitations and causal sequencing that cultures of the western world ascribe to it. Time is a continuum, whereby the past, present and the future all co-exist together, in a recurring cycle of an eternal present. They are not mutually exclusive. The past has its importance, for it has brought us all to this present moment, which, in itself, is determining the future. All time has the same degree of importance and must all be given the same consideration.

> Events or processes transmitted through oral traditions tend to be recounted neither in terms of time past or time future in a lineal sense. Indeed most native languages have no such tenses to express this. They speak rather of a perennial reality of the now.[20]

Because of the dominance in North America of the western approach to time, most people have little sympathy with anything that is different. Our concept of a

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19 Dr. V. Blundell in Simon Brascoupé and Richard Hill.
HANDBOOK FOR NATIVE AWARENESS WORKSHOPS. Volume IV: "Planning with Native Peoples - Economic Development" [draft].
Pages 2 - 4.

20 Joseph Epes Brown.
"The Roots of Renewal".
In Walter Holden Capps, editor, **SEEING WITH A NATIVE EYE: Essays on Native American Religion**.
New York, Harper and Row, 1976, Pages 25 - 34.
Cited in Jamake Highwater, **THE PRIMAL MIND**, page 89.

logical progression of things from the past, through to the present and on into the future structures our language and orders our lives.[21]

Intertwined with Aboriginal ideas of time and history are concerns about the remnants of their past. They particularly desire putting an end to disturbance of burial sites by archaeologists and other researchers. The knowledge gained by such explorations is of great potential value, but native people are beginning to voice their objections to this desecration of their past -- a past that is not so far removed from the present as those of us who are not of Aboriginal cultures might believe. Few Aboriginal societies built permanent monuments in the manner of many of the world's cultures. Their past history is represented only by what remains of their oral traditions, by their spiritual beliefs, by sacred places and by the burial sites of their ancestors.

Since the arrival of the Europeans, innumerable tangible samples of Aboriginal culture have not only been taken from their local communities, but also the North American continent. People today are struggling to restore many of these items to their original place. A significant concern with archaeological excavations is that numerous artefacts are removed from the site and taken to specialised institutions where they are analysed and stored to ensure their preservation, lack of contamination and availability to other researchers or the general public. They are never seen again within the boundaries of their original community. It is as if the community has been robbed of their past -- and without a past, there is neither a present or a future.[22]

Henri Dorion of the Musée de la civilisation in Québec explored the significance ascribed to Aboriginal objects which have been taken away from their origins to become museum artefacts:

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21 A enlightening discussion of the Aboriginal and the western views of time as evidenced through art and literature is included in **THE PRIMAL MIND - Vision and Reality in Indian America** by Jamake Highwater (pages 89 - 118).

22 Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.
TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°. Volume One: Issues and Policy Options.
Prepared by W. M. Baker [Tourism, Park and Recreation Consultant].
Scarborough, 1984.
Page 37.

> The conservation of museum collections is for the purposes of memory, for the rest of time; objects are conserved to testify, over a long period of time, to their origins and context, to the idea underlying their creation, both to the gesture which led to their creation and to the meaning associated with their birth. In this respect, there are undoubtedly lessons to be learned from Native wisdom, which deems that objects possess an inherent memory, over and above that attributed to them by ethnologists and museologists.
>
> Memory is in fact a vital function for objects as well as beings. A musical instrument which is no longer heard for lack of a musician to give it life -- or rather sustain its life -- undergoes decline and death. And why should it not be the same for other objects?
>
> From this perspective, an object's memory is clearly something other than "added value": it constitutes the very soul or life of the object. And life means movement, action, purpose. Is not an object stripped of its purpose in a sense dead? Without life or utility, the object is in fact vulnerable; it risks becoming a stereotype. . . .[23]

ORAL AND WRITTEN TRADITIONS

There is a difficulty inherent in the process of attempting to explain a culture and its attributes using tools of another culture. With the coming of the Europeans, the Aboriginal societies of North America followed a path that diverged from the natural order of things. Today's First Nations peoples are full participants in the society that comprises Canada, even though many traditions of modern life have their foundations in cultures that evolved beyond America's oceanic boundaries.

One of the most dominant features of this cultural heritage transferred from foreign lands is the passion for writing. To put an idea into written form is to give it a concreteness, a permanence, a reality. Many of us cannot easily ascribe these attributes to oral communication which, in our minds, does not have the visual confirmation that we normally rely on. Many things in our world are not considered valid or trustworthy unless there is substantiation in a written form. Indigenous peoples have adopted this, along with other accoutrements of European civilisations, in order to relate to other cultures on an equal footing.

We are obligated to reconsider this perspective by taking a second look at history and tradition from another vantage point. In a document for Native

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23 Henri Dorion.
"L'éloge de la tolérance: quelques réflexions autour du patrimoine amérindien / In praise of tolerance: thoughts on the native american heritage", **MUSÉES: Les musées du Québec: portrait de famille.**
Montréal, Société des musées québecois.
Volume 14, No. 3, Septembre 1992 (numéro spécial: ICOM 1992).
Pages 42 - 43.

Awareness Workshops intended for public servants, Simon Brascoupé explains the oral tradition in the following manner:

> A culture that does not have writing does not disappear with each new generation. Instead the traditions and beliefs of the culture are passed on to the next generation through the oral history of the group. Through the transference of knowledge from one generation to the next, all can share in a common cultural environment.[24]
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> The Indian people, like other cultures with no written language, relied up on a strong oral tradition to preserve their culture and history. The preservers of this information were citizens with remarkable memories and there are many written accounts witnessing the ability of the Indians to recount councils and agreements in detail. Yet, their own history was ridiculed and suppressed while, in the past century, the "official" Canadian history was forced upon their children in government-run schools. The fact that Indians exist today in Canada, as a distinct people, attests to a strong sense of identity and respect for tradition.[25]

This very thesis represents one of the ultimate examples of Eurocentric cultural particularities -- for it is only acceptable in a written mode, adhering to a pre-defined format. The written word is used to justify, explain and prove academic arguments and ideas. There is an inescapable incongruity inherent in the examination of a culture with an oral tradition, using the methodology of a culture which embraces a written tradition. Although contemporary Aboriginal people utilise the written word as much as anyone, nonetheless, their oral heritage does exist. Cultural interpretation can recognise this heritage as a fundamental component of their being, since the integration of communication with written characters is, in most cases, a relatively recent event in their cultural history.

THE SPIRITUAL WORLD

The history of the contact between the Aboriginal societies of North America and the Europeans who overtook their territories has always carried the constant undercurrent of separate spiritual realities, although the cultural attitudes of both societies were dominated by the spiritual authorities -- whatever or whoever they

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24 Simon Brascoupé.
HANDBOOK FOR NATIVE AWARENESS WORKSHOPS. Volume I: "Canada's Native Peoples".
Ottawa, Department of Regional and Economic Expansion (DREE), September 19 1.
Page 19.

25 Simon Brascoupé.
HANDBOOK FOR NATIVE AWARENESS WORKSHOPS. Volume I: "Canada's Native Peoples". Page 27.

may have been. There are still, today, many who honour the power and the will of a superior being. Many others live in a world where rational logic holds sway over the apparently insubstantial will of the spirit. For those people in our rapidly changing technological world, the amorphous spiritual world is fading into the background. We sense that we, alone, have the power to control our destiny and it is up to us to make the future as we wish it to be.

It was not really so very many years ago that existence for all people was much more precarious. One's life and that of one's community was at the mercy of the spirits or deity. The events of the natural and the political world took place -- with or without the involvement of the ordinary person. The solace and comfort offered by religious beliefs were frequently the only things keeping people from succumbing to a desperate fear for their own survival. It is not really any great surprise to realise that religious beliefs throughout the world actually share many fundamental concepts, although they might be manifested through different ceremonies and rituals. In competition for territorial power and wealth, the Europeans ventured out into the unknown, far from their own lands. Armed with the financial and moral support of the Christian religious establishment, they were endowed with the single minded purpose to persevere and stay amongst hostile peoples in harsh lands. These efforts were legitimised by the dictum that they must convert all the indigenous inhabitants to Christianity. The religious practices of these peoples were not validated by many of the newcomers, so strong was their assumption that Christianity was the only acceptable spirituality. As more people came from Europe to explore and live in the newly discovered worlds, they brought their factional rivalries with them. Competition between the various denominations for the acquisition of religious souls assumed a rather irreligious level of antagonism.[26]

This apparent lack of understanding of the existence of alternative forms of religion extended to many aspects of cultural awareness. This narrowness of vision has continued until modern times, as many refuse to acknowledge the very different ways that indigenous cultures may view their world, may cope with

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26 My previous research of the Christian religious missionary movements and their cultural and architectural influences on Aboriginal societies, discusses the rivalries between the various faiths in their search to convert pagan souls. [Bellamy, "Is This the House of God? - Religious Architecture for the First Peoples of the New World", Pages 14 - 19.]

difficulties and may live their lives. It is only recently that non-Aboriginal people have even begun to accept that the First Peoples may have a world / life view that differs from a non-Native person's. As Jo-Anne Bennett discovered during her interviews with elders living on reserves in north-western Ontario, the intrinsic world view of the older generation of Aboriginal people is fundamentally different from the Euro-centric perspective:

> The elders saw themselves as living out their lives as members of a coherent community of influences, many of which were not human. There were human people in this world but spirits also abounded, affecting people for good or ill, bringing dreams, illness, madness, strong feelings and even ideas. For those who were particularly pious in their Christianity, it was God who thus intervened daily in people's lives. Animals also formed an intrinsic and important part of this world. They had the same capacities, feelings, hopes and experiences as human beings.
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> . . . . Most of the items listed above are things which our own culture considers experiences which take place inside us. They are happenings and events which we believe have their origins within ourselves, things over which we feel at least some direct personal responsibility.
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> . . . . the elders' sense of personal agency was extremely limited. They did not see much profit in acting to change their circumstances or their environment. Their efforts rather went to seeking balance, to adjusting themselves to the totality. The elders saw themselves as just some among many hundreds or thousands of influences and beings, all of which needed to live together in harmony. Good living, physical, mental, spiritual and social, helped to maintain this harmony. The inevitable bad times and troubles of life were to be met with stoical fortitude.[27]

At the same time, many Aboriginal people have become more assimilated into the non-Native culture that surrounds them and with which they must interact, in order to survive. This has become a matter of concern for those in the Aboriginal communities who fear the continuing losses of their culture, spiritual vision and ancestral language, as new generations become ever more distant from their ancestral heritage. The growing movement to enhance the appreciation of Aboriginal heritage is continually counterbalanced by the apparent benefits of Canadian society as a whole. In this conflict between divergent cultural realities, the impact of the 'new' has continually threatened to overwhelm the 'old'.

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27 Jo Anne Bennett.
"Changing Concepts of Self in Northern Ontario Communities and Some Implications for the Future", Papers of **THE TWENTY-THIRD ALGONQUIAN CONFERENCE**.
Ottawa, Carleton University, 1992.
Pages 17 - 18.

Where does the individual with Aboriginal roots stand? The ability to bridge the chasm that threatens to destroy the cultures of our First Nations' peoples is not an easy one to acquire. Many Aboriginal people have fallen into its depths. Those who are trying to re-emerge must struggle against the unsympathetic attitudes of many non-Aboriginal Canadians. Ever since their arrival on American shores, Europeans have created a place for the indigenous peoples, both literally and figuratively. For many years, Aboriginal people were the victims of physical aggression, negative attitudes, devastating diseases and of political, religious and educational controls. They were ostracised and kept out of the mainstream of society. Although attitudes are changing as society gradually becomes more tolerant, in general, there are still many who do not wish to endorse the goals that Aboriginal people have for their cultural destinies. It is still easier to be in control than to be on the receiving end of ideas and attitudes. There is still a long struggle to achieve understanding and this is continually complicated by the fact that Aboriginal cultures, themselves, are constantly changing at a fast pace. There are no definitive solutions, for it is not feasible to force these multi-faceted societies into a static mould.

THE NATURAL WORLD

In contrast to the previously discussed hierarchical view of life as held by the European cultures, the various indigenous societies of North America held in common the belief in the interdependency of all life existing on the earth. There was an attitude that 'they were all in this together' and each was placed on earth for the combined benefit of the whole. Belief in this perspective required that all forms of life give respect to one another. This very concept of mutual support is realised within Aboriginal society through the process of decision making by consensus, which recognises that the opinions and values of each member of the group must be accorded a respectful hearing and incorporated into the final decision.

The traditional Aboriginal societies lived in close contact with the natural world around them. Large communities were few and people were usually scattered throughout the wilderness, in extended family or clan units that depended upon each individual's contribution for survival. The spirituality attributed to nature was a very close and integral part of everyone's existence. The Christian fear of

being cast into the wilderness for having sinned (as was the fate of Adam and Eve) has no relevance in the Aboriginal world view, for what the Europeans perceived as a wilderness was 'home' to the indigenous peoples.

During his extensive studies of the Swampy Cree and Ojibwa of northern Ontario and Manitoba, the anthropologist, A. Irving Hallowell gained much insight into the world view of these particular Algonquian speaking peoples. He realised that their language helps provide a true reflection of their conception of the natural world which surrounded them. Nearly all manufactured objects (except pipes) are classed as being inanimate, but most plants, fish, animals and human beings are considered to have qualities of life. Also included in this animate category are the winds and the sun. For a person to take any animate thing from the world of nature, that person is obligated to return something to nature in honour of the spirit or 'owner / boss' of whatever form of life that was taken.

> . . . there was always an implicit social relationship between the hunter and the 'owners' of animal species, conceived as animate beings of a certain class. This relationship was far more vital to a man, in terms of world view, than the knowledge and skills he possessed as a hunter. To be a successful hunter it was necessary to fulfil one's obligations to the 'owners' of animal species. Similarly, when plants were gathered for medicinal use, a little hole might be dug in the ground and an offering of tobacco left there. The 'owner' might also be addressed at the same time.[28]

Hallowell was very conscious of the negative implications of impressing non-Aboriginal terms and cultural perceptions on the indigenous peoples. "Since the phrase *world view* refers to the perspective in which people look at themselves and their surrounding world in cultural terms, we cannot impose distinctions and classifications of phenomena derived from another world view upon them if we seek to comprehend their outlook."[29] European derived linguistic and cultural definitions simply do not apply, for they inevitably alter the conceptual reality. "For the Ojibwa a natural world of objects, sharply opposed to a world of

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28 A. Irving Hallowell.
THE OJIBWA OF BERENS RIVER, MANITOBA: Ethnography into History.
Edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown.
Fort Worth; Texas, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992.
Page 62.

29 A. Irving Hallowell.
THE OJIBWA OF BERENS RIVER, MANITOBA.
Page 63.

spiritual, divine, or supernatural beings is absent. Their metaphysics of being has a different ground."[30]

THE WEALTH OF THE LAND

The importance of a landbase cannot be underestimated. For both economic and cultural reasons, the consideration of the land is intertwined with the very fabric of Aboriginal traditions and life, in a manner quite different from most of the other cultural groups living in Canada. Land is perhaps even more precious to today's urban Aboriginal population and to those living within the confines of reserved territories, than it was to their ancestors who had freedom to move throughout their tribal hunting territories. The question of rights over lands and their associated resources has become one of the most visible examples of a 'collision of divergent realities' between contemporary Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, ECOTOURISM AND LAND STEWARDSHIP

One of the current issues in assessing the feasibility of new facilities and opportunities, especially in the more isolated regions of the country, is the concept of sustainable development. This reflects the intention that a proposed new entity be self perpetuating by providing opportunities for local employment and development, while at the same time not requiring extensive input of financial and material support from outside the local area. The institution could become self sustaining only by taking appropriate measures not to destroy its resource foundations. Sustainable development is "development that ensures that the utilisation of resources and the environment today does not damage prospects for the use by future generations".[31] This could be expressed in a

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30 A. Irving Hallowell.
THE OJIBWA OF BERENS RIVER, MANITOBA.
Page 63.

31 Definition of The National Task Force on Environment and Economy (1987).
Cited in R.C. Scace, E. Grifone and R Usher., **ECOTOURISM IN CANADA.**
Canadian Environmental Advisory Council, Environment Canada.
Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, March 1992.
Page 4.

different way: "We have not inherited this land, we have merely borrowed it from our children".[32]

Measures for ensuring sustainable development for Aboriginal communities need to be introduced after careful evaluation and negotiation with their neighbouring non-Native groups. No community functions in total isolation from the 'outside' world and to avoid conflict the positive impacts can be reinforced, while the negative impacts minimised. A mutual development agreement can result in benefits for all those concerned.

The promotion of ecotourism is a vital component of sustainable development for Canada as a whole and Aboriginal people in particular. Ecology-based tourism was defined in 1983 by Hector Ceballos-Lascurain as "travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas."[33] Ecotourism ventures can take advantage of the Aboriginal world view and relationship with the natural environment. The opportunity to share knowledge by developing awareness in other cultures while simultaneously developing a love for nature and the land, is an intrinsic component of ecotourism. In their in-depth study of ecotourism, published by the Canadian Environmental Advisory Council, SENTAR Consultants Limited addressed the economic benefits. The appeal of an ecotourism project for First Nations groups is supported by the premise that:

> . . . ventures may begin with little investment and, depending on location, may hold potential for four season income. Ecotourism tends to happen in 'peripheral and non-industrialized' regions and may stimulate economic activity and stability in rural areas.
>
> Local and regional benefits are the result of successful ecotourism. From direct employment in ecotourism, as guides, interpreters, and the like, to the trickle-down impact of young people learning, support of protection and conservation will pass

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32 Tomson Highway.
"What a Certain Visionary Once Said", original English text of an article published in **TAWOW - Western Aboriginal Canada.**
Ottawa, First Nations Communications Incorporated.
Volume 1, Number 1, Spring 1994.

33 Cited in **A PROTECTED AREAS VISION FOR CANADA.**
Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1991.
Page 42.

> into the hands of local people. Because local environments will be increasingly viewed as 'special', ecotourist-derived partnerships will encourage local support for conservation.[34]

I wish to highlight the current proposal for land stewardship put forward by the Teme-Augama Anishnabai people. For many decades, they have been trying to gain recognition of their inherent rights to the land in the Lake Temagami area. Their claim is based upon the fact that even though no one from their tribal community was a signatory to the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850, their domains were included in this agreement. The Teme-Augama Anishnabai are currently working with the province of Ontario to draft a Treaty of Co-existence between themselves, the relevant townships and the province. They want to negotiate an agreement that will foster co-operation between themselves and their neighbours by promoting the concept of land stewardship to achieve sustainable development through effective land and environmental management.

> For the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, a commitment to the land is a commitment to care for all life. Stewardship is not ownership. We cannot impose man-made regulations upon Nature without serious consequences to the well-being of all life -- including ours. We can only take care of the land in accordance with natural laws.
>
> We have lived in the territory of the n'Daki-Menan for over 6,000 years. We believe that the stewardship of this land is our sacred trust and responsibility. We assert our right to be involved in any future development on our lands on the basis of our long-standing commitment to this holistic approach.[35]

A similar approach to co-operative land management was presented by the Conseil des Atikamekw et Montagnais at one of the hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People:

> The Atikamekw and Montagnais asked for recognition of the Aboriginal identity of their territory and for an affirmation of Aboriginal rights that would be reflected in a

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34 R.C. Scace, E. Grifone and R Usher.
ECOTOURISM IN CANADA.
Canadian Environmental Advisory Council, Environment Canada.
Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, March 1992.
Pages 22 - 23.

35 Bear Island Foundation, Teme-Augama Anishnabai.
"The Art of Living with the Land".
Leaflet summarising the land stewardship proposal.

An interesting evaluation of the Supreme Court of Canada decision (1991) against the claim by the Teme-Augame Anishnabai / Bear Island Foundation, from an ethnohistorical perspective is the theme of a paper by Toby Morantz, "The Judiciary as Anthropologists: New Insights into Social Organization: The Teme-Augama Anishnabay Case".

> form of co-existence between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. This would imply decision-making power over development and a claim on the exploitation of resources. They also sought free movement and free access for traditional activities along with acceptance of a policy of sustainable development over the territory.
>
> The two First Nations made specific proposals for a multi-level system of land allocation, which would include exclusive areas fully owned by the community and shared areas in which traditional Aboriginal activities would continue to have priority. They recommended a third category of "conservation land" that would be reserved for future generations and held for the exclusive use of Aboriginal people. They also sought to designate historical, cultural or heritage sites, which would be under Aboriginal control.[36]

LAND CLAIMS

During recent decades there have been numerous initiatives on the part of the First Nations of Canada to restore lands to their control and / or ownership by renegotiating existing treaties. During the period when the Aboriginal nations signed treaties with the Canadian government (1850 - 1923), it is argued that the consequences of these treaties were not fully realised by the signatories. In the succeeding years, changes to Canadian lifestyles, attitudes, economics and technology have been so dramatic that a review of the treaties is warranted.

Another factor in this issue is the evolving awareness by all the concerned parties that the Aboriginal nations have consistently held a view of the land and nature which is fundamentally at odds with the Eurocentrically derived view. The lands of indigenous societies did not visibly reflect their possession, yet they were considered an integral part of a tribe's or band's domain and, accordingly, were used as a resource for the necessities of life. As discussed in the Case Study, this is particularly true of the Algonquian bands who relocated to a variety of locations throughout the Canadian shield, in a recurring annual cycle.

The importance of the land is especially evident when we consider the issue of the convention of goods held 'in common'. This was an aspect of traditional Aboriginal culture that mystified the European traders and settlers. In order to survive in their environment, these societies had to work together, looking out for one another. It was virtually impossible for a person to exist on their own for

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36 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.
TOWARD RECONCILIATION - Overview of the Fourth Round Public Hearings.
Minister of Supply and Services Canada, April 1994.
Page 58.

extended periods of time. Few Europeans adopted this approach to existence, since it was so foreign to their notions of private property. Many immigrants have come to Canada specifically because they have been convinced that it is relatively easy to acquire goods and property for themselves -- something that may have been beyond their level of opportunity in their homelands. The Canadian government even gave land away for free, requiring only that the settlers indicate their honourable intentions by building a dwelling and clearing the land for agricultural purposes -- the very land that had been acquired for a moderate sum from the First Nations peoples.

First Nations people are aware that they cannot turn back the clock and return to the past, but they want provincial and federal governments to give due consideration to their claims that their lands were, in some cases, unscrupulously taken from them and compensation in some form is required. The land area of Canada that is exclusively reserved for use by 'status Indians' represents a very small portion of our total land mass. It also ignores the present day reality that the Aboriginal population is rapidly increasing and a large proportion of that population is 'non-status' and urban dwelling.

> The land claims issue is centered on restoration of lands that were illegally taken from native possession, use or jurisdiction. In that land title is communal, the claims for lost territories is a logical extension of the historical and cultural responsibilities of native nations and bands to manage tribal lands for the benefit of all members.
>
> The land claims will increase native land base, which will increase potential for community growth and potential income from increased resource inventories. Land claims negotiations also produce income from restitution for alienated lands, damage to resources and mis-management of resources.
>
> The land claims process is based both on aboriginal rights and treaty rights, as well as failure of government to fulfil obligations of the Indian Act.[37]

Within the discussion boundaries of this paper are extensive land areas for which there are ongoing negotiations between the various levels of government and the local Aboriginal bands and communities. Should some or all of this land base come under the domain of the Aboriginal people, the development of some form of heritage institution could present an opportunity for both cultural and

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37 Simon Brascoupé and Richard Hill.
HANDBOOK FOR NATIVE AWARENESS WORKSHOPS. Volume IV: "Planning with Native Peoples - Economic Development" [draft].
Page 96.

economic development for the people involved. It would also provide a vehicle for the potential growth in cross cultural understanding.

The parallels between the struggles to have lost lands restored to the control of Aboriginal peoples and objects of cultural patrimony repatriated from museum collections are not lost on Michael Ames of the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology:

> Increasingly concerned about preserving and recovering their dwindling natural resources, indigenous peoples are also recognizing the importance of their traditional lands and cultural traditions as *resources for their future as a people*. While calling for the return of their lands, they are reclaiming their own histories from anthropologists and others so that they may exert more control over how their cultures are presented to themselves and to others. Naturally any community wants to control how its image is made and presented, but minorities and dominated populations within larger states frequently have to struggle to win this right. . . .[38]

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38 Michael M. Ames.
CANNIBAL TOURS AND GLASS BOXES - The Anthropology of Museums.
Vancouver, UBC Press, 1992.
Page 79.

CHAPTER 3

HERITAGE AND CULTURE

BACKGROUND TO CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

P.J. Fowler, in a discussion of the interpretation of cultural landscapes, explores the difficulties in communicating the 'true stories' about a place and its people. Whose stories for whose benefit?

> The living are led to the dead, all too often down one pathway to meet a packaged past, while whole areas of "heritage", of the human experience, are simply excluded... Interpreting cultural landscapes is a real challenge, ... because we have to take account of cultural sociology and human psychology.... Cultural landscapes change, indeed it is of their very nature that they evolve through time; perceptions of their significance change, with academic research and aesthetic taste; interpretations of them change from visitor to visitor, and as the customer band broadens so do visitor expectations vary [39]

There are problems that arise when deciding on the means to intelligently interpret a culture's evolution to its own people, while at the same time enhancing its value amongst those who are not members of the culture. In trying to satisfy the needs and expectations of two or more different cultures, problems frequently arise over opposing points of view. The result is that the subject of the conflict is not addressed at all -- to avoid offending either party. The era of interpretation through the outsiders' preconceptions has ended at last. However, the established paradigms linger on with an insidious tenacity. Many of our cultural institutions have been in existence for a long time. Changing the exhibit format can be costly -- the public comes with pre-conceived notions of what the institution is and how it works, the professionals at these institutions do not want

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39 P.J. Fowler.
"The living and the led: interpreting cultural landscapes", **JOINING HANDS FOR QUALITY TOURISM: INTERPRETATION, PRESERVATION AND THE TRAVEL INDUSTRY**
University of Hawaii Sea Grant Extension Service, Honolulu, 1992.
Page 123

to give up their decision making powers. These are just some of the factors which contribute to a reluctance to initiate change.

It was / is easier for the professionals to make all the decisions about what the 'story' will be, who needs to know of it, how it will be told. In the last several years, however, a new generation of professionals have been making sincere efforts to side-step the easy route, to acknowledge that their perceptions of reality reflect their cultural biases and that, just possibly, there are other ways of looking at the world, which have as much validity as their own.

Even so, these people are often working within the formats of existing institutions (museums, art galleries, historic sites, conservation areas, natural parklands and preserves). All of these create the images of a cultural group for the public to see. All too frequently, these institutions work separately from one another, with their own personal agendas and the means of implementing them Communication or joint efforts amongst these groups is rare indeed. It is only in recent years that there have been a few tentative efforts to encourage co-operation between the various established cultural institutions. Collaborative exhibitions have been mounted, but the operating and funding systems are quite independent so that such efforts have obstacles placed in their path even before the collaboration is begun.[40]

As a way around these difficulties, there is surely a need to explore whether or not there might be options which have not yet been considered. The existing framework of cultural heritage institutions may not ever fully satisfy the needs of the Aboriginal groups of our nation. Perhaps this is the time to evaluate these needs and look for a different solution.

At the Canadian Museums Association annual conference of 1993, Bernadette Lynch, museum educator at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, addressed the difficulty of non-Aboriginal people interpreting an Aboriginal culture:

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40 The system of separate art and cultural institutions has lead to the existing dichotomy of having a field of Aboriginal art, not generally considered as art on the same lines as non-Aboriginal art. Instead, it is something unique unto itself. Even contemporary works are classified as artefacts representing a specific culture, and are usually displayed in museums, rather than galleries (unless the gallery is exclusively devoted to Aboriginal art).

> With the linear thinking we are accustomed to when we present history, with the artificial preservation of objects and the removal of them from the context of life and of use, with the limitations of the English language itself to express the intangible -- with all of this working against us, how can we understand and "interpret" Native culture? It would be easy to say we can't. But I believe that there is value in presenting many interpretations. We can, as non-Natives, have a voice in presenting other cultural perspectives if we accord them equal billing. We must have the humility to ask for help and must learn to present other options, other ways of understanding the duality of all things.[41]

This attitude reflects the contemporary search for mutual understanding and respect; but, even still, it remains locked into the mould of the outsider's perspective. The non-Aboriginal is still taking the initiative -- there cannot be much progress towards realising a more balanced interpretation until initiative comes from the other side of the equation. Many non-Aboriginals have made it their business to study other cultures -- to analyse, to evaluate, to record, to interpret. On one level, this reflects a healthy curiosity about the world and her peoples, for knowledge can lead to understanding. Yet, this desire for knowledge will most likely lead the seeker into making judgements and developing opinions about those whom they seek to know. This, I believe, is an unavoidable consequence of human nature. Perhaps the only redeeming factor is that those people who have greater knowledge of another culture are able to make more accurate interpretations of it.

For those of us who are of the 'majority' Canadian culture, it is time to resist the temptation to foist our views upon indigenous societies. Simply due to the overwhelming dominance of this culture, not only in North America but throughout the world, we are not able to withdraw our influence in any pragmatic fashion. Instead, it is essential that we open ourselves to the ideas and approaches of 'the other' -- to become the recipients, as opposed to being the unwelcome donors. Today, there are many Aboriginal cultural groups. Although they may be modelled after similar non-Aboriginal ones, they are inherently distinct. Aboriginal societies no longer need us to speak for them, assuming that they ever needed us at all. Unfortunately, it was our forebears who put the

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41 Bernadette Lynch.
"The Broken Pipe: Non - Native Museums and Native Culture, A Personal Perspective",
MUSE.
Ottawa, Canadian Museums Association.
Volume XI, No. 3, November 1993.
Pages 51 - 58.

Aboriginal cultures of our land into jeopardy, but the ongoing resurgence of Aboriginal culture has many eloquent proponents who know intimately and personally whereof they speak. It is time to create a new paradigm for a new era.

> What I am asking is for you historians and educators to dismantle your white paternalistic mind-set, which has crippled us from living our way of life, and to accept another way of life, and to accept another way of interpreting our past.
>
> You as historians have neglected the spiritual and mythic aspects of Indian cultures and have concentrated on the materialistic and practical sides to distort the reality of Indian life.
>
> All historians should see the wisdom in the stories and mythical traditions of Indian culture, and I recommend that historians move into this new territory. You have to find out what is the experience of being alive, what helps you feel alive! We need a thorough understanding of Indians. . . .[42]

ENCOUNTER OF CULTURES

THE ORIGINAL PEOPLES

Common usage of the word, 'Aboriginal', makes its meaning a strange one, because it is really only from the perspective of an external culture that a society can be termed aboriginal. All places were occupied by original inhabitants at some point in time. Aboriginal refers to those people whose ancestors were the first known occupants of a place, and who are now 'from the original' inhabitants. Yet, in a world where there has continually been an ongoing ebb and flow of peoples invading and re-invading their neighbouring territories, the word 'Aboriginal' seems to have lost its true meaning. At some point in time every occupied place must have had original inhabitants. It is merely a factor of just how far back in time one wishes to go, which determines who exactly the original peoples were. Deciding the limits of time often leads to misconceived ideas about the past, as evidenced by the commonly held perception by many that the

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42 Kahente Horn - Miller.
"The American Indian and the Problem of History", **MUSE.**
Ottawa, Canadian Museums Association.
Volume XI, No. 3, November 1993.
Pages 44 - 46, 48 - 50.

7th. century Anglo-Saxons began to clear the forests of England for agriculture, while in fact that process was initiated several millennia prior to that time.[43]

There is, however, a general consensus amongst today's societies that the term 'Aboriginal' refers to the descendants of those peoples who inhabited a place prior to the arrival of the European explorers, who plied the seas in their sailing vessels from the 15th. century onwards. When they found cultures and places previously unknown to their world, the Europeans assigned numerous identifying terms to the newly discovered groups of peoples in an attempt to distinguish between them. Over time, these 'new' cultures came to be ascribed the generic name, 'Aboriginal'. It was only in Australia that the word 'Aboriginal' was specifically ascribed to the human inhabitants of the vast southern continent.

In North America, we who are not of indigenous ancestry are fortunate to have the opportunity to learn about the cultures of Aboriginal peoples first hand. In many countries of the world, the culture and lines of descent of the original inhabitants have long ago been assimilated into at least one, if not a succession of invading groups. Only scattered remnants of such original cultures remain and it is virtually impossible for contemporary populations to get a sense of what life was like for these predecessors and what values they might have had to pass along to future generations. The distance between indigenous and contemporary societies is simply too vast, in terms of time, place and world view, for such vital information to be relevant. Here, on the American continent, we can experience the perspective of a world view that differs from our own -- if we choose to acknowledge it. Not only has Canada evolved into a land of many cultures, but in spite of the decimation of the past four centuries, we still have many descendants of the original cultures living amongst the newcomers. Their world view is one that has evolved in concert with the history of this continent over a time span of many thousands of years. The opportunities for knowing these cultures are present, should we wish to utilise them.

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43 P.J. Fowler.
"The living and the led: interpreting cultural landscapes", **JOINING HANDS FOR QUALITY TOURISM: INTERPRETATION, PRESERVATION AND THE TRAVEL INDUSTRY**.
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CULTURAL ARTEFACTS AS SOUVENIRS

There are museums and galleries throughout the world which are devoted to the portrayal of the cultural artefacts and history of the Aboriginal societies of the world. The European world has always had a fascination for the 'unknown' and the 'exotic'. The societies of Europe have frequently become enamoured with the lifestyles and the fashions of the Orient, the Middle East, the Classical era of Greece and Rome, the Indian sub-continent and the Aboriginal cultures of the Americas. They were particularly enamoured of images of the 'wide open plains' of the mid-west, which enticed many people of the European continent to immigrate to the United States and Canada, bringing with them their own life view.

Many tangible artefacts of these unknown worlds were taken back to Europe, so that the average person could vicariously share in the knowledge and the discovery of these 'new' cultures and places. This enthusiastic desire to possess the trappings, symbols and even human specimens of such cultures has become a source of outrage and anger on the part of members of the disadvantaged societies. Current efforts to repatriate the stolen and hoarded objects of a culture's history are meeting with varying degrees of success.[44]

PEOPLE AS CULTURAL ARTEFACTS

Since the first Europeans landed on the eastern coasts of the continent, the cultures of the indigenous peoples have been subjected to a broad spectrum of negative pressures exerted by the invading societies. The earliest contact was with the groups of Aboriginal people living in the maritime and eastern regions of the continent. This diminished the degree of prominence of Aboriginal cultures in eastern Canada as compared with the western and northern areas of our nation. This is a logical consequence of the length of exposure to the European attitudes and beliefs. The more isolated an Aboriginal community was, the stronger its sense of cultural identity. For these reasons, it is not surprising that non-Native Canadians know relatively little of those societies who lived on the coastal areas and along the older fur trade routes. These groups have suffered

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[44] The protests of Aboriginal communities and organisations have brought the debate over public property and indigenous artefacts into view. A series of articles discussing relevant issues has been assembled in **THE ETHICS OF COLLECTING CULTURAL PROPERTY: Whose Culture? Whose Property?**, edited by Phyllis Mauch Messenger.

the impact of European culture for a significantly longer time than those in the mid-west, far north or in isolated communities.

When describing the prophecy of the Seven Fires, Algonquin Elder William Commanda relates the prediction of the Fifth Fire, when Aboriginal people will be drawn away from their traditional lifestyle and teachings. If guided by promises of 'great joy and salvation', rather than by their ancient cultural pathways, they will struggle for generations to find the real purpose of life:

> At the time of these predictions, many people scoffed at the prophets. They then had medicines to keep away sickness. They were healthy and happy. These were the people who chose to stay behind on the great migration of the Anishnabe. These people were the first to have contact with the light-skinned race. They would suffer the most.[45]

The non-Native perceptions of Aboriginal lifestyles most closely approximates that of the societies of the western plains. These peoples were still living a relatively unaffected lifestyle when the explorers, surveyors, photographers, painters and settlers came to their lands during the last century. Yet, they were also moulded into the image desired by these newcomers. The romantic era of the 'noble savage' inspired many a traveller to journey to the western plains, to see these exotic people in the flesh, even as they were being corralled onto land reserves to enable the government to partition their ancestral lands to receive the migrations of agricultural homesteaders.

As opposed to their eastern compatriots, the western Aboriginal cultures of today have managed to retain a greater presence, perhaps due to their greater numbers and to an inherently vital sense of community. They have a stronger voice in Canadian society. They are more visible, and thus are a force to be considered. In Ontario and Québec, many of the primarily Algonquian speaking cultures living in the more populated regions have been essentially 'written off' for years. Their voices have been reduced to a whisper by the overwhelming domination of the mainstream culture. The average Canadian knows little about

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45 William Commanda's recounting of the "Prophecy of the Seven Fires".
Cited in Steven McFadden, **PROFILES IN WISDOM - Native Elders Speak About the Earth.**
Santa Fe, Bear and Company, Publishing, 1991.
Page 43.

them -- their history, lifestyles, spirituality, communities, concerns and hopes for the future.

The exception is the people of Iroquoian / Six Nations descent whose strength of purpose brings them to the forefront of Aboriginal prominence. These people have a history quite different from their neighbouring First Nations communities. They came north from the Mohawk Valley to western Québec at the insistence of the Jesuit priests in the latter half of the 1600's and early 1700's following the declaration of peace between France and the Iroquoian nations. Several decades later, a large influx of United Empire Loyalists came in the late 1700's with Joseph Brant to live in south-western Ontario. As such, these Aboriginal immigrants were not subjected to the same pressures as the people who had been living north of the Great Lakes when first the French and later the English arrived to reap the benefits of the land. Lifestyles of the more northerly tribes of people were different from the semi-permanent and primarily agrarian Iroquoian communities. The latter were significantly more populous and had an ordered form of governance, justice and religious beliefs which gained them a greater degree of respect from the Europeans. This is not to say that these nations did not also suffer from the impact of European culture and religion, but they seem to have weathered the onslaught better, so to speak. Their recovery has progressed faster because their cultural malaise was not so severe.

In an effort to improve the level of prominence of the Algonquian speaking peoples in the mind of the average Canadian, there needs to be a means of communicating the history, culture and concerns of this group which played a substantial role in the early development of our nation. Depending upon the wishes of the groups involved, the purpose of such communication could be either to make their culture more accessible to new generations of Algonquians, so that they come to know and respect the traditions of their past, or to interpret the cultures of the Algonquians to non-Native people, so that we may come to that which has been nearly lost to Canadian society. Through such interaction, the cultures of our nation's first peoples would secure their place amongst the multitude of lifestyles and world views of citizens now inhabiting this land.

DESIRE FOR CHANGE

THE APPROPRIATION OF CULTURE

Only within the last few years has there has been an emerging concern amongst academics and professionals regarding the prevailing attitudes towards the Aboriginal cultures. These attitudes have been shaped both intentionally and unintentionally since the first Europeans unexpectedly encountered societies which were so different from their own. The obvious differences were so dramatic that the Europeans failed, for the most part, to notice the similarities between themselves and unknown 'others' who occupied the 'new world'.

The efforts by enlightened anthropologists, curators and ethnohistorians to evaluate and redress the 'sins and omissions' of the past have initiated debates about the issues surrounding the portrayal and take-over of indigenous cultures throughout the world. Much of the motivation for these efforts has come from within the Aboriginal community itself. As its citizens increased their awareness of the intricacies of Eurocentric strategies and values, they began to question the condescending attitudes and peremptory controls exhibited by non-Native societies. In her discussion of pseudo-indigenous literature, Wendy Rose, a Hopi anthropologist and poet, describes the distortion and appropriation of Aboriginal culture in terms of "cultural imperialism" or "white shamanism".

> If, as the academics would have it, Indians "no longer really know" or at least lack access to their traditions and spirituality (not to mention land tenure), then it follows that they are no longer "truly" Indian. If culture, traditions, spirituality, oral literature, and land are not theirs to protect, then such things are free for the taking. An anthropologist or folklorist hears a story or a song and electronically reproduces it, eventually catalogues it and perhaps publishes it. According to the culture of the scholar, it is then *owned* by "science" in exactly the same fashion as native land, once "settled" by colonisers, is said to be owned by them. Stories, songs, ceremonies, and other cultural ingredients can be -- and often are -- stolen as surely as if they were tangible objects removed by force. There is a stereotype about the "savage" who is afraid a camera will steal his soul. It will indeed, and much more.[46]

As well as this pressure from the Aboriginal societies, professional and academic fellowships have come under the ever vigilant scrutiny of the world

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[46] Wendy Rose.
"The Great Pretenders - Further Reflections on Whiteshamanism".
In M. Annette Jaimes, editor, **THE STATE OF NATIVE NORTH AMERICA**.
Boston, South End Press, 1992.
Pages 407 - 408.

beyond their walls. Mass media and telecommunications are shrinking our world to the point where transcontinental patterns of behaviour have become more obvious. I suspect that one of the strongest influences has been a shift in the thinking of the newer generations of analytical professionals themselves. Many have come to know their subjects so well that they have finally accepted that they are no longer dealing with human curiosities. Instead, they are relating to the world of real people, who share all of those human aspirations and frailties which are the prerogative of any individual or group.

THE MUSEUM: A GRAVEYARD OF OBJECTS[47]

An evocative observation of a particular museum exhibition by Marjorie Halpin (University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology) examines the inherent and unconscious biases of the supposedly dispassionate cultural observer.

> . . . the exhibit through which we present the artefacts of another culture is itself an artefact of our culture. It both **is** and **was about** the contact of white and native cultures. From this perspective we can perhaps learn to see the interplay of values reflected in the white man's "frame" enclosing the native "content" of the exhibit.
>
> . . . we swim so securely in the waters of our own culture that it is hard to see Even sophisticated anthropologists seem at times to operate in terms of an implicit assumption that the rest of the world's peoples swim unknowingly in culture, whereas we deal directly and rationally with reality. What we need is a mechanism for estranging ourselves from ourselves in order to see ourselves, to pierce the veil of comfort and necessity within which cultural activities perforce seem right and proper. We need to become the anthropologists of ourselves.[48]

Our European derived love of collecting, observing, analysing the material curiosities and human artefacts of other cultures does, indeed, have much to say about our own culture. It has been our primary way of storing memories of the past -- both of our own culture and of others -- as we have seen them. Museum collections were initially the private domain of individuals Later the curatorial responsibilities expanded to include specialised groups and societies It was

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47 I am indebted to Henri Dorion's article, "L'éloge de la tolérance: quelques réflexions autour du patrimoine amérindien / In praise of tolerance: thoughts on the native amencan heritage" for this expression.

48 Marjorie M. Halpin.
"The Twelve Thousand Year Gap: Archaeology in British Columbia *and* First Peoples Indian Cultures in British Columbia -- a review", **GAZETTE**
Ottawa, Canadian Museums Association.
Volume II, No. 1, Winter 1978.
Page 41.

only after this era that museums were opened to public view, as the means for the specialists to educate the masses. The collections of artefacts were seen as being separate from the viewer, as well as from their creators. It is only in recent years that the museum curators and conservators have, on occasion, been willing to adopt more accessible exhibitions and artefact storage arrangements. Museums must now indicate their relevance to contemporary society by making these philosophical changes in order to encourage the involvement of the general public, rather than a limited group of interested people.[49]

With regard to the Aboriginal cultures of North America, these changes in museum attitudes have several facets. These include the attitudes expressed by the ethnohistorian, Bruce Trigger, in his Harry Hawthorn Distinguished Lecture for 1988, wherein he stated that:

> The role of museums as depositories of Native cultural heritage must be rethought in the light of such harsh and unpalatable realities [*i.e.* the treatment of indigenous people as being external to Canadian culture and not as an integral part of it]. How can museums which are run by EuroCanadians claim to be the custodians of Native heritage on behalf of the entire Canadian nation so long as Native People are excluded from proper membership in that nation and have not even received full recognition of their inalienable aboriginal and treaty rights?[50]

He goes on to say that Native people are now considered as the only spokespeople for their culture. Outsiders no longer have a legitimate role in making decisions on their behalf. Such theoretical good intentions do not necessarily rule out conflicts between heritage institutions who wish to retain control over their collections and those indigenous peoples who want such materials restored to the descendants of their original owners / creators.

The opinions of Trigger are frequently supported by others. Amongst these is Michael Ames of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology,

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49 Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean.
MUSEUMS AND THE SHAPING OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.
New York, Routledge, 1992.
This work presents a fascinating overview of the evolution of museums and their intentions when it comes to the preservation and sharing of cultural knowledge.

50 Trigger, Bruce G
"A Present of Their Past? Anthropologists, Native People, and their Heritage", **CULTURE**.
Victoria, University of Victoria, Canadian Ethnology Society.
Volume VIII, No. 1, 1988.
Page 75.

who does, however, caution institutions against bowing to the pressures of political movements. "A museum is not a weather vane, to twist and turn according to who blows the hardest from one day to the next."[51]

The changes in attitudes represented by these statements, along with controversy over the content and focus of some Aboriginal exhibitions, led the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association to sponsor a Task Force on Museums and First Peoples in 1988. Its goal was to define the future directions of Canadian museums and Aboriginal peoples by developing "an ethical framework and strategies for Aboriginal Nations to represent their history and culture in concert with cultural institutions"[52]. The final Task Report strongly urged that museums work directly with the Aboriginal peoples as equal partners in the development and management of exhibits and research efforts The issues demanding their attention should revolve around interpretation, access to materials and research, repatriation, training initiatives for first nations people along with a request to the appropriate government agencies for five years of funding to support these initiatives.[53]

CULTURE AS A HERITAGE RESOURCE

This readiness for change can also be applied to the heritage movement which has been extending its scope beyond the traditional parameters of architectural monuments. The classic approach reflects European attitudes towards heritage, focusing on the preservation of selected remnants of the past, usually those edifices which will garner public funds and support. This has no relevance to the preservation of First Nations heritage, for Aboriginal building designs reflected

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51 Michael M. Ames.
"The Liberation of Anthropology: A Rejoinder to Professor Trigger's "A Present of Their Past?"", **CULTURE**.
Victoria, University of Victoria, Canadian Ethnology Society, Volume VIII, No. !, 1988
Pages 83.

52 Task Force on Museums and First Peoples.
"Part I: Mission Statement", **TURNING THE PAGE: FORGING NEW PARTNERSHIPS BETWEEN MUSEUMS AND FIRST PEOPLES**, 2nd. edition.
Ottawa, 1992.

53 Task Force on Museums and First Peoples.
TURNING THE PAGE: FORGING NEW PARTNERSHIPS BETWEEN MUSEUMS AND FIRST PEOPLES.
Pages 7 - 10.

their migratory lifestyle and, as such, can never be viewed in the same light as permanent architectural elements on the landscape.[54] From the perspective of Europeans, the Aboriginal societies did not occupy any 'place' in the land for they had seldom erected permanent structures. This is perhaps why it was so popular to remove indigenous artefacts from their places of origin and install them in museums. Museums are rarely at the sites of those cultures which they interpret In fact, most museums attempt to portray patterns of several cultures simultaneously by bringing together objects from diverse places. A historic site, on the other hand, is nearly always 'on the spot' of the history being interpreted.

In recent years, the heritage movement has begun to extend its parameters to include both cultural and natural heritage. Christina Cameron, Director General of the Historic Sites Directorate of Parks Canada, uses the Haida totem poles as an example. The Haida people, themselves, have no wish to keep these poles intact forever, rather they wish to preserve the cultural skills and knowledge of how and why the poles were made. In essence, the goal should be preservation of the true importance of the totems, not the totems themselves.

> The main difference between conservation of "monuments" and conservation of "vernacular" is that the former is primarily concerned with the survival or reinstatement of forms, while the latter is concerned with the process or cultural tradition that gave birth to this heritage.[55]

A definition of the enhanced parameters of the contemporary heritage movement is provided for us by Jean Friesen in her essay about the future of the heritage movement:

> "Heritage" is, in our modern context, the moral tale that history offers. It derives from various streams of the past but finds its purpose in the public presentation and interpretation of a collective inheritance. . . . Heritage, in fact, is tangible

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54 Jean Friesen.
"Introduction: Heritage Futures", **PRAIRIE FORUM**.
Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, Volume 15, No. 2, Fall 1990.
Pages 195 - 196.

55 Christina Cameron.
"Current Issues in Heritage", Text of the keynote address presented to the Eastern Ontario Regional Conference of the Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee.
Perth, Ontario, 13 February 1993.
Page 4.

> historiography which visibly and often permanently proclaims the values and ideals of each generation [56]

Although one could question her use of the word 'tangible' in the context of cultural heritage, it appears as if Friesen's intention is not to limit us to concrete tactile artefacts and monuments, but rather the substance of such things as ideas, beliefs, stories, music and the habits of daily living.

The nationally recognised system of heritage management and conservation with Parks Canada has incorporated this expanded view by including a new section in their primary policy document. This section is devoted to the management of cultural resources and it outlines five guiding principles:

1. determining the historic value for which the cultural resource will be conserved
2. deciding what will be the public benefit of conserving the resource
3. acknowledging the need to know and understand the resource, its history and associated cultural traditions
4. respect must be a factor in the care and management of the cultural resource
5. integrity must be consciously incorporated into the process of repairing and presenting the resource, so that it accurately reflects the human history being represented.[57]

The Cultural Resource Management Policy includes an all-encompassing definition:

> . . . a cultural resource is a human work, or a place that gives evidence of human activity or has spiritual or cultural meaning, and that has been determined to be of historic value. Cultural resources are distinguished from other resources by virtue of their assigned historic value. This value derives from an association with an aspect or aspects of human history. Parks Canada may apply the term cultural resource to a wide range of resources in its custody, including, but not limited to,

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56 Jean Friesen.
"Introduction: Heritage Futures", **PRAIRIE FORUM.**
Page 193.

57 Christina Cameron.
"Current Issues in Heritage".
Page 5.

Canada, Canadian Heritage.
"Cultural Resource Management Policy", **PARKS CANADA GUIDING PRINCIPLES AND OPERATIONAL POLICIES.**
Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services, 1994.
Pages 101 - 115.

> cultural landscapes and landscape features, archaeological sites, engineering works, artefacts and associated records.[58]

This expanded heritage perspective will make it easier to incorporate Aboriginal heritage and culture within the 'mainstream' of the conservation movement. The impact of the environmental movement, with the resultant protective legislation (eg. Environment Canada's Green Plan), are also enccuraging the conservation of heritage resources. This new agenda provides First Nations communities with the option of merging their heritage conservation efforts with the established structure through federal government involvement, if they chose to do so.

It is vital that any efforts towards the recognition and the promotion of Aboriginal heritage acknowledge not only the past but also the present. Since the arrival of European whalers, fishermen, traders and explorers, the Aboriginal peoples have been forced along a path which was not of their own choosing. Necessitated by survival, they have sought to adapt to the pressures of the influx of foreign cultures. This has resulted in success for some, although the costs have been high and none of our nation's Aboriginal societies have come through this unscathed. The current resurgence in the Aboriginal cultures is merely another phase in the continuum of such efforts at adaptation. The major change is in attitude, whereby the Aboriginal groups are working to make the choices for their future, themselves, rather than having these decisions thrust upon them.

58 Canada, Canadian Heritage.
PARKS CANADA GUIDING PRINCIPLES AND OPERATIONAL POLICIES.
Page 101

CHAPTER 4

HIERARCHY OF HERITAGE

There currently exists an extensive hierarchy of officially designated heritage buildings, sites, regions and landscapes. These range from the international recognition given to those approved under the UNESCO World Heritage Convention of 1972 to those smaller and more personal places protected under the guardianship of local municipalities or small volunteer organisations. All of these levels of designation have a place in Canadian heritage, so new heritage institutions are free to work within this network, should they choose. The network spans many national cultures and issues of cultural uniqueness are continually being addressed and, hopefully, resolved. Several international and national charters[59] outlining the definitions of heritage and the manner of preservation have tried to encompass the spectrum of global individuality.

INTERNATIONAL

By 1992, there were 127 'state parties' signatory to the World Heritage Convention. Subsequent to the meeting of the World Heritage Committee in December 1992, 379 properties have been accorded World Heritage status, although only ten are in Canada.[60] Of these, five are noted for their cultural

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59 Most prominent amongst these charters are the World Heritage Convention -- "Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage", UNESCO (1972) and the Venice Charter - "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites", ICOMOS (1966). These, along with other international and national conservation charters, retain an inherently Eurocentric bias in their approach to deciding what heritage is, what places/people/things meet the terms of this definition and in what manner this heritage will be preserved for the future. Even though the heritage movement is trying to incorporate the unique cultures of many peoples, the foundations and implementation of these charters still rests primarily in the hands of their originators

60 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
THE WORLD HERITAGE, Incafo, S. A. (editor).
Madrid, Julio Soto 1991.

Canada, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service
WORLD HERITAGE.
Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1992

character, while the others are recognised for their precious natural conditions. Only two of these internationally significant places are devoted to Aboriginal cultures and both are in western Canada The World Heritage Committee is trying to increase the public's awareness of the Convention and the designated sites Such awareness will translate into more local support for their efforts and also increase the volume of tourists visiting the sites. The Committee does not manage the sites, but only provides expertise and guidance when required, as control of the sites is still the responsibility of the relevant countries.

Of the properties included on the World Heritage List, 260 are cultural sites, 84 are natural sites and 14 exhibit both cultural and natural themes.[61] Cultural properties refer to "a monument, group of buildings or site of outstanding universal value" that meet one or more specific criteria relating to cultural values: "unique artistic achievement, exerted great influence, unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilisation which has disappeared, type of building or architectural ensemble illustrating a significant stage in history, traditional human settlement, directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas".[62] The recent push for recognition of 'cultural landscapes' met with success at the December 1992 meeting of the World Heritage Committee. This category was added to the cultural properties criteria, even though it was anticipated that many properties meriting consideration would have a more significant natural component, as opposed to a cultural one. Included amongst the categories of

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Bernd von Droste.
"The World Heritage Convention: A Future Perspective" in **TOWARD GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND USE OF THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION.** Edited by J.G. Nelson and E.A. Alder.
Waterloo, Heritage Resources Centre, Occasional Paper No. 22, 1993.
Pages 3 and 15.

Richard Cook.
"Preliminary Recommendations for Operational Improvements" and "United States Delegation Report . . ." in **TOWARD GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND USE . . . .**
Page 59.

61 This total reflects the number of sites approved prior to the December 1992 meeting of the World Heritage Committee. I have not included the break-down of the 21 new sites.

62 Bernd von Droste
"The World Heritage Convention: A Future Perspective" in **TOWARD GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND USE . . . .**
Page 15.

cultural landscape were archaeological landscapes and landscape features of religious significance to Aboriginal peoples.[63]

NATIONAL

If we narrow the focus, then the next level of designation relevant to Canadians falls under the domain of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada Sites are listed in the Canadian Inventory of Heritage Properties and become the responsibility of the Canadian Parks Service of the new Department of Canadian Heritage. At the beginning of 1992, there were 750 national historic sites located throughout the country, with 114 being administered by the Canadian Parks Service[64]. In the areas of Ontario and Québec under consideration in this research thesis, the quantity of Aboriginal related historic sites and parks is very small when compared with the total number of federal sites. The reader is referred to the Case Study of the Algonquian Peoples in the Appendix for a listing of historic places with a strong Aboriginal component or focus.

The Canadian Parks Service has been undergoing a Policy Review to update the existing policy, enacted in 1979, to reflect changes in related legislation and in the enhanced Canadian awareness of environmental and heritage issues. This growing awareness has extended to Aboriginal concerns, and to reflect this change, the new Policy of the Canadian Parks Service makes particular mention of the Aboriginal rights as affirmed by the Constitution Act of 1982.

> . . . Canadian Parks Service may negotiate and define preferred interests of native people at the time of new park establishment and site acquisition, or as part of an aboriginal land claim settlement. These interests may include the continuation of certain traditional activities such as hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, other compatible economic opportunities, and spiritual pursuits. Other considerations

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63 Richard Cook.
"Preliminary Recommendations for Operational Improvements" and "United States Delegation Report . . ." in **TOWARD GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND USE . . . .**
Pages 64 - 65.

64 Canada, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Sites Directorate.
Discussion Paper, **National Workshop on the History of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada** relating to the **NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES SYSTEMS PLAN REVIEW, 1992 - 94**
Ottawa, January 1992.
Page 1.

> may include the participation of aboriginal peoples on boards which advise the Minister.[65]

This overall policy is seen as being most relevant to the sections on national parks and cultural resource[66] management. However, there is also the potential for an historic site or heritage river to be of concern with regards to constitutional rights and freedoms of the Aboriginal people.

The National Historic Sites Directorate of the Canadian Parks Service has been engaged in a Systems Plan Review to integrate policy changes relating to this particular directorate. In their representation of Canadian heritage, the Service has recognised several areas of thematic deficiencies, including the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada. The Directorate is trying to involve the First Nations in their decision making and in all planning for new historic sites, since it "is concerned that approaches to commemoration are not based on old assumptions and errors, and that in the process of planning for new national historic sites, there is not insult or offence to our Aboriginal partners"[67].

The Canadian Parks Service is seeking to broaden their traditional perspective for Aboriginal sites. The lengthy categorisation and documentation usually required for historic site designation may preclude the consideration of many Aboriginal sites, unless a different set of criteria is available. Once again, this change in attitude is necessitated by the cultural discrepancies between oral and written traditions. The efforts being made by this branch of the Canadian

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65 Canada, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service.
"Part I, Canadian Parks Service Program Policy", **PROPOSED POLICY.**
Ottawa, 1992.
Section 4.5, page 21.

66 The **Parks Canada Guiding Principles and Operational Policies** document defines a cultural resource as **"a human work, or a place that gives evidence of human activity or has spiritual or cultural meaning, and that has been determined to be of historic value. Cultural resources are distinguished from other resources by virtue of their assigned historic value. This value derives from an association with an aspect or aspects of human history. Parks Canada may apply the term cultural resource to a wide range of resources in its custody, including, but not limited to, cultural landscapes and landscape features, archaeological sites, structures, engineering works, artefacts and associated records."** [Page 101]

67 Canada, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Sites Directorate.
Discussion Paper, **National Workshop on the History of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada**.
Page 4.

government hearken to a new era of communication and understanding within the domains of cultural and natural heritage. This new approach is documented in the "Discussion Paper" for the workshops on Aboriginal history and heritage, which were held in 1992 and 1993 by the Historic Sites Directorate.

> There are a number of possible ways to commemorate the History of Aboriginal Peoples at national historic sites. Some of the more traditional methods have already been tried at a few national historic sites. . . .
>
> The Parks Service is aware that Aboriginal peoples might well favour other, less traditional approaches to commemoration that rely less on the built environment of architecture and culturally-modified landscapes. . . . If historical patterns of hunting or natural resource use were the basis of a recommendation for commemoration, we might end up with a very different kind of national historic site than is typical for "Euro-Canadian" history.
>
> In such cases the Parks Service might not focus on establishing national historic sites based on tangible cultural resources, so much as significant places associated with human use of natural resources. Such sites would include those important places where Aboriginal Peoples have come over many generations to fish, hunt, or to make use of other resources. They are often documented by oral history and traditions, and might consist of places along the streams where people fished in particular seasons, lands over which they hunted in other seasons, and which well represent the seasonal round of migrations between key areas of resource use. In some cases, these sites might have spiritual meaning for the cultures using them, or they might combine spirituality, natural resource use, and other important aspects of Aboriginal Peoples' experience.[68]

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board has recommended that new historic sites be established to fill in some of the thematic gaps in the Canadian spectrum. Included amongst these will be four sites relating to the history of the Aboriginal peoples -- one at Manitou Mounds near Emo, Ontario, and three more to be selected in the far northern regions of the country. It is anticipated that these will be commemorated by 1996.[69]

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68 Canada, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Sites Directorate.
Discussion Paper, **National Workshop on the History of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada**. Pages 10 - 11.

69 Canada, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, National Historic Sites Directorate.
Discussion Paper, **National Workshop on the History of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada**.
Page 14.

PROVINCIAL

On a smaller jurisdictional level, the province of Ontario has also been involved in a process of reviewing its heritage policies for the past several years. A working draft of A NEW ONTARIO HERITAGE ACT was released for feedback at the end of July 1993, by the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation. With a conscious effort to acknowledge the rights of the province's Aboriginal peoples, the government proposes that the legislation, itself, does not directly apply to Indian lands. However, either the provincial government and/or local municipalities may enter into agreements with First Nations groups in order to conserve cultural heritage.[70]

The Ontario Ministry of Culture and Communications, in concert with the Ontario Heritage Foundation, is working towards the recognition of the contributions that Aboriginal cultures have made to Ontario society. To date, several sites and institutions focus upon indigenous Canadians. Many historical places and people are acknowledged by means of a plaque or monument, but there are a few provincially supported Aboriginal institutions. The reader is referred to the provincial section of the table of Existing Cultural Institutions and/or Historic Sites, included in the Appendix: Case Study of the Algonquian Peoples.

The research of D.R. Matheson into the founding cultures of southern Ontario has highlighted a number of historically sacred sites and important Aboriginal communities, both 'prehistoric' and 'historic'. Few, if any, of these are officially designated. As an example, the following listing of sacred and legendary sites known to be valued by the Aboriginal peoples of the province has been extracted from Matheson's review, entitled **FIRST GENERATIONS**, and the accompanying map: First Generations - An Ontario Heritage Map[71]:

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70 Ontario, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation.
A NEW HERITAGE ACT - Working Draft.
Toronto, July 29, 1993.
Page iii; Part 2, Sections 6.(a) and 10.2.

71 Douglas Roy Matheson.
FIRST GENERATIONS and First Generations - An Ontario Heritage Map.
Hamilton, Choronomics, 1986.
Pages 29 - 34.

Aboriginal Name	Aboriginal Culture	Translation Given by the Immigrants	Contemporary Name	Reference Location
Manabezee		The White Swan	Belle Island	Detroit River
Asticou / Tsitkanajoh[72]	Algonquin / Mohawk	Kettle Falls	Chaudière Falls	Ottawa River
Akkikendow	Nipissing	Kettle	Chaudière Rapids	French River
Ekarenniondi	Petun	Standing Rock		south Nottawasagna Bay, nr Collingwood
			Lake Medad	near Flamborough
Onokenoga	Mohawk	Lake of the Gods	Lake on the Mountain	near Picton
	Nipissing, Huron	La Porte de l'Enfer		Lake Talon, Mattawa River
Ekaentoton, Manitowaling	Huron, Algonquin	Home of the Spirit	Manitoulin Island	Lake Huron
Manatoana		Garden of the Great Spirit	Thousand Islands	St Lawrence River
	Algonquian		Mazinaw Lake	Mississippi River
	Algonquian	Old Woman	Mindemoya Island	Manitoulin Island
Onguiaahra	Neutral	Thunder of Waters	Niagara Falls	Niagara Falls
			Palframan Rock Structure	Lake Talon, Mattawa River
	Algonquian		Peterborough Petroglyphs	north of Stoney Lake
	Ojibwe		Raven Rock	Raven Lake, Hwy 35
		Roche à l'Oiseau		Ottawa River (Qué)
	Algonquin		Rock Lake Vision Pits	Algonquin Park, Rock Lake
	Algonquin		Dreamer's Rock	McGregor Bay south of Whitefish Falls
Memegwesi (Maimaigwaisiwuk)			'underwater spirits'	Split Rock Channel, nr Franklin Island Burlington Bay & Lake Ontario east of Credit River

72 Matheson's description of the 'Kettle Falls', Ottawa River site is somewhat confusing It is not entirely clear whether these are two separate sites for the Algonquin and the Mokawk peoples or whether it is the same site, used at different times by the different groups

Midjikaming	Algonquian	The Place of the Fence [Wier]		Atherly Narrows, Orillia, Lake Simcoe
	Algonquian	The Sacred Turtle		Shawanga Inlet, Georgian Bay
	Point Penninsula		Burial Mounds Serpent, Miller, La Vesconte	Rice Lake and Trent River system
Yohyahdahdohkanthe	Iroquois	Home of the Sacred Thunderbird		Napanee to Salmon River, Bay of Quinte

In the province of Québec there is little recognition of contributions of Aboriginal cultures. Those heritage institutions that devote some of their space to the First Nations are usually considering them only in relation to the history of immigrant French colonists and traders. Only three heritage institutions in the province focus primarily upon the Aboriginal cultures - at Kahnewake, Odanak and Point-Bleue.[73] Contemporary Québec still carries the remnants of the paternalistic influence the Roman Catholic Church over the lives and politics of its people. There was little consideration of those cultural groups that were not a part of this particular religious culture. In some ways, attitudes to Aboriginal people have not changed much since the arrival of the first missionaries when the Native people who converted to Catholicism were given preferable treatment over those who held onto their traditional beliefs.[74]

REGIONAL / MUNICIPAL

The next phase of heritage designation is in the regions or municipalities. At this level the average person can directly influence presentation and interpretation of local heritage. Most Canadian cities include a heritage component in their urban planning group. Since towns and rural areas do not always have the necessary funding sources, they often enlist the help of provincial or federal agencies when implementing a heritage project. Some small towns still benefit from heritage

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73 The reader is referred to the Appendix for the names of these facilities.

74 Bruce G. Trigger.
NATIVES AND NEWCOMERS - Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered.
Kingston and Montrea McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985.
Pages 254 - 255.

conservation via the Main Street revitalisation programme initiated by Heritage Canada[75] in 1978 -- a partnership of local communities and Heritage Canada [76]

The majority of Canadians who are interested in heritage and conservation tend to consider only buildings, monuments and historic sites. With the burgeoning environmental movement, there is also a significant level of public concern for parks and wilderness areas, issues of industrial pollution and clear-cut logging of significant forests. This has helped garnish some support for Aboriginal communities who are trying to resist industrial encroachment on their territories, such as the Lac Barrière Algonquins' fight against the logging industry [77]

The federal government's promotion of our country's multi-cultural dynamic is an effort to encourage public interest in our various heritage cultures Apart from local heritage and ethnic organisations advancing their culture through language classes, social events, counselling support and festivals, there is little public appreciation for the aspects of cultural heritage discussed in this paper Possible means by which an Aboriginal community or organisation might rectify this deficiency is the subject of the following chapter.

PUBLIC FUNDING AND VOLUNTEER SUPPORT

There are many non-governmental groups that cover a spectrum of influence from a national level to local communities and some may qualify for partial government assistance. Local heritage and historical societies, special interest groups such as the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario, Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee and ethnic organisations could not function without the work of volunteers.

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75 Heritage Canada is a national organisation promoting the physical and cultural heritage of Canadians. It has attained a positive public image and derives support from the various levels of government, private industry and from individual citizens. Thus, it is relevant to several of the categories discussed in this section.

76 Heritage Canada.
HERITAGE REGIONS: Programme Description.
Ottawa, 1991.
Page 5.

77 Boyce Richardson.
PEOPLE OF TERRA NULLIUS.
Pages 109 - 129, 146 - 165

In our society where groups and charities are involved in serious competition for financial and volunteer support, the heritage movement is but one more request for assistance. In a world that is continually looking forward, it is often difficult to persuade people of the value in the past. When local organisations are able to successfully lobby the appropriate government bodies or convince the private sector of the benefits of a good public profile, then these grassroots groups can achieve a lot towards laying a foundation for their heritage conservation projects.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETING ABORIGINAL CULTURAL HERITAGE

THE ABORIGINAL EXPERIENCE

THE FRAMEWORK

The preceding hierarchy of heritage institutions ranges from the extremely specific and structured requirements of the international and national domain to the more informal and personalised character of places that operate primarily with the input of local communities. Many people in small communities easily relate to the intimacy of a small institution that has the potential for developing a sense of communal pride through the involvement of local citizens. Without local involvement and decision making, larger scale institutions seldom achieve this personal atmosphere. A heritage institution on the international, national and provincial scale usually develops and operates with the input of experienced heritage planning consultants who are familiar with accreditation procedures and standard interpretative techniques.

In the experience of Aboriginal Canadians, such standard procedures lack the sensitivity and understanding required to promote their cultural heritage and historical perspectives. Over the years the outsider's view of First Nation's history has had a negative impact by demeaning the self image of Aboriginal peoples, leading to the extinction of those culturally derived patterns and rituals necessary to keep their cultures vibrant and alive.

> The concern to maintain, or regain, Aboriginal culture was accompanied by a desire to improve cultural awareness among Aboriginal people, particularly youth, and to increase awareness among non-Aboriginal people through cross-cultural programs This theme was repeated almost everywhere the Commission went.[78]
>
> . . Many panellists spoke of the need for partnership, understanding, communication and dialogue between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples The

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78 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.
OVERVIEW OF THE FIRST ROUND Public Hearings (prepared by Michael Cassidy, Ginger Group Consultants), October 1992.Page 16.

> need to educate non-Aboriginal people about Aboriginal history and culture was emphasised, along with the need to accept the diversity of Aboriginal peoples and the differences between urban and rural Aboriginal communities. . . .[79]

The paragraphs quoted above were extracted from the reports of the public hearings that have been recently conducted by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. One report goes on to make the following synopsis:

> Several intervenors called for funding for Aboriginal museums, archaeology, and cultural centres. Negative references to Aboriginal people at historic sites and landmarks need to be corrected. Sacred sites should be protected, such as a sacred Micmac cave on Kelly's Mountain in Nova Scotia, which was threatened with excavation because of a planned new gravel pit.
>
> At Kingsclear, New Brunswick, an intervenor questioned why New Brunswick has both an English and an Acadian heritage village, but Aboriginal people had been unable to obtain support for a similar Aboriginal centre. . . .[80]

Canada's existing heritage institutions have been making efforts to realign the focus of their exhibits and their staff. They are striving to give long overdue recognition to the Aboriginal peoples of Canada for the contributions they have made towards our multi-cultural nation, as it is today. To be effective, such changes need the support of our society at large, for they can contribute significantly to the changing perceptions of Aboriginal cultures by non-Native Canadians. These anticipated changes will not occur overnight, but heritage institutions do wield the power to mould our perceptions of ourselves and others.

> . . . What we choose to teach, interpret and present, and equally what we do *not* choose to teach, interpret and present, is a fundamental dilemma common to all of those empowered to communicate about the past. . . . The extent of the power, and its associated responsibility, held by educators, interpreters and presenters in their transmission of the past is almost without rival. Together they transmit almost the sum total of knowledge about the past, and its relevance to the present and the future, that the majority of the population will ever receive. Such responsibility is

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79 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.
TOWARD RECONCILIATION - Overview of the Fourth Round.
Page 50.

80 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.
OVERVIEW OF THE FIRST ROUND.
Pages 16 - 17.

> awesome to those who are aware of it. It is unperceived and therefore inappropriately discharged by those who are not.[81]

Perhaps the time has come to reconsider the whole concept of these institutions as they exist today. Their origins lie in European history and, by default, they cannot completely avoid presenting a Eurocentric view of the world -- no matter how they may try to work around this factor. The involvement of Aboriginal people in the curatorial, administrative and research components will go a long way towards alleviating cultural biases, but will not eradicate the original premises upon which these institutions are based. By promoting Aboriginal history and culture from the perspective of an Aboriginal world view, the physical and operational form of heritage institutions or events would inevitably transform from the structure to which we are all accustomed. The new format would reflect an uncommon, but not necessarily unfamiliar approach to cultural heritage [82]

HERITAGE CONCEPTS, INSTITUTIONS AND IDEAS

PLACES

The subsequent section of this thesis explores and provides concrete examples of ways that Aboriginal heritage is or could be promoted for both the general public and the Aboriginal community, itself. I have selected the topics along lines similar to typical categories of the natural and cultural heritage domains As the reader explores these ideas with me, however, I would ask that the possibility of combining some or all of these categories be given consideration

Aboriginal societies have attitudes toward the so-called 'wilderness' that are distinct from those held by non-Native people. The separation of natural parkland from localised heritage 'sites' from cultural ritual and spirituality is likely to be viewed as an artificial one in the eyes of many Aboriginal people. Such

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81 Peter Stone and Robert Mackenzie.
"Is There an 'Excluded Past' in Education?".
In David L. Uzzell, editor, **HERITAGE INTERPRETATION, Volume 1**
London, Belhaven Press, 1989.
Pages 113, 117 - 118.

82 An in-depth evaluation of the differences between the Aboriginal and 'Western' world view is the focus of Mark S. Dockstator's thesis: **TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF ABORIGINAL SELF-GOVERNMENT: A PROPOSED THEORETICAL MODEL AND ILLUSTRATIVE FACTUAL ANALYSIS**

divisions may ease the heritage administration, but may not be suited to Aboriginal heritage institutions where the entire picture is necessary to give an accurate image of their culture

Heritage Regions, Districts and Rivers

The idea of designating heritage regions (or areas), rivers and districts has evolved out of the realisation that conservation of just historic buildings or sites of clustered buildings does not meet the parameters of every situation. Sometimes, when a community or group of communities share a common feature, interest or characteristic atmosphere, the citizens want to safeguard these more general traits for future generations.

In 1988, Heritage Canada began working on the inclusion of Manitoulin Island in their Heritage Regions Program. This project was designed to focus attention upon the island's Aboriginal cultures, its marine heritage and its farming history. What was essential to the success of the project was the co-operation of all the municipalities, Native bands, the Ojibway Cultural Foundation and local business interests. Funding for the three year development project came from both provincial and federal sources. After this initial start-up, it was anticipated that the Island communities would continue the process on their own.[83] This type of project has a diversified focus that tries to create an improved economic climate for all the involved parties (through tourism, investment and job creation resulting from local entrepreneurship) without sacrificing their culture, history and environment. Although Heritage Canada was the driving force behind the project by hiring a project co-ordinator for the three year period, decisions were reached by all of the involved parties who referred to the co-ordinator as a resource person and project facilitator.[84]

The second option for heritage designation of defined *areas* is the heritage district. To date, this concept has provided the opportunity for urban

83 Kim Carter.
"Manitoulin Island Chosen for Second Regional Tourism Project", **IMPACT**.
Ottawa, Heritage Canada, Volume 1, No. 1, January 1989.
Pages 1 - 2.

84 Heritage Canada.
HERITAGE REGIONS: Programme Description.
Ottawa, 1991.

conservationists to expand their focus from one or two buildings to encompass a neighbourhood or area of a city. By doing so, the hope is that not only concrete structures, but also the distinctive character or sense of place will be perpetuated. An historic Aboriginal community or a neighbourhood in a large urban area that has become an enclave for Aboriginal citizens are both potential candidates for 'district' designation. During the planning for a heritage district, Walter Jamieson (Faculty of Environmental Design, University of Calgary) advises that following the phase of assessment of a district's resources, it is crucial to devote adequate time to the planning and design for the future giving attention to goals and image setting, deciding what to keep, the means to control change in the district, organisation and management, interpretive program design, improvement strategies and the scheduling of various changes He stresses that designers need to be aware of relying upon poorly defined assumptions and it is essential that all relevant interest groups be involved for the duration.[85] Such involvement will be an invaluable resource during both the design and operational phases. Jamieson also reminds us that "the greatest challenge in any historic district planning and design exercise is to balance the tensions between an objective of maintaining the past on the one hand, and allowing for a process of change and adaptation on the other."[86]

Designation of Heritage Rivers focuses upon waterways that have played a significant role in the history or development of a particular area Parks Canada hopes that by attracting the public's attention to such contributions, some of our nation's more important river systems will be protected from the negative effects of industrialisation and unmonitored waste disposal and come to be appreciated for their heritage and recreational value[87]. As this type of designation has only

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85 Walter Jamieson.
"Creating Historic Districts: New Challenges for Historic Preservation in Western Canada",
PRAIRIE FORUM - Journal of the Canadian Plains Research Center
Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, Volume 15, No. 2, Fall 1990
Pages 229 - 231.

86 Walter Jamieson.
"Creating Historic Districts. . .", **PRAIRIE FORUM**.
Page 232.

87 Canada, Canadian Heritage.
Canadian Heritage Rivers System Policy, **PARKS CANADA GUIDING PRINCIPLES. . .**
Pages 65 - 66.

been established in the past decade, there are as yet, only a few Canadian waterways that have acquired this classification. Considering the importance that the water based trade routes had for Aboriginal people (especially the Algonquians), both before and after the arrival of the Europeans, such a heritage designation is a possible option for consideration. Perhaps a waterway could function as a concrete link between two or more specific locations where there are related cultural or historic features.

All three of these concepts in heritage preservation have the capacity for application to all or part of an Aboriginal community, reserve or land claim area. Although these approaches are relatively structured, there is a conscious effort to acknowledge the contribution of the people and their lifestyles to the environmental character of a place. The emphasis is not solely upon the elements erected by humanity.

Natural Parklands

Natural parks and conservation areas have been the traditional domain of provincial or federal government agencies. The parks were intended to become places of protection for wildlife and their habitat. At the same time, these areas were promoted as destinations for tourists seeking a few days of wilderness living.[88] Within the old Parks Canada structure, there was little communication between the various directorates within the organisation or with related provincial and municipal bodies. At times, the federal and provincial cultural heritage mandates are able to work in concert with one another. At other times, they function at cross purposes.[89] The new Department of Canadian Heritage is intended to provide an umbrella structure for all aspects of our national heritage. Hopefully, this will lead to more cohesive efforts in heritage planning and advice.

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88 The reader is referred to a brief summary of the development of Canada's National Parks, pages 1 - 13 of J.G. Nelson's "An External Perspective on Parks Canada Strategies, 1986 - 2001", January 1984.

89 The issues and concerns about the future of Canada's heritage agencies and their policies were reviewed at a federally sponsored conference of heritage specialists in October 1990, at Edmonton. Although many of the points raised by the participants seemed to disappear from the federal agenda, this gathering provided the incentive and the focus for creating the Department of Canadian Heritage in 1993.
[Canada, Department of Communications and Department of the Environment. **Summary Report**: "Heritage in the 1990s", Edmonton, Alberta, October 25 - 27, 1990.]

Today's natural parklands have a complex regulatory structure which can become a source of conflict with both Aboriginal commercial interests in the area and the definition of inherent Aboriginal rights. On a national level, the new policy for Parks Canada expressly states that wherever there is not already a treaty or land claim agreement in existence, the government of Canada will consult with affected Aboriginal communities during the establishment of a new natural park or historic site.[90] The Ontario government has also committed itself to negotiations with First Nations groups whenever there are concerns relating to the management of parklands[91]. These represent the best of intentions, but different levels of government are also bound to acknowledge the rights and privileges of all citizens and must continually perform a balancing act, trying to meet the demands of all constituents.

In recent years the government has tried to implement various forms of shared research, planning and management strategies relating to parks and historic sites: Agreements for Recreation and Conservation (ARC), federal / provincial co-operative heritage areas, National Areas of Canadian Significance (NACS), provincial / territorial liaison committees and joint feasibility study teams.[92] Parks Canada encourages community involvement in heritage conservation through its National Cost-sharing Programme. Currently over fifty of these agreements enable the local citizens to become involved in a form of heritage stewardship.[93]

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90 Canada, Canadian Heritage.
PARKS CANADA GUIDING PRINCIPLES. . . .
Page 15.

91 Ontario, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation
A NEW HERITAGE ACT - Working Draft.
Toronto, July 29, 1993.
This document allows for the negotiation of provincial and/or municipal agreements with Aboriginal peoples, but does not specifically include 'Indian lands' (a federal issue) Also the Ministry of Culture and Communications has been discussing cultural and natural heritage issues with the Chiefs of Ontario in a process distinct from the Ontario Heritage Act.

92 J.G Nelson.
"An External Perspective on Parks Canada Strategies, 1986 - 2001"
Waterloo, University of Waterloo / Parks Canada Liaison Committee
Occasional Paper No. 2, 4 January, 1984
Pages 29 - 36.

93 Christina Cameron.
"Current Issues in Heritage", Eastern Ontario LACAC
Page 7.

As these agreements are individually negotiated, they provide Aboriginal communities with a further option, along with the means to utilise the agency's resources.

Such co-operative efforts have not always been successful, due to contradictory goals and definitions of the various participants. Environmental and historic site conservationists do not always share the same priorities. In reference to Aboriginal cultures, it may be necessary for these two groups to compromise on their value systems to achieve an optimum arrangement -- from the perspective of the 'human ecosystem' concept[94].

Where unresolved Aboriginal land claims enter the picture, First Nations people are naturally hesitant to commit themselves to something that may result in diminished rights and benefits once the land claim has been settled.[95] The above operational techniques illustrate systems where either the non-Aboriginal society makes the major decisions with some consultation with indigenous groups or the operation is a shared decision making effort with all parties contributing equally. Another alternative is presented by the Kakadu National Park, a World Heritage Site located in Australia. The major portion of the land area of this park is the property of the Aboriginal people, whose representatives hold the majority of seats on the management board. The land is leased to the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service for the operation and maintenance of the park.[96]

These co-operative efforts represent possible means to ensure the recognition of Aboriginal involvement in natural parkland administration. The negotiation

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94 Terry Green.
"Workshop on Future Parks Canada Strategies, 1986 - 2001", held at Trent University, Peterborough.
University of Waterloo / Parks Canada Liaison Committee.
Occasional Paper No. 3, March 26 - 27, 1984.
Pages 47 - 48.

95 J.G. Nelson.
"An External Perspective on Parks Canada Strategies, 1986 - 2001".
Pages 31 - 32.

96 Robin Vivian MacGillivray.
"Interpretation of World Heritage cultural sites in Kakadu National Park: establishing a sign program to meet the needs of traditional Aboriginal land owners", **JOINING HANDS FOR QUALITY TOURISM. . . .**
Page 246

skills of all involved parties will be thoroughly tested during the embryonic stage of the development of each area. An inherent flexibility is essential as it is quite probable that the solution for one park will not easily adapt to another Different levels of environmental and cultural protection are part of the current standard and these would need to be agreed upon for the entire parkland area. Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatoon provides a concrete reassurance that productive co-operation between various agencies, government hierarchies, communities and cultural groups can lead to a dynamic heritage institution:

> The road we travelled was not always smooth. Money was short and/or ideas were highly debatable. When there was an issue to be resolved, it was done in the traditional way -- by consensus. To get everyone around a table to agree on something was not always an easy task, but it yielded a stronger decision. The Park was in development for at least 14 years.
>
> The Park corporate structure has become an international model for cross-cultural cooperation and cooperative development which Adele Meyer, from New York's American Museum of Natural History, has called "a precedent for North American Heritage facilities".[97]

Cultural Landscapes

As the notions of historic sites and natural parks are adapting to the influence of differing cultural values and attitudes from diverse societies throughout the globe, a less restrictive concept in the form of 'cultural landscapes' is emerging. This has now been accepted by the World Heritage Convention as a valuable aspect of heritage which is distinct from the natural and cultural sites eligible for designation on the World Heritage List.[98]

Parks Canada succinctly defines a 'cultural landscape' as "any geographical area that has been modified, influenced, or given special meaning by people".[99] This new perspective may be the answer to the standard separation between the

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97 Jeremy Morgan.
"Authenticity and Wanuskewin Heritage Park", (Information Summary), 1993
Page 141.

98 ICOMOS Canada,
"Cultural Landscapes Considered for World Heritage List". **BULLETIN**
Ottawa, ICOMOS Canada, Volume 2, No. 2, 1993.
Page 53. (reprinted from US/ICOMOS Newsletter, No.11, 1992)

99 Canada, Canadian Heritage.
PARKS CANADA GUIDING PRINCIPLES. . . .
Page 119.

heritage of nature and the 'built' heritage of humanity. In addition, related issues of ecosystem management, sustainable development, cultural tourism, economic development and protection of a scenic resource would be addressed in the designation of a cultural landscape.[100]

This holistic view of cultural heritage preservation may appeal to Aboriginal peoples who have the tradition of including themselves as a part of the natural environment on a level equal with all other animate beings in that environment. Manual Stevens of Parks Canada's Ontario regional office explores the application of the cultural landscape definition to the Heritage Areas Programme:

> A cultural landscape approach to heritage protection shifts our focus from single elements to large patterns of land use and activity from the past, which have a distinctive character, a sense of place. By looking at our surroundings in this way, heritage begins to occupy a larger and meaningful place in our lives. Heritage is perceived as being all around us, rather than isolated sites. We achieve a heightened awareness of sense of place and a connection to our environment....[101]

There may be some who would be reluctant to qualify a wilderness landscape as a candidate for cultural landscape nomination, as the common understanding of this term is an agricultural or small town landscape. Yet for Aboriginal cultures, the wilderness is not a foreign entity beyond the realm of their existence. It is, itself, the very essence of the traditional life experience.

Historic / Archaeological Sites

Some cultural historic sites have been designated through the co-operative efforts of Aboriginal and non-Native interests. They cover the spectrum from local initiatives to federally supported heritage institutions.

Anthony Island / South Moresby, British Columbia, containing the Haida village of Ninstints along with six other heritage sites, was selected for the World Heritage List because the "village is the most impressive and remarkable coastal

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100 Manuel Stevens.
"Cultural Landscapes as Protected Heritage Areas", Text of presentation given at the Changing Parks Conference.
Peterborough, Ontario, 23 April 1994.

101 Manuel Stevens.
"Cultural Landscapes as Protected Heritage Areas", Changing Parks Conference.

Indian site in the Pacific Northwest. The site represents a vanished culture of great richness and significance"[102]

The second Aboriginal World Heritage site is in southern Alberta Head Smashed-in Bison Jump is believed to be the oldest, largest and best preserved bison jump in North America. It provides a record of at least 5700 years of cultural development that is reflected by the skill and organisation that were necessary to arrange for the harvesting of the bison herds.[103]

Wanuskewin Heritage Park near Saskatoon was developed with the intention of providing a place where the local Aboriginal people could enrich and refresh their understanding of their ancestral past while strengthening their contemporary culture. At the same time, the directors wanted to reveal the selves to the scrutiny of outside eyes in the hopes that mainstream Canadian society would gain a new degree of insight to their First Nations neighbours. In the words of Jeremy Morgan, executive director, the primary themes for the Park are culture (to preserve the site's spiritual character and artefacts and to provide a locale for cultural activities), education (knowledge of Northern Plains society and of humanity's interdependence with nature), research (to encourage a multi-disciplinary approach) and creation of a developmental model (to be an archetype for projects incorporating the involvement of native people and /or co-operative efforts between public and private sectors).[104] The park is currently assembling a proposal to request the international World Heritage designation for their site.

It is a credit to the planners of these three sites that direct involvement of the local Aboriginal interests was considered an essential part of the development and operational process. The input of these communities continues to provide a

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102 Canada, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service.
WORLD HERITAGE.
Page 8.
It is questionable as to whether this culture has really 'vanished' and would be more accurate to indicate that it has evolved into contemporary Haida culture.

103 Canada, Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service
WORLD HERITAGE.
Pages 12 - 13.

104 Jeremy Morgan.
"Authenticity and Wanuskewin Heritage Park" (Information Summary)

degree of authenticity that has not been a feature of the more traditional outsider's view of North American Indigenous cultures.

If there is to be an exploration of archaeological sites, local Aboriginal communities want the authority to oversee the excavations and analyses. They want to include their spiritual ritual in the exhumation and reburial of the remains of their ancestors. The local community could also benefit economically and culturally from such work if members of their own community are trained in the recognition and evaluation of artefacts. There would be the possibility of establishing a local heritage museum to explain the values of the past to both younger members of the community and the non-Aboriginal community beyond. An active example that is based upon a working partnership between an Aboriginal community and the specialists from outside is the Manitou Burial Mounds near Emo in north-western Ontario. For several years, the citizens of the Manitou Rapids Indian Band have been the custodians and interpreters of the site. Their people work on the excavations with trained archaeologists, utilising the resources and advice of Parks Canada.[105]

Ecomuseums

> An ecomuseum is an instrument conceived, fashioned and operated jointly by a public authority and a local population. The public authority's involvement is through the experts, facilities and resources it provides; the local population's involvement depends on its aspirations, knowledge and individual approach.
>
> It is a mirror in which the local populations views itself to discover its own image, in which it seeks an explanation of the territory to which it is attached and of the populations that have preceded it, seen either as circumscribed in time or in terms of the continuity of generations. It is a mirror that the local population holds up to its visitors so that it may be better understood and so that its industry, customs and identity may command respect.
>
> It is an expression of man and nature. It situates man in his natural environment. It portrays nature in its wildness, but also as adapted by traditional and industrial society in their own image.
>
> It is an expression of time, . . .
>
> It is an interpretation of space . . .
>
> It is a laboratory . . .

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105 Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.
TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°, Volume One (prepared by W. M. Baker, Tourism Park and Recreation Consultant), Scarborough, 1984.
Page 19

> It is a conservation centre . . . .
>
> It is a school . . . .[106]

The ecomuseum is a relatively new alternative to the traditional museum Although the original concept was developed in France by Georges Henri Rivière after World War II, it has been slow to gain acceptance The ecomuseum offers an opportunity for a distinctive community or group of communities to develop a medium that will interpret their way of life and their history to the outside world. As such, the ecomuseum requires the commitment of all and the willingness of community members to open their lives to the scrutiny of others. It provides an opportunity to step beyond the static sterility found in many heritage institutions by encouraging direct communication between the visitors and the members of the ecomuseum. The necessity for this openness implies that this form of cultural sharing is a suitable option for c ; those communities prepared to make this their conscious choice

A variation of the ecomuseum idea could provide an adequate reflection of an Aboriginal community, or at least some portion of the concept could be incorporated into a broader form of heritage institution Many Aboriginal Canadians would appreciate the following comments made by Pierre Maynard, who was involved in the ecomuseum developed in the Haute Beauce region on the Québec / Maine border:

> Traditional museums were conservationists. . . .They conserved objects so we could see something of our past.
>
> To do that, traditional museums took things away from the people. Museum workers took care of your artefacts for you. You didn't have the training, you see They kept your heritage in the fridge. You could come by and see it once in a while -- when they agreed to take it out for you.
>
> But a museum has to be more than that. For one thing, it must preserve memories as well as things And it has to serve and reflect the present, not just celebrate and catalogue the past. . . .[107]

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106 George Henri Rivière.
"The Ecomuseum - an evolutive definition", **MUSEUM**
Paris, UNESCO, Volume XXXVII, No. 4, (Quarterly Review No 148), 1985
Pages 182 - 183.

107 James Quig.
"Pride of Place", **CANADIAN HERITAGE.**
Ottawa, Heritage Canada, Winter 1987/1988.
Page 28.

The ecomuseums in Québec (where they have gained the most extensive acceptance in Canada) have all developed without the direct influence of the 'official' parks system. Each museum had its own rationale behind its creation, yet all had the following common attributes: at many levels, there was public participation in volunteering time, skills and knowledge and in providing financial support, there was no separate scientific committee controlling the direction of the ecomuseums, but rather the professionals were integrated with the local people; courses on popular museology were easily available to any citizen who was interested; the perpetuation of public memory with both researchers and local people actively evaluating the museums on a continuing basis; local people have become involved in a variety of socio-economic development projects; there is extensive communication between comparable institutions on an international basis and, finally, the local people have regained a degree of control over the defining or 'naming' of their territory or district.[108]

Such a degree of both informality and independent community driven heritage communication may be a viable alternative to the more traditional style of institution for First Nations communities. Inuit communities in the Northwest Territories have independently developed three sites to promote their cultural traditions: the Traditional Summer Camp at Baker Lake, the Ahiarmiut Spring Camp to the south-west and the Sila Lodge at Wager Bay. The first evolved from the desire of the elders to show their grandchildren what life was like in the past when the Inuit did not live in towns. After a shaky beginning, this camp's operation stabilised when more of the community became involved and it has since become a destination primarily for local people, but for tourists as well. The Ahiarmiut Spring Camp was designed for the tourists, providing an opportunity to look in on and participate in the traditional daily activities of the Inuit people -- using dog sleds, building igloos, catching and preparing food, making tools and clothing, etc. Sila Lodge is organised around the concept of being a naturalist lodge for visitors interested in the wildlife, scenery and archaeology that surrounds the Hudson Bay site.

108 René Rivard
"Ecomuseums in Québec" **MUSEUM**.
Paris, UNESCO, Volume XXXVII, No. 4, 1985.
Pages 203 - 204.

Each of these institutions fulfils differing needs and interests in its own way With varying degrees of adherence to the principle of authentic conservation of heritage, each tries to emphasise the Inuit bond with the land and to make use of an interactive interpretive approach, in the manner of passing down traditional knowledge through the generations. Marie Bouchard of Baker Lake's Historical Society says that "an important step is for the museum community to recognise projects such as these as valid approaches to preserving Inuit heritage"[109].

Living History Museums

Another medium that could provide Aboriginal communities with the opportunity to promote their cultural past is the living history museum. The evolution of this particular form of museum came about as a means to attract a greater public interest in the historical past by having the museum visitor look in upon a live representation of an earlier time. These museums tend to celebrate culture as we believe it to have been. The boring daily existence of most people has only limited mass appeal and so it must be presented in a manner that will attract the interest of the public. If caution is not exercised during the design and planning phase, a theme park will emerge instead of a living history museum The negative aspect of living history museums is that the planners may succumb to this pressure to revise the past or they may even unintentionally alter it simply because the succeeding events of history are known to the present-day designers.[110]

An example of a living history museum transpired during the summer of 1993 on Latham Island in Great Slave Lake. Ndilo Cultural Village was set up outside of Yellowknife to promote the traditional lifestyle of the Dene living in a bush camp For the month of June, visitors were school groups and afterwards, the camp opened to the public for the summer months. This was a joint venture of the

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109 Mary Bouchard.
"Ecomuseums in the Keewatin, N.W.T.", **IMPACT**
Ottawa, Heritage Canada, Volume 5, No 2, March/April 1993.
Page 3.

110 An extensive analysis of processes and rationales for altering the past for public consumption is the theme of David Lowenthal's **THE PAST IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY** (Part III).

Prince of Wales Heritage Centre, the local school board and six Native elders who brought their personal perspectives to the interpretation of their culture.[111]

Despite a temptation to carry the expression of history to extremes, the living history museum can become an appealing public attraction This might be a suitable alternative for an urban Aboriginal community to portray its cultural roots to new generations who have become fully integrated into their urban world, having little or no contact with traditional lifestyles and environment. Such re-creation may not be 'real', but it may be the only way of conveying the impact that the environment had upon the evolution of traditional beliefs and lifestyles. By having an Aboriginal living history museum in or near an urban setting, there is also the opportunity for non-Native people to acquire new knowledge and understanding of the First Nations perspectives of Canada's past.

Museums and Galleries

The foundations of cross-cultural interpretation through museums and art galleries has been discussed at length in Chapter 3: Heritage and Culture. Although the origins of these institutions lie on the European continent, they have spread throughout the globe. Even the smallest of communities can frequently boast of having a local museum or arts and crafts gallery. Due to the familiar nature of these institutions, they can be considered as options for the interpretation of Aboriginal culture.

Canadian First Nations people, in concert with the Canadian Museums Association, have recently published the report of a task force established to explore problems with the interpretation and safeguarding of Aboriginal cultural artefacts within a museum context. Recommendations focused upon increased involvement of First Nations communities and organisations and the issues surrounding the repatriation of objects of cultural patrimony.[112]

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111 Donna Rawlyck.
"Ndilo Cultural Village", **INTERPSCAN**.
Red Deer, Alberta, Interpretation Canada, Winter 1993-'94, Volume 21, Number 3.
Page 3.

112 Task Force on Museums and First Peoples.
TURNING THE PAGE: FORGING NEW PARTNERSHIPS BETWEEN MUSEUMS AND FIRST PEOPLES (report sponsored by Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association), 2nd edition, Ottawa, 1992.

A few First Nations have used museums and/or galleries to promote their culture, both within and outside of their own community In general, this type of institution is more often operated by the non-Native community, with occasional consultation amongst the indigenous people living in the area when Aboriginal issues arise. These conscientious efforts to include Aboriginal people in the museum / gallery display design and interpretation are not to be belittled, for they represent a significant improvement over the extensive appropriation of cultural heritage that was symptomatic of the past.[113]

For many Aboriginal communities, having involvement in a cultural institution that is managed by another organisation may be sufficient to meet their requirements. Lack of funding, adequate population base, community interest and examples of tangible heritage may all contribute to the decision that a community driven heritage institution is not a feasible option. Partnerships and agreements with outside institutions may, over time, assist in the resurgence of these missing attributes so that at some future time an Aboriginal institution could take shape.

Cultural Education Centres and Friendship Centres

Within Canada, there is a growing network of cultural institutions that are operated by the Aboriginal community on a national and local basis. Many community heritage institutions fall under the country-wide umbrella of the National Association of Cultural Education Centres.[114] These centres vary widely in scope, but their essential mandate is the promotion and education about Aboriginal culture through displays, research facilities, workshops, conferences, etc. The centres are operated from within the community or group of communities they represent. For this reason they have a greater likelihood of success with their sponsorship of cultural programmes.

The network of Friendship Centres is also nation-wide. These centres were developed several years ago to fulfil the needs of First Nations people living 'off reserve' in a town or urban environment. The Centres are charged with

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113 The appropriation and interpretation of Aboriginal cultures by European based societies provides the focus of my earlier research paper, "The Disregarded History A Cultural Dichotomy in Our Land".

114 The reader is referred to the Appendix for a Table listing Cultural Education Centres in central Canada.

providing support for people who may be isolated from both their families and community of origin, as well as the non-Native community in which they live. This support is provided through workshops, social and cultural events, classes, counselling and advisory services, interaction with the urban community and simply the reassurances provided by people who have lived through the same experiences.[115]

Now that many urban Aboriginal people have been born and raised in a city environment, their contacts with traditional culture are even more tenuous. Friendship and Cultural Education Centres have the potential to assume a substantial degree of importance in developing an understanding of cultural roots and the perpetuation of their cultural identity for the rapidly growing sector of First Nations people living 'off-reserve'.[116]

EVENTS

As stated before, there is a growing interest amongst Aboriginal communities in developing the ways and means of instilling cultural pride in the younger generations. There is also a concern that native heritage will continue to be undervalued by Canadian society as a whole unless the means are found to encourage non-Native people to learn about Aboriginal culture and concerns.

In northern Ontario, the conventional source of tourism dollars for Native communities and individuals has been to provide guiding and outfitter services to hunters and fisherman. This male dominated activity has benefited a few, but the current efforts are towards the diversification of these programmes so that they will involve more members of the local communities while simultaneously drawing in a broader spectrum of tourists. These new directions towards

115 Odawa Native Friendship Centre Board of Directors.
"ODAWA Native Friendship Centre".
Ottawa, 1993(?).

116 The Aboriginal population in many urban centres is increasing rapidly due to the greater education, work skills and political interests of the current adult generation. The opportunity to utilise this expertise is minimal on reserve lands so many have made the economically viable choice to live in built-up areas. There is a large percentage of Aboriginal citizens whose ties to their traditional territories are rather tenuous, either because they have always lived 'off-reserve' or because their forebears were relocated from traditional territories to the reserve lands established by the government. [refer to Maria Bohuslawsky, "At Ease in Ottawa", **THE OTTAWA CITIZEN**]

ecotourism and heritage cultural attractions have the potential to satisfy the requirements for educating both the younger generations and the outside world

Cultural Celebrations and Spiritual Ceremonies

For many Aboriginal people, the celebrations of their culture and of their spirituality are one and the same . Throughout the continent, there has been a growing resurgence of the spiritual beliefs of indigenous peoples. After decades of legalised pressure that outlawed many religious rituals and cultural ceremonies in a futile effort to divorce Aboriginal people from their religion and their ceremonies, the governments have backed down and rescinded the bans on these practices[117].

Many Aboriginal people are devout believers in the Christian faith Various denominations have, over the past decades, adapted some of their practices and rituals to better reflect the lifestyles of their First Nations adherents. Christianity is still an important component of the lives of the older generation, but younger people are often turning their backs on organised religion or are returning to their traditional spirituality

> Material which appeals to me most is that which says that the most potent kind of art is that which is inseparable from religion. To me, art is a kind of religion, it is a kind of prayer, it's a kind of contacting of the greater spirits. . . .
>
> ... What happened here, historically, with the coming of the missionaries was that with this crucifix (which represents what essentially is a male-based, very paternalistic religion in whose hierarchy there is very little room for women, to this very day), [they] basically took over and almost wiped out the other religion. In a sense, it was a kind of rape occurring and the people who were converted -- I think we have to go back; in this community we have to go back maybe two or three generations and it's our parents who were the followers of the Roman Catholic religion at this point in time. And now, this generation, my generation, many of us feel that it is very much our responsibility to try to bring the old religion back and, in order to do that, we've been put in the position whereby we have to rebel against our elders first, which is the most horrible thing you can possibly imagine -- but that's the position we've been put in and that's what has to be done.[118]

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117 Olive Patricia Dickason.
CANADA'S FIRST NATIONS: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times.
Toronto, McClelland & Stewart Incorporated, 1992.
Pages 326 - 327.

118 CBC Television.
ADRIENNE CLARKSON PRESENTS, "Tomson Highway",
Toronto, The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 28 March 1990

The celebration of spiritual and cultural rituals is generally confined within the Aboriginal community and to personally invited guests. These events provide the opportunity for passing knowledge from one generation on to the next or for sharing traditions amongst various indigenous groups and cultures[119] Because of the selective nature of these events, it may not be possible to obtain government funding for them. Nonetheless, these celebrations should be encouraged and the necessary support sought from private sources. The power of these celebrations lies in the enduring quality of the Aboriginal cultures of Canada.

Re-enactment of Historic Events

Re-enactments of actual past events are a common tourist attraction, especially in many parts of the United States. Military skirmishes and campaigns are a popular commodity, reinforcing the interest of those individuals who join re-enactment societies in their quest for historic realism. Members of these organisations attempt to replicate as many aspects as possible of the lifestyle, time period and sequence of events that they are trying to glorify. A form of re-enactment may be a fundamental part of interpretation programmes at a living history museum, where staff assume the persona of specific 'authentic' characters who may have inhabited the setting portrayed by the museum.[120]

This form of heritage institution may have potential for those communities that have a particular dramatic event of their history to use as a magnet for attracting visitors. Such an event may become the focus for a larger gathering. Simply by bringing people together, a community can educate both their own residents and others about cultural traditions and their perspectives on history.

An example of this type of undertaking is the Kente Portage Festival, which takes place every summer on the site of the portage joining the Bay of Quinte with Wellers Bay on Lake Ontario. "The oldest road in the province, the Kente

119 Heather Pringle.
"Searching for Salvation: the Blackfoot Resurrect the Sun Dance and the Rich Faith of their Forefathers", original English text of article published in **TAWOW**.
Ottawa, First Nations Communications Incorporated. Volume 1, Number 1, Spring 1994.

120 David Lowenthal.
THE PAST IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY.
New York, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
Pages 295 - 301.

Portage, is the focus of a festival . . . . The route dates back to pre-European times, and what was a major artery for trade and exploration The Festival will honour this history with portage competitions, canoe races, and similar events. Plan to attend this piece of living history."[121] Celebration of this festival began in 1989 to promote the contributions of the Aboriginal peoples, the French and the English to the development of the area. The event focuses upon the 2 7 km portage that enabled water travellers to follow the Lake Ontario shoreline, thereby avoiding the necessity of navigating the treacherous shoals around the perimeter of what is now known as Quinte's Isle (Prince Edward County).

Re-enactments can add a sense of drama to a rather mundane past, but such an enterprise must be embraced with caution:

> Re-enactments enliven history for millions who turn a blind or bored eye on ancient monuments, not to mention history books. But they risk turning venerable places into jokey or self-conscious replicas of themselves, or worse, persuading participants and even spectators that one can escape to the past. The pageantry of re-enactment transports today's locales into a fictitious yesterday purged of historical guilt, where people act out fantasies denied them in the contemporary world.[122]

Elder Gatherings

Frequently individuals from a broad spectrum of Aboriginal communities are invited to meet with one another to share experiences and knowledge, as well as to discuss concerns and make decisions regarding particular issues An example of one such gathering was held at West Bay on Manitoulin Island in the summer of 1993. Elders and linguistic experts from across the country met to discuss issues relating to the interrelationship of Aboriginal languages and culture. People have been concerned about the loss of indigenous languages and the organisers wanted to know how to best promote the acquisition and everyday use of language amongst young people who are inundated with the English and French of the majority Canadian culture.

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121 "The Kente Portage Festival", A supplement to **THE BRIGHTON INDEPENDENT** Brighton, Ontario, Conolly Publishing Limited. Tuesday, July 17, 1990. Page 1.

122 David Lowenthal. **THE PAST IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY**. Page 301.

> As Aboriginal people of Turtle Island, we do not have the luxury of going to another country where our languages and cultures are intact. Other races who have freely chosen to come to our land, can always return to their country of origin if they feel that their language or culture is threatened. We do not have such a choice. Consequently, it is more important for the aboriginal people to maintain their languages and cultures in this land than that of any other group or race.[123]

Experiential / Discovery Camps

There is a growing trend with the Aboriginal community towards using experiential camping as a suitable means for sharing cultural knowledge. This approach is well suited to the transferring of many aspects of indigenous culture because it brings people out of their isolated existence in their urban homes into close contact with the elements of nature. The natural world is what has shaped the traditions, lifestyles and world view of the First Nations ancestors and it is felt by many to be the best way to regain an understanding of Aboriginal cultural roots. Many urban dwelling Aboriginal people speak of the need to return to family homes on reserves or to their hunting territories to remind themselves of the values inherent in their traditional lifestyle as compared with their city existence[124].

Some experiential camps are designed for the giving of knowledge to the new generations of urban dwelling Aboriginal people while others are developed to share culture with non-Native people. The camp experience is somewhat analogous to the living history museum, only in this case the participants have the opportunity for in-depth contact with community elders, artisans, spiritual teachers, historians and others who are willing to share their knowledge and perspectives of the world. These people share things not only from the past, as in a living history museum, but also the ways of life in the present day.

Camps, such as the primarily west coast network of Discovery Camps, are often designed and operated by citizens of Aboriginal communities who are concerned about the loss of cultural heritage by their young people. The elders and

123 The Ojibwe Cultural Foundation and the Assembly of First Nations Aboriginal Languages Steering Committee / Languages and Literacy Secretariat.
"National First Nations Elders Language Gathering" (Introductory Brochure).
West Bay First Nation, Manitoulin Island, June 21 - 25, 1993.

124 Graeme Hamilton.
"The education of a grand chief", **THE OTTAWA CITIZEN**.
Ottawa, Southam Incorporated, Saturday, May 21, 1994.
Page B4.

teachers are trying to instil a sense of worth in people by leading them on a journey of discovery about who they are, what their roots are and what their rightful place is amongst the other cultures of the world.

> Rediscovery must not be confused with an attempt to turn back the clock -- to return to some romanticized ideal of the past, even if for a moment that were possible. Rediscovery holds onto the present, the strengths and values which native cultures still embody: the strong ties of extended family; respect, love, and caring for the elders; the sacredness of sharing; and, above all, an intimacy and spiritual connection with the earth.
>
> In many respects Rediscovery reverses the process of the Indian residential schoo.. Through wilderness, it brings people back in touch with the land, their cultural roots, and, most of all, themselves. . . .[125]

Experiential camps may not fit the standard image of cultural heritage interpretation. This experience is, however, rooted in the past of many North American Aboriginal groups who lived for brief periods of each year at various locations. Their survival depended upon the availability of resources in the natural environment around them and their own ability to make use of such resources.

COMMUNICATION

Communication is a general term that includes several forms of spreading cultural knowledge from the original culture to another one. All of the components included in the following paragraphs are available as resources to enhance the focus of a heritage institution. An institution that has to rely upon inanimate displays rather than extensive interaction with Aboriginal interpreters would find that the occasional introduction of some of the following models of communication, would invite public interest in the theme and content of their institution.

Aboriginal societies have long used their skills and artistic abilities to earn an income for their people. Materials, implements and designs have naturally changed since the arrival of the first Europeans, but the fascination with the exotic quality of Aboriginal fine arts and crafts continues to grow. In concert with these visual arts and specialised crafting skills, there is an emerging and

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125 Thom Henley.
REDISCOVERY: Ancient Pathways - New Directions.
Vancouver, Western Canada Wilderness Committee, 1989.
Page 26.

vibrant network of Aboriginal music, dance and theatrical groups. Such groups can instil young people with artistic goals that they can bring to fruition. At the same time, these artists creatively express their cultural traditions in a format that is recognised by the contemporary world in which they live.

These art forms can be experienced 'live' or can be copied to a media that permits them to be appreciated at a distance -- both temporal and spatial. These technical media can be used to transfer information about the more classic forms referred to in the paragraph above, but their benefit is two-fold because they also represent artistic forms, in and of themselves. Photography, film, television, video, radio and audio recording technology all present alternatives to the classic forms of creativity. Specialised artistic forms have evolved along with these media. The technological arts can reflect contemporary interpretation of traditional culture.

Education is a multi-faceted dimension that can relate not only to school aged children, but to adults as well. A heritage institution can choose to have associated discussion groups, classes and travelling displays. Telephone, television and computer links with similar and dissimilar cultures provide an interactive learning experience that is going to become ever more intimate as computerised satellite technology expands[126]. For a heritage institution to reject this potential communication technique would imply a rejection of the coming realities of our future. To achieve any degree of integrity for cultural heritage in the face of this global information exchange, standards must be developed now. The costs related to each of these options are rapidly decreasing, so that the potential for exploring one's own and other cultures is available to most cultural institutions if they have the motivation to implement it. A community living in physical isolation from the rest of the world is no longer incommunicado. *The limits upon learning have never been so unlimited!*

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126 The reader is referred to Jim Farrell's newspaper article about a computerised teaching unit, Cradleboard, developed by Buffy Ste. Marie. ("Buffy uses information highway to promote native heritage", **THE OTTAWA CITIZEN**, Tuesday, March 29, 1994, Page G1).

CHAPTER 6

FACTORS FOR PRELIMINARY EVALUATION

In this discussion, I have explored the conflicts that ensue when different cultures meet. Diverging views of the nature of a people's existence and purpose can result in the erroneous interpretation of behaviour and intent, even on a scholarly level. The professional interpretation of culture has provided the foundation for the existing Eurocentric network of cultural institutions I examined the nature of cultural interpretation within these institutions in a Canadian context, with emphasis being placed upon recent evolutionary changes in their approach to the interpretation of indigenous cultures These changes reflect the new values applied to global harmony and preservation of the natural environment. In spite of the popularity of these new perspectives, the heritage establishment faces difficult choices when confronted by the needs of Aboriginal people As the officially designated authorities mandated to reflect all cultures of our multi-cultural society, heritage organisations are confronted with a moral dilemma: how to retain the integrity of interpretation of other cultures while making them knowable to those who have a philosophy of existence that is at variance with the source culture? This conundrum is particularly applicable to the situation of Aboriginal cultures. Alternative solutions have been provided by those Aboriginal communities who have had intensive involvement in heritage institutions, thus ensuring a more accurate reflection of their cultural perspectives. The preceding chapter highlighted the possibilities and opportunities for interpreting Aboriginal culture *from within*, as exemplified by several contemporary examples. These illustrate to both the institutional establishment and Aboriginal communities just what achievements are possible -- and this is just the beginning!

Several fundamental factors can influence the dynamics of an Aboriginal heritage institution or event. I wish to draw these to the attention of the reader, prior to discussing the Algonquian speaking peoples of central Canada

PRIORITIES AND CONSIDERATIONS

Quite early on in the planning process, a decision needs to be made concerning 'who the heritage institution is for'. The specifics of the intended 'audience' -- whether Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal or both; local, national or international; other socio-economic factors -- will all affect the scale, form and direction of the heritage institution.

CULTURAL TOURISM[127]

Numerous members of Aboriginal societies are devoting their expertise and energies towards nurturing a cultural tourism market, especially on an international basis. The depressed economic situation of many First Nations' communities has lead them to actively explore the opportunities of bringing tourism dollars into their economic structure. Tourism is a vibrant part of Canadian industry and the Aboriginal communities are as eager to reap the benefits as anyone. At the 1992 annual conference of the Tourism and Travel Research Association, J. Kent Stewart presented the following 'challenges' to be discussed by the participants in the session entitled 'Aboriginal Tourism in Canada'[128]:

1. Defining the meaning of Aboriginal tourism (products, tourism business, industry contribution to Canadian tourism, overall)

2. Understanding specific desires of the targeted market and then matching those desires with cultural products, without sacrificing integrity

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127 According to the World Tourism Organisation (1985), cultural tourism **"includes movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts, and cultural tours, travel to festivals, visits to sites and monuments, folklore, pilgrimages. In the broader sense, all movement of persons might be included in the definition because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to rise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience, and encounters."**
[Definition included with the text of a presentation to the Tourism and Travel Research Association's Annual Conference, Calgary, 1992, by J. Kent Stewart: "Aboriginal Tourism in Canada: Challenges in Community and Cultural Tourism")

128 J. Kent Stewart.
"Aboriginal Tourism in Canada: Challenges in Community and Cultural Tourism", Text of a presentation at the Annual Conference of the Tourism and Travel Research Association. Calgary, 1992.
Page 12, Table 2: Challenges in Aboriginal Tourism in Canada.

3. Defining cultural integrity and the cultural ethic in a manner that recognises the differences between the various communities and entities which make up the Canadian Aboriginal mosaic

4. Persuading Aboriginal peoples of the economic benefits of cultural tourism (especially a renewed sense of cultural pride)

5. Educating and training Aboriginal peoples in the development and operation of profitable, customer-oriented, yet culturally honest, tourism businesses

6. Co-ordinating the tourism marketing at all levels and for all destinations, so that the message reflects the same cultural honesty throughout the industry

7. Encouraging the participation of Aboriginal tourism interests in the mainstream of the Canadian tourism industry

8. Ensuring through good management and communications, that the integrity of the Aboriginal tourism product is not compromised by the impact of visitors and their desire

These challenges highlight the concern for creating a balance between maintaining the integrity of cultural heritage and reaching the economic potential of a growing cultural tourism industry. Aboriginal tourism cannot function in isolation and neither can the cultural heritage planners. Promoting heritage for the sake of community knowledge and pride is but one aspect of a potentially larger picture, where all or some of this heritage is shared with the outside world. Either the promotion of tourism or the preservation of culture will invariably take precedence in a joint venture. To ensure a sustainable enterprise, the eagerness to bring in tourist dollars should not overwhelm the true face of the culture, for the demise of a culture also heralds the end of cultural tourism.[129]

In order to appeal to the world of the cultural tourist, one must have something unique and exciting to attract its attention. For the indigenous peoples of North America, this enticement is their cultural heritage. As mentioned earlier, this has been a lure since the time of the arrival of the first visitors from across the ocean. It is hard to avoid using the stereotypical imagery of Aboriginal people, when it is often those very images that have caught the attention of a foreign traveller. Aboriginal tourist industries must balance their wish to encourage

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[129] Several ways for tourism to invest in and sustain culture are outlined in an essay by Gerardo Budowski, entitled "Tourism and Conservation: Conflict, Coexistence, or Symbiosis?" published in the January/February/March 1977 issue of **PARKS**.

people to attractively promote their cultural heritage without succumbing to the temptation to carry this promotion to inaccurate or unethical extremes.

Jean Friesen's discussion on the future of heritage[130] accentuates her concern over the links between heritage, tourism and economic development. She argues that when heritage must appeal to an outside market, it is subject to changing trends and fashion. There are no long-term guarantees of success. A community trying to keep pace with such changes may only succeed in demeaning its own cultural identity and sense of values, because its goal is to reflect, instead, those of the outside world. The adaptation of culture to fit the desires of the tourist market could be viewed as yet another ramification of the many attempts to transform indigenous peoples into typical Canadian citizens, only this time much of the energy for this programme is coming from within the Aboriginal community. Since the tourist economy also fluctuates with the seasons, efforts to appeal to a local market can add to the viability of the enterprise. Here again, Friesen adds a caution that this may result in "programmed public activities linked to an historic site with an imperceptible thread of history".[131] What was intended to be a unique cultural drawing card can emerge as but one more example of a homogenous North American entity

> Heritage and tourism are travelling a yellow brick road together and it leads not to a greater understanding of each community's past but to the Golden Arches of theme park history, where pseudo-events replace real emotion and where the community's critical evaluation of itself is replaced by costume drama against a backdrop of historical façades.[132]

A recent effort at First Nations tourism promotion is displayed in the Spring 1994 issue of TAWOW, an extravagantly illustrated journal that was distributed amongst the tourism operators in Germany. While using such classic imagery as the natural wilderness, pow-wow dancers, spiritual elders, archaeology, arts

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130 Jean Friesen.
"Introduction: Heritage Futures", **PRAIRIE FORUM.**
Pages 193 - 198.

131 Jean Friesen.
"Introduction: Heritage Futures", **PRAIRIE FORUM**
Page 197.

132 Jean Friesen
"Introduction: Heritage Futures", **PRAIRIE FORUM.**
Page 197.

and crafts to pique the interest of potential visitors, the journal also includes numerous articles about tribal histories, contemporary industries, historic sites, individual artisans, musicians and clothing designers.[133] The publishers of TAWOW and the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association have tried to present a more realistic picture of the variety of their cultures to the prospective traveller. They acknowledge the existence of the stereotypical preconceptions and may even use them to a certain extent as a mechanism to draw the visitor to come and meet with their people. While it might be tempting to throw preconceived ideas back into the face of the curious traveller, the indigenous host is more likely to make use of the opportunity for the open and honest communication of a more realistic image of Aboriginal history and contemporary culture.

The president of the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association, Barry Parker, has been urging governmental heritage policy makers and planners to resist the temptation to create Aboriginal heritage institutions in isolation from the rest of the Aboriginal community's interests. He is not just speaking of lack of input from First Nations citizens, but is urging that all community groups and business interests be an integral part of the creation and operation of such an institution. All can benefit from a holistic approach, whereas ignoring the potential involvement of those who are not particularly adamant heritage advocates could lead to divisiveness and negative competition for tourism dollars. The projects of all groups could fail to reach their maximum potential as sources of cultural tourism and significant contributors to the viability of the Aboriginal community. In order to achieve a positive degree of co-operation, Mr. Parker suggests that there is a need to clarify the relationships, rights and responsibilities of Aboriginal peoples with respect to the following selected concerns:

- Aboriginal heritage sites (especially those not on Aboriginal lands)
- Aboriginal hunting and fishing rights and the tourism industry
- Aboriginal tourism industry and Canadian tourism industry, as a whole
- Aboriginal tourism industry and Canadian federal and provincial governments

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133 **TAWOW - Western Aboriginal Canada**.
Ottawa, First Nations Communications Incorporated.
Volume 1, Number 1, Spring 1994.

- Aboriginal land claim issues and the tourism industry[134]

Aboriginal people need not overlook the benefits of actively seeking a significant position in the Canadian tourist economy, but any negative impacts must always be considered. Encouragement of cultural tourism brings both positive and negative effects. A community or group that is considering such a step needs to be aware of the consequences of bringing visitors into their lives. This process itself will inevitably change the cultural heritage as residents endeavour to adopt the roles which they wish portray. The tourists' cameras are omnipresent. This is why there is a critical need for thorough planning and community decision making in advance. It will be very difficult to later reduce the degree of exposure to the visitors, without causing much confusion and displeasure on all sides.

INTERPRETIVE TECHNIQUES

Another factor to consider during the planning of an Aboriginal cultural heritage institution is that the traditional means of transmitting information about these cultures across societies and across generations is by oral communication. The written word was not a part of the culture of most American indigenous societies. Today, this form of interaction has assumed a dominant place in the world community, although one could argue that it is being rapidly replaced by a written / graphic mode of communicating modern technological culture.

It presents a challenge to a heritage institution to acknowledge different perspectives such as these, while successfully interpreting and communicating the cultural information for which it is responsible. This situation is analogous to a conversation between two individuals, neither of whom speaks the other's language. What each says is very clear and sincerely stated as far as they, themselves, are concerned; however, the person receiving the communication is not able to understand completely. They may be able to decipher the message by some other means -- non verbal communication and gesturing, using an interpreter, responding to the tone of voice, having the originator show them what is meant. The difficulty arising from all of this is that the people involved

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134 Barry Parker.
Text of an Address to the International Symposium, "Crossing Frontiers" and brief personal discussion following the presentation.
Hull, Québec, 15 June 1994.

begin to focus their attention upon the means or processes of communication and not on what is being said![135]

For any heritage institution, the activity of interpreting one culture to another becomes one of the most critical components of their planning. This presents a challenge when any cultural group designs an institution to communicate their own identity to another culture. However, this becomes even more of a dilemma when the interpretation is done by members of a culture that is *not* the one being represented in the institution. Misunderstandings and misinterpretations invariably arise. To make an analogy on a personal level -- I am the person who is best able to speak for myself. When another chooses to speak on my behalf, the message does not go out as I would wish -- ideas are overlooked, ideas are added, ideas are misrepresented or taken out of context and there is no opportunity for me to respond to someone's reaction to 'my' message. It seems reasonable to suggest that the optimum way for one culture to be interpreted to another is for representatives from both cultures be involved in a collaborative effort. The communication may not be perfect, but would likely be the best possible, considering the circumstances. What is important about this crucial issue is that one of the cultures avoids making the assumption that it knows the other well enough to speak on its behalf.

Many heritage institutions are adopting new technologies to convey their information to a wider audience, who are demanding ever more graphic depiction of each other's culture. Technological and interactive imagery are replacing communication via the written word. A heritage institution for indigenous culture might create analogies to cultural history through the use of modern communication media. Just as Aboriginal societies have absorbed the elements of the cultures that were thrust upon them, so too could an institution use analogous methods of communication to portray those very cultures. The ability to instil links in the minds of the visitors by comparing and contrasting elements of their personal reality with that of the culture in the heritage institution offers them a useful reference point from which to explore Aboriginal culture, history and contemporary issues.

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135 The issues surrounding the communication and interpretation of the past are discussed at length by David Lowenthal in **THE PAST IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY**.

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

One of the main difficulties foreseen in the development of a heritage institution which focuses upon Algonquian culture is trying to create a realistic impression of the times past, while acknowledging the realities of today's people Too often, exhibits have locked indigenous peoples in a time warp, with little that is familiar to the contemporary observer - neither the Aboriginal nor the non-Aboriginal.[136] Impressions of the past frequently support stereotypical imagery which has little or no relevance for today's cultures, unless that is the particular focus of the exhibit, such as the "Fluffs and Feathers" exhibit produced by the Woodlands Cultural Centre of Brantford.

Contrast and comparison studies between the world views of past times and those of today can help bridge the gap. They can foster an improved understanding that life as it once was for both the indigenous peoples of North America and the early European immigrants is no longer a reality - the world has changed for both cultures.

URBAN or RESERVATION

Contrary to the common perception that most Aboriginal people of Canada live on reserve lands, the majority are now city dwellers[137]. A cultural institution that is to have any effective impact upon the new generations of Aboriginal peoples must have some relevance to the lives they are now living. In spite of the traditional affinity to living in a spirit of cohesiveness with the world of nature, this is simply not an immediate reality for those who comprise the rapidly growing population of urban Aboriginal people.

A heritage institution located on a remote site in the midst of a world of nature may be a wonderful thing, but who will experience it? Only a privileged few. In contrast, an institution located within an large urban environment can only make allusions to the awesome power of the natural world. It would also be beyond

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136 Bernadette Lynch.
"The Broken Pipe: Non - Native Museums and Native Culture. . .", **MUSE**.
Pages 51 - 58.

137 Maria Bohuslawsky.
"At Ease in Ottawa", **THE OTTAWA CITIZEN**.
Ottawa, Southam Incorporated, Saturday, January 29, 1994.
Page B4.

the reach of many of the Aboriginal people living in distant communities. There are some possible compromises, which by the very nature of a compromise, do not offer the best of either option, but could strive to achieve it.

1. One is to have a moving 'exhibit', which could be almost anything or anyone - artefacts, people sharing knowledge, workshops and information, videos, artwork, artists, spiritual leaders, historians, etc. This option implies that the heritage institution is more of an event than a place.
2. Another option is to have a permanent location or site, with the option of an outreach type of programme that would share the ideas and the experience of the institutions with those who cannot visit the site.
3. A third choice is to take advantage of the omnipresent television and radio media, by broadcasting information and knowledge about Algonquian culture, history, people, spirituality, etc. Although this would not have any of the truly experiential value for the observer, it does have the advantage of being accessible to a wider audience.
4. A fourth would be to have two (or more) related sites that are linked by a common thread - perhaps balancing each other with different functions at different times of the year.

In order to secure the interest and involvement of the various Aboriginal communities, the static formulas of the Eurocentrically derived institutions must break the mould of their own evolution. This involves taking risks, but such a decision could bear the fruits of new perspectives on a culture's past, present and future.

DETERMINANTS

THE PLACE AND THE RITUAL

Within the constraints of this paper, the focus for the proposed establishment of a heritage institution and/or cultural event has been partially predetermined by selecting the Aboriginal societies that belong to the historic linguistic group referred to as Algonquian. Several cultures share this linguistic bond. In fact, they comprise the largest single Aboriginal linguistic group in the country. The traditional lands of these people stretch from the eastern shores of Labrador, with the Naskapi and Montagnais peoples, west to the Rocky Mountain foothills

and south to include the Anishenabe / Ojibwe on the shores of the Great Lakes. This is not yet a very selective focus for continuing with such a proposal.

Many of the societies that belonged to this extensive linguistic group were amongst the first to 'greet' the Europeans in their ships. Thus, they were the first to receive whatever benefits there may have been as well as any detrimental influences, of which there were many. Those bands who lived farthest to the east along the exploration and subsequent fur trade routes were often the first to be decimated by disease, warfare and cultural assimilation. When the Euro-Canadian society became interested in indigenous peoples during the nineteenth century, the perception was that not many remained in the eastern part of the continent. People's curiosity led them to the western prairies where Aboriginal bands still lived in relative independence, as yet apparently uncorrupted by European culture! The photography, art and writing that portrayed these tribes in all their mystery and majesty ignored for the most part the indigenous peoples still living in central and eastern Canada. The cultures of the northern plains and west coast came to represent most outsider's images of Aboriginal society.[138] The exception to this was the Iroquoian nations living on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford and in the vicinity of Montréal. Their historical permanence in their agriculturally based communities had long made them a factor that could not be ignored.

Those peoples who were both overwhelmed and overlooked by the tide of new Canadians were major players (either willingly or unwillingly) in the evolution of Canada. Now, they are engaged in political struggles for control or stewardship of large tracts of land in central Canada. They will no longer let themselves be overlooked and perhaps the time has come for the rest of us to rediscover these people and their history -- how it brings them to where they are today and what they foresee in our shared future.

Jean Black, a researcher of the Algonquian people's history, supports this notion of a forgotten culture in her paper about the Algonquin and Iroquois inhabitants at the Sulpician mission at Oka:

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138 Daniel Francis.
THE IMAGINARY INDIAN.
Pages 44 - 49.

> Historians have given relatively little attention to the Algonquins in the Ottawa River valley. In spite of the work of Gordon Day (1978) and of Bruce Trigger (1978) in particular, Algonquin history has yet to be written. The Algonquin played a central and important role in North American history but are often subsumed under the heading of "the French and their Indian allies" in histories. Recent revisions of history that have focused on the motives and actions of native peoples have centred on other areas and other peoples. . . .[139]

CONTEMPORARY COMMUNITIES

In an ideal world, where cultural heritage could be fully appreciated on its own terms, decisions regarding the form, content and location of a heritage institution could be made with a great degree of freedom. However, because of the tenuous economic viability of many of Canada's Aboriginal communities, the financial constraints on establishing a heritage institution must be taken into consideration. Many communities would no doubt welcome the increased revenue that a heritage institution could bring to them, but its citizens need to be fully aware of the long term commitment they must be prepared to make if the enterprise is to meet with the anticipated success.

In their discussion paper reviewing economic development and planning, Simon Brascoupé and Richard Hill call upon native people to direct their own fate towards a positive objective, by assessing the following factors within their community in an unbiased fashion:

economic viability	current community economy status of ownership and control of community enterprises size and scope of community enterprises market location, size, possible linkages occupational skills and human resources financial status of local government local salary and wage levels available resources linkage to public and private institutions
social viability	status of traditional culture population education

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139 M. Jean Black.
"A Tale of Two Ethnicities: Identity and Ethnicity at Lake of Two Mountains, 1721 - 1850".
In William Cowan, editor, Papers of **THE TWENTY-FOURTH ALGONQUIAN CONFERENCE**.
Ottawa, Carleton University, 1993.
Pages 1 - 2.

	health services housing welfare and income support protection services communications leisure activities kinship relationships social pathology
political energy	sovereign status of native government community participation and leadership voluntary organisations local and provincial relations long range goals and plans legal and treaty obligations federal relationship political coalitions and associations

In order to successfully bring an economic enterprise to fruition, the authors suggest that the native community provide their own solutions designed for the local conditions and use local people wherever possible in the enterprise (information and cultural knowledge, skills, materials and techniques, evaluation of needs). If not available from within the community, then expertise and skills should be sought from outside Native individuals and organisations. When responsibility for decision-making and implementation is kept within the community, it can foster a growing confidence and motivation.[140]

Should an Aboriginal community want to develop their economy through a combination of cultural and ecological tourism, the document **Ecotourism in Canada** by SENTAR Consultants Limited proposes several factors for developing a codes of ethics and of conduct for both the operators and the visitors. The overall theme of these proposed ecotourism codes is the fostering of respect for all people and our shared environment that sustains us. By

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140 Simon Brascoupé and Richard Hill.
HANDBOOK FOR NATIVE AWARENESS WORKSHOPS. Volume IV: "Planning with Native Peoples - Economic Development" [draft].
Pages 110 - 113.

making as little an impact as possible, ecotourism participants have the duty to remind us that we are all here on this earth, together.[141]

CONSTRAINTS

LOCATION

Much of the land area under discussion has a low population density when compared with the extensively urbanised areas to the south. To create an institution capable of attracting the tourism business, it is often necessary to surmount the obstacles posed by isolated communities lacking comfortable amenities. Some tourists will welcome the opportunity for a few days of 'rustic' living, but many will not. The extent to which the support community or group of communities are prepared to alter their lifestyle and environment to achieve this end must be clearly understood at the outset. If a community does not wish to make drastic changes, their heritage institution may have to operate in an indirect fashion -- perhaps via electronic means. Another option would be to enforce limits on the numbers of visitors, such as is done at the Monteverde Cloud Forest Reserve in Costa Rica, owned and operated by local conservation associations. Here, the visitors are limited to 100 per diem in an apparently successful effort to protect the fragile ecosystem of the cloud forest[142].

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The involvement of the local community in the initiation, planning, implementation and operation of a heritage related activity is an essential component of a heritage activity. People from beyond the Aboriginal community may be asked to provide their knowledge and expertise, but the control and direction needs to come from within.

It is important to the viability of any heritage institution that there be involvement from a supportive community and that local residents accept that the institution

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141 R.C. Scace, E. Grifone and R Usher.
ECOTOURISM IN CANADA.
Pages 26 - 30.

142 Paul F.J. Eagles.
"Ecotourism and Parks: Do or Die", Presentation text for Changing Parks Conference.
Peterborough, Ontario, 24 April 1994.
Pages 7 - 10.

would be of some benefit to their community. This could be realised in terms of financial benefit derived from having more visitors to the area. More important in the long term would be the benefit of a growth in community pride and awareness of their origins. A very isolated or unpopulated location does not prohibit the development of such an institution, but greater care and planning must go into it. Decisions regarding the financial resources for the establishment of the institution must be agreed to by all concerned and the future impacts understood by all. If one of the major objectives in creating a heritage institution is the promotion of cultural tourism, then the strong interest and support of the local people is critical. The sites cannot be dispersed too thinly across a broad area, otherwise both financial and emotional support will prove insubstantial.

The need for local community involvement during all phases of such a project cannot be overly stressed. In fact, I would suggest that whenever the initiative comes from within the Aboriginal community itself, rather than from beyond its cultural borders, the likelihood of success is even greater. Although the publicly supported systems for heritage conservation and designation of historic sites is well established, non-Aboriginal Canadians need not feel compelled to initiate the evaluation and establishment of particular heritage sites or rituals. Contemporary First Nations people are well aware of the opportunities that their heritage offers to their own community and those beyond it. It is because of their lack of involvement in the decision making of previous decades that so few Aboriginal sites were given a value comparable to non-Aboriginal locales. The heritage conservation expertise is available and can be utilised as a resource with international experience, but the initial incentive needs to come from within the Aboriginal community itself.

In a tourism consultant's report for the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, W. M. Baker brings several points to the fore when evaluating heritage resources in the area of Ontario north of 50° latitude. He assesses the tourism potential of historic plaques and markers[143] for archaeological sites,

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143 Page 19 of this report refers to the quandary concerning marking of isolated historic sites. As they cannot be adequately monitored, they are subject to vandalism and theft. However, if marked, they become a potential destination for wilderness travellers (as well as the vandals).

pictograph sites, fur trading posts, fortifications, museums and historic industrial complexes. With regards to museums, the author makes the following observation:

> . . . . museums in many smaller centres with their repetitious collections, catalogued and displayed in chaotic disarray resembling attic storage, can be, and all too often are, a deadly bore. . . . On the other hand, a small local museum featuring a well-catalogued and attractively displayed collection associated with a meaningful community or regional archaeological / historic phenomenon can have substantial tourist impact, particularly when well publicised in the appropriate market.[144]

ECONOMICS

To acquire the requisite financial resources, all avenues of funding would have to be explored. The optimum goal should be the creation of a sustainable operation, whereby any cultural heritage institution can replace existing or provide new resources to the supporting community. Economic viability of any heritage project needs to be evaluated along with the potential disadvantages of the increased tourism that may result. The economic benefits of sustainable development for Aboriginal communities could become a deciding factor in establishing an institution relating to cultural heritage. The critical economic conditions in many Aboriginal communities compel heritage planners not to ignore this factor. A heritage institution cannot be conceived and implemented in isolation, for planners need to seize the opportunity to involve as many people as possible. This implies, however, that both positive and negative effects can be far reaching and the consequences should be given careful consideration.

It will require creative business initiatives to attract potential visitors and develop a profitable Aboriginal heritage institution, while concurrently protecting the cultural foundations of the communities involved. Reliance on proceeds from admissions to designated sites, arts and crafts sales, guiding for recreational hunting and fishing can be expanded into new ventures. In our technological world, small dispersed communities are not so isolated as they once were. Individuals and organisations can take advantage of easier access to both new resources and new markets, reached through the medium of satellite and computer technology.

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144 Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.
TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°, Volume Four.
Pages 29 - 30.

CHAPTER 7

THE RESOLUTION

We all have our own perception of reality, of time and of history Because of the resurgence of the Aboriginal Peoples and their refusal to be assimilated fully into the predominant culture of the nation, non-Aboriginal Canadians are being asked to reconsider their respective 'realities' by taking a new look at our nation's history, its people and its contemporary cultures. Our differences are what give this country its character and as such, they should be acknowledged whenever a presentation of historical events and cultural evolution is made to the public We can strive to give a fair and equitable view of time and what it has meant to all the peoples who dwell in this land.

It is not only times past that concern me, for the heritage of a people is what they have brought with them to the present -- what they have inherited from their ancestors. This inheritance can instil us with strength, wisdom, understanding and pride -- all of those good and noble characteristics that make us who we are Our heritage gives us the tools to tell and show others where we have come from, who we are and what we can be. The continuum of time is a ribbon showing us the direction from which we have come to this place and pointing us in the direction to which we are headed. We will all weave in new strands to the pattern. When our strands of time come to an end, as individuals we will be replaced. The threads may break, but the pattern will continue to evolve If we can share our past, our perceptions, our concerns, our heritage -- then those who come after us will have an easier time living with those around them This is especially the case if one holds with the Aboriginal view, where the ribbon of time circles in on itself -- with no beginning and no end, but a continual cycle of existence that encloses and protects whatever and whomever is within

Jean Friesen makes reference to Bernard Lewis' analysis of our perceptions of history by outlining the following sources of heritage.

> "Remembered history" is that which survives from folk memory, in oral tradition, ballad or popular festival. . .

> "Recovered history" is the discovery and re-assessment of the past by critical scholarship. . . .
>
> Restructured or "invented history" is derived from the recovered past, informed by the remembered values and traditions but with a broad contemporary public purpose. it is this which encompasses much of the modern practice of "heritage". . .[145]

The heritage of Aboriginal nations is not just of the romantic past, the oppressed past or the noble past. It is of the present and of the future. Many Aboriginal peoples have survived by adopting the ways of the newcomers (willingly or unwillingly), yet much of their tradition and spirit has also survived. This ability to endure may be due to shear persistence or to the strength of their traditional world view. By agreeing to share what they offer of this tradition, we may all grow closer in understanding and in wisdom.

Placing a value upon Aboriginal heritage does not imply that the culture must be held in some distant and unrecognisable time or place. Aboriginal peoples have a voice in our shared future in this land. Our mutual destiny may be represented by all three of Lewis' forms of history mingling together to create a new kind of memory. A heritage institution or event that communicates this new historical memory has the potential to ignite the spark of recognition that lies within both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

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145 Bernard Lewis, **HISTORY: REMEMBERED, RECOVERED, INVENTED** Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975.
Cited in Jean Friesen, "Introduction: Heritage Futures", **PRAIRIE FORUM**, Page 193.

APPENDIX

CASE STUDY

devoted to the

ALGONQUIAN PEOPLES OF CENTRAL CANADA

THE ALGONQUIAN PEOPLES OF CENTRAL CANADA

EVOLUTION OF HISTORY[146]

The traditional homelands of the Algonquian speaking Aboriginal peoples of Canada extend across the nation, covering a broad swath of land from the eastern seaboard across the prairies to the foothills of the Rockies. Although several dialects have evolved, the root Algonquian linguistic structure is shared by many tribes: Cree, Ojibwe, Algonquin, Ottawa, Nipissing, Potawatomi, Miami, Montagnais and Naskapi. The cultural areas have different boundaries that are traversed by many features of lifestyle, culture and religion.

People living in the subarctic regions of Canada had a traditional lifestyle that is dramatically interwoven with the climate and the landscape of their environment. For the tribes at the southern extreme of the subarctic regions and the northern edge of the eastern woodlands, their more stable lifestyle was susceptible to the influences of the agrarian peoples farther to the south. The inhabitants of these

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146 The historical information in this section was garnered from a number of summaries and resources, the most useful being:

Olive Patricia Dickason.
CANADA'S FIRST NATIONS: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times.
Toronto, McClelland & Stewart Incorporated, 1992.

E. Palmer Patterson, (II).
THE CANADIAN INDIAN: A History Since 1500.
Don Mills, Ontario, Collier-Macmillan Canada, Limited, 1972.

Peter C. Schmalz.
THE OJIBWA OF SOUTHERN ONTARIO.
Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1991.

D. Bruce Sealey.
"Indians of Canada: An Historical Sketch" in **INDIANS WITHOUT TIPIS**, edited by D. Bruce Sealey and Vera Kirkness.
Winnipeg, William Clare (Manitoba) Limited, 1973.
Pages 9 - 37.

Bruce G. Trigger.
NATIVES AND NEWCOMERS - Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered.
Kingston and Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press,1985.

Carl Waldman; (maps and illustrations by Molly Braun).
ATLAS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN.
New York, Facts on File Publications, 1985.

more settled farming communities were predominantly Iroquoian speaking. The striking difference in lifestyle between the two linguistic groups was manifested by different cultural behaviours, interests and beliefs.

The contrasts predisposed these groups towards ongoing struggles for territorial control, even prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Competition was significantly exacerbated by the fur trading rivalry between the French and English, who sought support and allegiance from the Aboriginal people with whom they dealt. In the land area between Québec City and the Georgian Bay / Lake Huron shoreline, there was virtually a continuous transfer of land between these two cultural groups. The locations of bands and the larger tribal groups shifted over time as a result of the rivalry for control of hunting territories and trade routes. The use of land areas was often subject to the ambitions of external groups who were perhaps more aggressive than the current occupants. Boundaries between the hunters of the north-east woodlands, the agriculturists to the south and the northern Arctic peoples were always in a state of flux, constantly shifting under the stresses of climate, food availability, disease and outside attack.

This area of our country has much to tell us, from the perspective of the Algonquian peoples who are descendants of the original inhabitants. The Iroquoian people are relative newcomers to this region, although they had the support and encouragement of the British fur trading interests. They were later rewarded with substantial grants of land, in recognition of their support of the English Crown during the American Revolutionary War. The settled communities of Iroquoian people soon became a recognised component of Upper Canadian society, whereas the more dispersed Algonquian speaking people were more difficult to keep track of and to involve in the evolution of British North America.

ETHNOHISTORY - STORY OF THE PEOPLE

The areas of land from the shores of the Great Lakes north to James Bay and east to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence have withstood many changes in recent history. The peoples who have lived on these lands have adapted with the ebb and flow of time, of climate and of external forces. As long as three thousand years ago, the peoples north of the Lakes were influenced by the great Adena, Hopewell and Mississippian cultures to the south (now known for their large communities and ceremonial mound building). Numerous traces of material

culture, as well as significant earthen mounds, have been found -- most notably in the vicinity of Rice Lake, near Peterborough, and Rainy River, in northwestern Ontario. Perhaps most well known is the Serpent Mound, now a highlight of the provincial park system. Even as the first European explorers were venturing into the Americas, the Mississippians or Temple Mound Builders were yet in existence. Their abrupt and widespread demise in the early 1600's is still a matter largely of speculation and query.[147]

Meanwhile, the people who lived to the north and east maintained a well-established trade network that utilised the natural waterways linking the innumerable lakes and rivers of the territory. These routes covered a vast territory that extended from the St. Lawrence River valley northwards at several points and from the lands of the Huron people of Georgian Bay north to James Bay and south to the Atlantic Ocean. Aboriginal people were no strangers to the trading process, since these trade routes had existed for centuries.

It was not so very long after the arrival of the Europeans, that the Saint Lawrence and Ottawa river valleys became the feeder routes to the Great Lakes and the rich fur-bearing lands to the north. The established trade networks facilitated the incorporation of the Europeans into the system, especially after animal pelts were found to have such high value as a trade item. Water routes also were used for the exploration and, later, the settlement of the continental interior by the Europeans. An extensive network of trading posts was soon established to promote the exchange of furs for those manufactured goods that were quickly becoming essential to the Aboriginal way of life.

As the European eagerness for furs began to dominate the land and her peoples, the indigenous groups were caught up in the rivalry between nations and between rival fur trade companies. This soon became a vicious and long standing battle for supremacy. Alliances were forged, battles fought and territories won and lost. Several indigenous nations were lost completely or were forced to relocate in the face of threatened annihilation. For most of the 17th. century, the Iroquoian tribes fought against the French and their Algonquin

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147 Carl Waldman; (maps and illustrations by Molly Braun).
ATLAS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN.
New York, Facts on File Publications, 1985.
Pages 19 - 22.

and Montagnais allies for control of the fur supply and trade routes along the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers, often blockading the routes and ambushing the fur brigades. This aggression later shifted westwards, as the pivotal role of the Huron, Petun (Tionontati), Erie and Neutral (Attiwandaron) peoples was recognised when their trading patterns shifted from a north-south axis to an east-west one, under the influence of the French. By mid-century, these people, even though they were members of the Iroquoian cultural group, had endured an intensive onslaught by the Iroquois confederacy from the south. This destroyed so many of their communities that the few remaining groups dispersed -- some (to become known as the Wyandot) to the south-west of the Great Lakes, the Huron to their ancestral territory near Québec (Stadacona) under the auspices of the Jesuit missionaries, while the majority joined with their enemies, the Iroquois.

In the closing decades of the century, the Iroquois invaders removed themselves farther south to occasionally plague the English and west to confront the French in Illinois while still managing to harass the French settlements in the St. Lawrence valley. This prompted the Ojibwa from north of Lake Huron to infiltrate the territories now vacated and later, they spread westward from Lake Huron and subsequently, even farther west to the southern plains. After intensive assaults from the French, the Iroquois people negotiated peace treaties with both the French and the English (1701). Their numbers had been decimated by these attacks, by epidemics of disease and by the migration of large numbers of Mohawks to the Jesuit missions near Montréal.

Throughout the era of contact, the Aboriginal groups in this area were subjected to the Christian fervour that accompanied the Europeans. Different countries, different religious ideologies -- but one thing that they all had in common was the belief that the spirituality of the Aboriginal people was unacceptable.[148] One of the conspicuous religious groups was the Jesuit missionaries, who were actually more tolerant of the indigenous life styles and culture than many of their counterparts. Rather than simply forcing their potential supplicants into adopting their religion, the Jesuits sought to diminish the power of Aboriginal spiritualism by logical example. These efforts eventually led to the successful propagation of Catholicism amongst several tribal societies.

For the next sixty years, the Aboriginal people of eastern and central Canada were caught up in the fierce competition between the French and English fur

trading companies, who were continually vying for control of the territorial resources. Their knowledge of the transportation network led them ever further into the hinterland. Their economy switched from self sufficiency to a total reliance upon European trade goods. All their time and energy was devoted to the trapping of animals, preparing the pelts and transporting them to the trading posts. Contact with European belief systems increased as more trading posts were constructed and the native people came to live in the vicinity of their walls.

Since the 'discovery' of the North American continent, events in Europe had an impact upon the affairs of the Aboriginal peoples. The French and the British went to great lengths to garner the support of their indigenous allies during several wars. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the Treaty of Paris (1763) led to the Proclamation of 1763 which transferred virtually all of the eastern edge of North America to the English. The First Nations tribes were more than a little dismayed when they came to realise that their 'allies' had assumed permanent control of these lands.

> The Amerindians, on whichever side they found themselves, had seen the struggle between the French and English as the concern of the combatants, in which they (the aboriginals) were involved only as fighting allies: they had no conception that their lands were at stake. As more than one chief remarked, it had not been the Indians who had been conquered. This land was their land, and they had allowed the Europeans to come and settle on it under certain conditions, such as the gift distributions.[148]

In her history of Canada's founding peoples, Olive Dickason goes on to relate the words of the Ojibwa chief and French ally, Minweweh (Minavavana), when he told the British: "Although you have conquered the French, you have not conquered us. We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains were left us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none."[149]

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148 Olive Patricia Dickason.
CANADA'S FIRST NATIONS.
Page 181.

149 Olive Patricia Dickason.
CANADA'S FIRST NATIONS.
Page 181.
The original source of this quotation is apparently Alexander Henry's **Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the years 1760 and 1764.**

The power of the Aboriginal tribes was drastically reduced after 1763, because they were not able to play one aggressor against the other. The British no longer needed to buy their loyalties with generous distributions of gifts and this left the native people much the poorer. At the same time they were subjected to increased take-over of their lands by a growing number of settlers, in contradiction of the British promise that once the French were defeated, the settlers would be removed. It was not too long after that the government began to set aside lands reserved for the use of the Aboriginal people. In exchange, they gave up the majority of their territory for immigrant settlement.

The actions of the political arena did not die down. During the next decade, the Thirteen Colonies along the Atlantic seaboard began to chafe under the rule of the British monarch and the restrictive laws of parliament. The eruption of the American Revolutionary War (1776 - 1783) meant that the Aboriginal people were once again fighting each other on behalf on non-Native interests. At the war's conclusion, more of their lands were transferred from one state to the other and large numbers of the Iroquois who had fought on the side of the British were allocated large grants of former Ojibwa territory in southern Ontario[150]. After the conclusion of the War of 1812 with the Americans, the British had no further need of their former allies' fighting skills.

While all of these political conflicts were having an impact upon the Aboriginal people of Upper and Lower Canada, the Cree to the north in the Hudson's Bay watershed were the recipients of trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. From the mid-1600's, these people spread westwards, fighting the original inhabitants for control of the expanding fur trade territory. The Iroquois trappers were, at the same time, working their way west with the North West Company -- generally farther to the south. Once again, the skills and knowledge of the Aboriginal people enabled them to take dominance of rivalries between competing European interests. This leverage, too, came to a conclusion in 1821 with the amalgamation of the North West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company.

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150 This territory in the Niagara penninsula (over 1.2 million hectares) was offically purchased by the Crown from the Mississauga people for the sum of £1180. The agreement was negotiated by Frederick Haldimand, governor of Lower Canada, and signed in 1784. This exchange of land for goods and /or money was the first major treaty of this type. By 1912, there was a total of 483 treaties with Aborignal nations, listed for Canada. [Dickason, **CANADA'S FIRST NATIONS,** Pages 189 - 191.]

During the nineteenth century the populations of Aboriginal communities continued to suffer epidemics of disease, their land base was drastically reduced in size and their influence on Canadian politics dwindled almost to nothing. It was at this time that the images of the vanishing Indian emerged. Based upon the decimation of Aboriginal tribes during the preceding century, it seemed a logical assumption. Canadians decided that the best alternatives to extinction were to bring the remaining native people into the world of the new Canada -- turn them into Christian farmers, build them model communities, provide them with education and life skills. Until the mid-twentieth century, a great deal of effort was put into numerous experiments of social acculturation, yet the success stories were few. Because of the pressure of immigrant settlers and industrial concerns such as logging, the Canadian governments passed legislation in 1850 to set aside lands for the exclusive use of Aboriginal people. During the remaining years of the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth, a great part of the Canadian land mass became the subject of treaties negotiated between the Canadian governments and the indigenous peoples.

During the first half of the twentieth century, there was little change. The First Nations people were considered as the charges of the government. Following the threatened rebellion in the Canadian north-west, it was decided that the federal parliament would assume the responsibility for the livelihood of Canada's indigenous peoples. In 1875, the Indian Act was passed, with the intention of encouraging, rather than forcing, assimilation.[151] Its sweeping controls over the rights and freedoms of Aboriginal citizens have created a resentment on the part of most Aboriginal Canadians. This resentment has transformed into an awareness of what their ancestors endured and many seek redress for the actions of past governments -- through the same legal process that took their land and their rights from them in the first place. The realisation that it is possible to change the future for Aboriginal Canadians has created the present climate of change in the social and political arena of our country.

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151 Olive Patricia Dickason.
CANADA'S FIRST NATIONS.
Page 284.

PATTERNS OF A CULTURE

At the time of European arrival in the late 1600's, the tribal affiliations of the widely scattered, yet linguistically homogenous Algonquians were the Saulteaux, Ojibwe, Odawa, Nipissing, Potawatomi, Delaware, Mississauga, Algonquin, Abitibi, Tete de Boule Cree, Wood Cree, James Bay Cree, Mistassini Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi. The organisation of these tribes revolved around the extended family unit or 'band' and, as such, was radically different from the hierarchical structure so pervasive in European political, religious and social groups. The size of these native bands seldom exceeded a few hundred One individual was selected as the band leader on the basis of a particular skill, courageous act or strength of character. However, this person was still considered very much a part of the overall group, and did not gain extensive benefit from their position. Band members shared the power of decision-making through consensus.[152] The Ojibwa bands were grouped into an additional level of affiliation, the clan. There were more than twenty clans, each named for the creature believed to have founded it.[153]

Annual patterns of hunting, fishing and gathering were determined by the seasons and the migratory routes of the wildlife. Most cultures adopted the custom of living in small groups during the winter trapping seasons. During the warmer seasons of the year they gathered in larger groups alongside the major bodies of water to trade, to participate in major religious ceremonies and to meet with one another and re-establish their ties with old acquaintances. The summer months were generally a time of abundance, when extra supplies of food were preserved for the oncoming winter season.

The mobility of the Algonquian lifestyle encouraged the development of technologies to make this frequent relocation easier: birchbark canoes for

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152 Valda Blundell in Simon Brascoupé and Richard Hill.
HANDBOOK FOR NATIVE AWARENESS WORKSHOPS. Volume IV: "Planning with Native Peoples - Economic Development" [draft].
Pages 6 - 9.

153 Canada, Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
THE CANADIAN INDIAN.
Ottawa,1986.
Page 10.

navigating the waterways during the warm season, toboggans and showshoes for the winter snows, tumplines for distributing the weight of large packs of goods over the bearer's back. This mobile existence also affected the materials and form of the Algonquian dwellings. Conical or dome-shaped wigwams, made of a framework of wooden poles covered with bark, woven rush mats or animal hides, were preferred as they could be easily enclosed from materials close at hand.

In order to endure, the Algonquian peoples had to rely upon themselves and fellow band or clan members. Their existence was intertwined with the world around them - the climate, the animal and plant life, the seasons. They viewed themselves as but one part of this cosmology of nature, each of their actions could affect another part of the system and vice versa. This belief was reflected most strongly in the spirituality of the Algonquian people. Everything around them had a spirit, just as they, themselves, did. The spirit of the other must always be taken into consideration. The people put great store upon dreams, both natural and induced, as a means of communicating with these other spirits.

This pattern of living on small designated pockets of land, or in isolated communities, has continued up to the present for many of the Algonquian speaking people. By living apart from the 'outside' world, they have continued to hold onto some of the essential elements of their traditional culture. However, this world is forcing itself upon even the most distant communities. In the last century life has changed dramatically for all of us and even more so for Canada's Aboriginal peoples. Many are taking steps to counteract the diminishing of their culture, before it is lost for all time. There is a growing urgency in the voices of those who want their cultural knowledge to be saved for future generations.

ARCHAECLOGY WITHIN THE AREA UNDER STUDY

The past history of the area under consideration has been revealed via numerous archaeological excavations. The diversity of people who have dwelt in this region is shown by the range of artefacts that have been exhumed from the remains of hundreds of scattered camps and settlements. The people who occupied the lands were of different cultural groups that had varying degrees of influence in diverse parts of the region under discussion. With the northerly retreat of Wisconsin continental glacier, people from the south and west gradually made their way into the resource-abundant rocky shield areas. They

have been separated into the following cultural classifications by the archaeological nomenclature: the Palaeo-Indian Period (7000 - 8000 years bp), the Shield Archaic Tradition or Old Copper Culture of the Archaic Period (2500 - 7000 years bp), a few northern pockets of people of the Early Woodland Cultural Period who dwelled in the vicinity of the lower Great Lakes, the peoples of the Laurel and La Cloche Traditions of the Middle or Initial Woodland Periods (1100 - 2400 years bp) and the Blackduck and Selkirk Traditions of the Late or Terminal Woodland Period (300 - 1200 years bp).[154]

The variety of the cultural groups and the length of time that they lived in the rugged territory of the continent's shield country substantiates the argument that these cultures had an almost inherent appreciation of their environment. Coates and Morrison, in their examination of Canada's Provincial Norths, give this argument substantial weight:

> . . . While contemporary rhetoric likes to paint the Provincial Norths as "new" land, a region of the present and future, the region has in fact been the homeland for a diversity of indigenous societies for several thousand years. These people lived on and with the land, and did not attempt to change or exploit it, in sharp contrast to the newcomers who would arrive later.
>
> . . . There is a tendency to see the years before European contact as an undifferentiated whole, with the indigenous peoples changing little over time. This assumption is both incorrect and misleading, for it suggests that the original inhabitants were unaccustomed, and by implication unwilling, to change.[155]

This variety of cultures is readily evident from the remnants of these ancient societies. Similar artefacts are widely scattered throughout large parts of the Canadian shield, indicating the broad distribution of particular groups. Burial mounds are in evidence in distant corners of the province of Ontario: in the northwest are the Manitou Burial Mounds under the jurisdiction of the Manitou Rapids Indian Band, while hundreds of kilometres to the southeast is the Serpent Mounds Provincial Park, just north of Lake Ontario near the town of Keene.

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154 Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.
TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°, Volume Four.
Pages 1 - 8.
Note that the dates for some of these time periods differ from those indicated by Thor Conway [**ARCHAEOLOGY IN NORTHEASTERN ONTARIO**, pages 22 - 23].

155 Ken Coates and William Morrison.
THE FORGOTTEN NORTH - A History of Canada's Provincial Norths.
Page 17 - 18.

These two disparate sites have some common features that relate to the extensive Hopewell culture which influenced much of the central area of the continent between 2300 - 1300 years bp.[156] North of the Serpent Mounds site is Petroglyphs Provincial Park, focusing on the hundreds of petroglyph images incised into a single large rock surface. Throughout the province are numerous pictograph and petroglyph sites, although the largest concentration is north of Lake Nipigon at Cliff Lake.[157]

The remnants of more recent time periods, just prior to and following the arrival of the Europeans have told us a great deal about the spread of trade goods in advance of the newcomers, themselves. The ruins of old fur trading posts have the potential to provide us with extensive evidence of the past, as do the village sites that were used by generations of Aboriginal peoples.

THE ALGONQUIAN PERSPECTIVE

In Canada, the shear magnitude of relative newcomers to this continent, makes changing the Eurocentric paradigm very difficult. To an immigrant's eyes and those of his/her children, Canada is yet the 'new land'. It is fresh and unmarked, like a blank slate inviting them to make their imprint. But history did not begin with the arrival of people from across the oceans -- history had already been made by humans living on the land for centuries. The fact that it had not been recollected in a manner acceptable to the first Europeans and those following in their footsteps does not imply that history did not exist. There is not really any validity to the commonly held concept of 'prehistory', except in the eyes of those who coined the term to describe a history that was not told as they would have done or a history that occurred prior to their involvement. For the indigenous peoples of North America, the oral telling of their story was and is the way.

Because things are not written down does not imply that they are invalid and can be ignored. Yet, that is what has happened to thousands of stories about the

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156 Carl Waldman; (maps and illustrations by Molly Braun).
ATLAS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN.
Pages 19 - 22.

157 Royal Commission on the Northern Environment.
TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ONTARIO NORTH OF 50°, Volume Four.
Page 11.

Aboriginal past. They have been relegated to the realms of mythology, spiritualism and fabrication -- having only a very dubious relationship to reality. Mythology, spiritualism and oral traditions may not be an important aspect of many non-Aboriginal cultures, but these traditions are very important to the existence of many of the world's cultures, amongst them Canada's indigenous peoples.

The beliefs, concerns and lifestyles of Aboriginal peoples need not be ignored or refuted, simply because they are not completely shared by other cultures. Respect and tolerance are the prerogatives of all people. The discriminatory patterns that began with the arrival of the first Europeans need to be replaced by another -- one that brings the true history of our land and all of her people to the forefront. The appreciation of many centuries of history can contribute to the knowledge of both our distinct and our shared pasts. The pathways of time for many Canadians were once quite separate and unknown to each other, but as we travel towards the future, the cultural strands weave back and forth to create a sturdy fabric comprised of a variety of colours and forms. Canada is not so young a place as many Canadians believe. The story does not begin with the relatively recent arrival of our ancestors. It began many thousands of years earlier and those origins were already well documented in the oral traditions of the indigenous peoples!

Mike Bernard, an Algonquin elder of the Golden Lake Reserve, had frequent conversations with Peter Hessel, who was researching the history of the Algonquin people of the Ottawa Valley. Mr. Bernard had some astute observations to make:

> I am myself happiest when I can go out in my canoe, when I feel the wind and the excitement, when I listen to the birds and other animal noises. The white man lives an unnatural life. I cannot understand him. He seems to live only for money. He goes out in the morning, comes back at night, day after day, until he is too old to enjoy life. He may accumulate money or properties -- but for what? At sixty-five or seventy he is worn out and cannot enjoy the fruits of his labour. Indians, too, are beginning to live like that, and I don't know why.
>
> In the old days, the Algonkins used to make everything themselves; now everything has to be bought with money. But the white man calls it progress and is proud of it. The white man is a puzzle to me.
>
> The white man does not realize that Indians lived differently than Europeans. They did not have organizations and states and provinces and tribes and chiefs. You are trying to classify us, to put us into bunches and groups, because that is the way

> Europeans lived. You are upset when the neat picture doesn't fit. We didn't have kings and queens and political systems. [illegible] the white man has to set them up for us.
>
> In reality, Indian history is like your grandmother's old spinning wheel that is all broken to pieces. Nobody cared for it, and the pieces were lost and buried somewhere and have rotted away. Nobody will ever be able to put them together again.
>
> Our reserve cost the government a total of $156. We are not proud of it. How could we be proud of this miserable bit of land, when our ancestors occupied all the land from the Rideau River to Algonquin Park? What a miserable gift from the white man! Why should we be proud and happy?
>
> Would you expect a moose to be happy when you take it out of its range and put it into a small garden with a fence around?[158]

THE MANIFESTATION OF ABORIGINAL CULTURE

The evolution of any form of cultural institution can be determined by evaluating parameters that may affect the final form of the institution. These parameters can be looked at in the form of questions concerning the institution and the answers that are given to those questions. The answers or decisions will help to define the path that the institution will follow. The degree of refinement or detail of the questions will depend upon the ultimate size or focus of the institution. The more extensive it will be, the more questions that will need to be answered. This rather formula-style approach is necessary if the institution is to have any permanence or structure. However, within each category there needs to be some degree of flexibility and adaptability or else the underlying characteristics of Algonquian culture will be lost.

It is possible for these questions to be ordered either from the specific to the general or in reverse order, from the general to the specific. In the following outline of suggested questions, I have worked from the general towards the specific, on the assumption that the community or group involved do not have a particular clear idea of the particulars of what it is that they wish to say. However, if that were the case, then it would likely be more suitable to work in reverse order -- from the specific to the general. The supplied answers are

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158 Peter Hessel.
THE ALGONKIN TRIBE - The Algonkins of the Ottawa Valley: An Historical Outline.
Waba, Ontario, Kichesippi Books, 1987.
Page 90.

possibilities only and they are not mutually exclusive. Any or all of the answers may be feasible, along with others that may be determined by the particular situation under consideration.

Relevant Questions: Evolution of an Algonquian Heritage Institution[159]

1. Who is the institution for?
   - local Aboriginal community / band
   - all bands within a specified region
   - any or all of the Algonquian speaking people of central Canada
   - urban Aboriginal community
   - the non-Native local / regional community
   - the non-Native community of central Canada
   - Canadian tourists
   - international tourists
2. What is the focus or theme of the institution?
   - a place
   - an event or ritual
   - moveable artefacts
   - customs
   - music
   - language
   - lifestyle
   - history
   - contemporary conditions
3. What is the time frame for the institution?
   - temporary
   - permanent
   - reoccurring on a regular interval
   - a one-time event
4. Who will be involved in the development and operation of the institution?
   - Aboriginal community
   - non-Native community
   - independent heritage consultants / planners
   - government agencies (may range from municipal to international)
   - Aboriginal cultural organisations / individuals
   - non Aboriginal cultural / ethnic organisations
   - educational groups / entities
   - commercial interests
   - tourism agencies / groups
5. What is the anticipated growth of the institution?
   - stay the same size as the original

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159 Although this case study has focused on the development of a heritage institution relating to the Algonquian peoples of central Canada, I would suggest that with some minor revisions, this procedural outline could be easily adapted to other Aboriginal groups or communities.

- possibility for expansion in size and cost
- serve a larger audience than originally

6. Is the institution financially viable?
   - sources of finance (confirmed and possible)
   - anticipated set-up costs
   - anticipated maintenance costs
   - anticipated relocation costs, if appropriate
   - legal and insurance costs
   - human resource costs

7. Does the institution have adequate community support? (The definition of 'community' may depend upon the answers to Question 1.)
   - deciding what is the required amount of community support
   - number (or percentage) of people supportive of the concept
   - number of people prepared to actively participate
   - level of awareness of 'long term' commitment, if required
   - degree of enthusiasm for the concept
   - extent to which people are prepared to adjust to the changes effected by the institution
   - level of community involvement in decision making and planning
   - means of coping with or encouraging support from antagonistic citizens
   - realistic view of the future positive and negative consequences of developing the institution

8. How extensive will the promotion of the institution be?
   - informal networks
   - aggressive advertising campaign
   - type of publicity
   - extent of publicity
   - consequences of high level of publicity

9. What is the degree of involvement of the visitors?
   - observers only
   - participants
   - decision makers
   - establish whether visitors come to the institution or the institution goes to the 'visitors' via an 'outreach' programme

10. What facilities / amenities are needed for the visitors?
    - determine what is currently available
    - determine anticipated numbers of visitors, allowing for any particular times of 'high volume' (i.e. special events)
    - determine level of comfort necessary to encourage return visits and / or positive 'word of mouth' advertising
    - what is needed and what priority is given to items if the budget does not permit complete implementation at the beginning
    - determine maximum number of visitors that the community is able to sustain
    - decide on ways of handling negative attitudes, vandalism, disregard for local authorities and residents
    - evaluate the positive and negative impact of visitors upon the people of the community, their attitudes, the daily life of the community, the land, the environment and the cultural resource, itself.

TABLES

The listings in the following tables have been compiled from the following source documents. Institutions that do not have any direct bearing upon the Algonquian speaking cultures under consideration in this thesis paper have **not** been mentioned.

Even though they may present cultural history from a European point of view, sites which focus upon the fur trade have been included, since this endeavour was a crucial factor in the post contact evolution of Canada's Aboriginal cultures.

It should be noted that there are numerous Aboriginal organisations whose mandate lies within the sphere of political action. Except for the main national Aboriginal organisations, they have not been included in this listing. It should be noted, however, that there is a significant overlap between political and cultural issues, especially in the realm of land claims.

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TABLE 1: EXISTING CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS AND/OR HISTORIC SITES WITH SIGNIFICANT ABORIGINAL CONTENT OR FOCUS

Manitoba	Selkirk	Lower Fort Garry	federal
	Winnipeg	Forks National Historic Park Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Transcona Regional History Museum	prov./federal/municipal (Core Area Initiative) provincial municipal?
	York Factory	Hudson's Bay Company Post at York Factory	federal

Ontario	Amherstburg	Fort Malden National Historic Park	federal
	Atikokan	Quetico Provincial Park Museum	provincial
	Barrie	Simcoe County Museum	regional
	Brantford	Brant Historical Museum Her Majesty's Chapel of the Mohawks Woodland Cultural Education Centre	municipal federal/provincial/local restoration committee ??
	Burlington	Joseph Brant Museum	municipal ??
	Cloyne	Bon Echo Provincial Park	provincial
	Cornwall Island	North American Indian Travelling College	??
	Emo	Manitou Mounds National Historic Site, Rainy River	provincial / federal / local Indian Band
	Golden Lake	Golden Lake Algonquin Museum	??

	Keene	Serpent Mounds Provincial Park	provincial
	London	Museum of Indian Archaeology and Pioneer Life, University of Western Ontario	academic institution
	Marathon	Pic River Prehistoric Site	private ownership
	Midland	Huronia Museum and Huron Indian Village Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons	?? ??
	Minden	Kanawa International Museum of Canoes, Kayaks and Rowing Craft	private ownership??
	Morpeth	Rondeau Provincial Park Interpretive Center	provincial
	Mount Brydges	Ska-Nah-Doht Indian Village	private ownership??
	Ohsweken	Chiefswood Museum, Six Nations Reserve	provincial??
	Pembroke	Champlain Trail Museum	muncipal??
	Port Elgin	Nidwell Indian Village	??
	Saint Joseph Island	Fort Saint Joseph National Historic Park	federal
	Sault Ste. Marie	Sault Canal Whitefish Island	federal federal / unresolved Indian Band land claim
	Saint Thomas	Southwold Earthworks	federal
	Scarborough	Bead Hill National Historic Site	provincial / federal

	Sheguiandah	Sheguiandah Prehistoric Site	private ownership
	Toronto	Royal Ontario Museum	provincial
	Thunder Bay	Cummins Prehistoric Site Old Fort William	provincial / federal provincial
	Wawa	Agawa Bay Indian Rock & Exhibition Centre, Lake Superior Provincial Park	provincial
	Windsor	Ojibway Nature Centre	??
	Woodview [160]	Petroglyphs Provincial Park	provincial (with federal technical & financial assistance)

Québec	Hull (Ottawa)	Canadian Museum of Civilization [formerly the National Museum of Man]	federal
	Kahnewake	Chief Poking Fire Indian Reservation Kanien Kaheka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center	?? ??
	Montréal	Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne	??
	Odanak	Musée des Abénakis d'Odanak	??
	Point-Bleue	Musée Amèrindien de Pointe-Bleue	??

160 The address for Petroglyphs was actually listed as Highway 28. Woodview was the mailing address name taken from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources Guide Book to Ontario Provincial Parks, 1990.

	Québec City	Musée de la Civilisation Parc historique national Cartier - Brébeuf	provincial federal
	Saint-Jean	Musée Régional du Haut-Richelieu	??
	Sherbrooke	Musée du Séminaire de Sherbrooke	??
	Ville Marie	Fort Témiscamingue	federal

TABLE 2: EXISTING CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH SIGNIFICANT ABORIGINAL FOCUS

International	World Council of Indigenous Peoples	
	Indigenous Survival International	

National	Assembly of First Nations	Ottawa
	Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts	Toronto
	Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native Peoples	Toronto
	Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association	Ottawa
	Canadian Native Arts Foundation	Toronto
	Canadian Rock Art Restoration Association	Kenora (NW Ont. chapter)
	Métis National Council	Ottawa
	National Association of Cultural Education Centres	Hull
	National Association of Friendship Centres	Ottawa
	Native Council of Canada	Ottawa
	National Indian Arts and Crafts Corporation	Village des Hurons, Wendake
	Native Women's Association of Canada	Ottawa

	Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry	
	Native Indian / Inuit Photographers Association	Hamilton

Provincial	Aboriginal Cultural Society (Manitoba)	Winnipeg
	Les Artisans Indiens du Québec / Indian Artist and Artisans of Québec Corporation	Village des Hurons, Wendake
	Cree Survival Committee (Manitoba)	Winnipeg
	Manitoba Association of Friendship Centres	Winnipeg
	Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre	Winnipeg
	National Indian Arts and Crafts Corporation (ON)	Thunder Bay
	Northern Ontario Native Tourism Association	Thunder Bay
	Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres	Toronto
	Les Regroupment des Centres d'Amitie	Village des Hurons, Wendake
	Union of Ontario Indians	Toronto
	Wawatey Native Communications Society	Sioux Lookout
	White Owl Native Ancestry Association	Kitchener

TABLE 3: FRIENDSHIP AND CULTURAL EDUCATION CENTRES

Atikokan, Ont.	Atikokan Native Friendship Centre
Barrie, Ont.	Barrie Native Friendship Centre
Chibougamau, Qué.	Cree Indian Centre of Chibougamau
Chisasibi, Qué.	James Bay Cree Cultural Education Centre
Cochrane, Ont.	Ininew Friendship Centre
Dryden, Ont.	Dryden Native Friendship Centre
Fort Frances, Ont.	United Native Friendship Centre
Fort Erie, Ont.	Fort Erie Native Friendship Centre
Geralton, Ont.	Thunderbird Friendship Centre
Hamilton, Ont.	Hamilton Regional Indian Centre
Hodgson, Man.	Peguis Cultural Centre
Hornepayne, Ont.	Sault Ste. Marie Indian Friendship Centre
Kapuskasing, Ont.	Kapuskasing Indian Friendship Centre
Kenora, Ont.	Lake of the Woods Ojibway Cultural Centre Ne'chee Friendship Centre
Kirkland Lake, Ont.	Geewaedin Friendship Centre

Lac Simon, Qué.	Centre Amikwan
London, Ont.	N'Amerind Friendship Centre
Maniwaki, Qué.	River Desert Cultural Centre
Midland, Ont.	Georgian Bay Native Friendship Centre
Montréal, Qué.	Indian Friendship Centre of Montréal
Moosonee, Ont.	Moosonee Native Friendship Centre
North Bay, Ont.	North Bay Indian Friendship Centre
Orillia	Gojionjing (Lake Couchiching) Native Friendship Centre
Ottawa, Ont.	Odawa Native Friendship Centre
Parry Sound, Ont.	Parry Sound Friendship Centre
Pine Falls, Man.	Anicinabe Resource Centre Sagkeeng Cultural Centre
Powerview, Man.	Ka-wawiyak Friendship Centre
Red Lake, Ont.	Red Lake Indian Friendship Centre
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.	Batchewana Centre Sault Ste. Marie Indian Friendship Centre
Scanterbury, Man	Brokenhead Cultural Centre
Selkirk, Man	Selkirk Friendship Centre

Sioux Lookout, Ont	Nishnawbe-Gamik Friendship Centre
Spanish River, Ont.	Sagamok Anishnawbek Cultural Centre
Sudbury, Ont.	N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre
Thunder Bay, Ont.	Thunder Bay Indian Friendship Centre Nanabijou Family and Cultural Centre
Timmins, Ont.	Ojibway and Cree Cultural Centre Ojibway Island Heritage Centre Timmins Native Friendship Centre
Toronto, Ont.	Council Fire Native Cultural Centre Native Canadian Centre of Toronto
Val d'Or, Qué.	Algonquin Council of Western Québec Indian Friendship Centre of Val d'Or
Wabigoon, Ont.	Wabigoon Métis Cultural Centre
Wallaceburg, Ont.	Kinomaagewgamig Cultural Centre Walpole Island Cultural Community Centre Walpole Island Heritage Centre
West Bay, Ont	Ojibwe Cultural Foundation
Winnipeg, Man.	Indian and Métis Friendship Centre Sage Cross Cultural Centre

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FIN

- Aboriginal land claim issues and the tourism industry[134]

Aboriginal people need not overlook the benefits of actively seeking a significant position in the Canadian tourist economy, but any negative impacts must always be considered. Encouragement of cultural tourism brings both positive and negative effects. A community or group that is considering such a step needs to be aware of the consequences of bringing visitors into their lives. This process itself will inevitably change the cultural heritage as residents endeavour to adopt the roles which they wish portray. The tourists' cameras are omnipresent. This is why there is a critical need for thorough planning and community decision making in advance. It will be very difficult to later reduce the degree of exposure to the visitors, without causing much confusion and displeasure on all sides.

INTERPRETIVE TECHNIQUES

Another factor to consider during the planning of an Aboriginal cultural heritage institution is that the traditional means of transmitting information about these cultures across societies and across generations is by oral communication. The written word was not a part of the culture of most American indigenous societies. Today, this form of interaction has assumed a dominant place in the world community, although one could argue that it is being rapidly replaced by a written / graphic mode of communicating modern technological culture.

It presents a challenge to a heritage institution to acknowledge different perspectives such as these, while successfully interpreting and communicating the cultural information for which it is responsible. This situation is analogous to a conversation between two individuals, neither of whom speaks the other's language. What each says is very clear and sincerely stated as far as they, themselves, are concerned; however, the person receiving the communication is not able to understand completely. They may be able to decipher the message by some other means -- non verbal communication and gesturing, using an interpreter, responding to the tone of voice, having the originator show them what is meant. The difficulty arising from all of this is that the people involved

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134 Barry Parker.
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