Aundjitowin... In the footsteps of Anishinabeg Architecture

Aund–ji–to–win (Ojibwe v. - change, alteration, amendment, reconstruction – as
pertaining to building),

By

Daniel R. Smith, B.A.S.

A thesis submitted to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies
In partial fulfillment for the degree of

Master of Architecture

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
January 17th, 2005

© Copyright
Daniel R. Smith, 2005

Library and
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

0-494-06820-5

Published Heritage
Branch

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Janine Debanné, for her guidance, patience, and encouragement throughout the duration of this thesis. In addition, I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Derek Smith for his continuous enthusiasm and support. I'd like to especially thank Sam Senecal, Chief Glen Hare, and all the people of M'Chigeeng without whom this thesis would not have been possible, and to all the members and facilitators of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, I'd like to say Migwetch! Special thanks to my loving mother and father for their continuous love and support. Thank you to all the faculty of Carleton University's School of Architecture. I'd also like to thank the many friends I've gained over the years and will cherish the fond memories I have of them – special thanks to Amanda Gilbert, Roberto Campos, Robin Commanda, Eric Fung, Patryk Ilendo, Bobby Ilg, Keith Irwin, Shaunee Meawasige, and Katelina Movilla.

Abstract –

This thesis examines the urban powwow ritual and considers the absence of a culturally appropriate space for this event in North American cities, and specifically, in the city of Ottawa. The urban powwow has emerged in many cities across Canada, as more and more aboriginal individuals migrate into urban environments from rural areas and reserves. On reserves, aboriginal bands continue to embrace traditions relating to the building of ceremonial spaces, but these traditions often encounter resistance in urban contexts, obliged to insert themselves into existing fabrics and buildings. Interestingly, the Anishinabeg of Manitoulin Island have been able to adapt, innovate, and retain architectural traditions relating to their powwow since the arrival of Europeans. The evolution of architectural traditions pertaining to the powwow among the Anishinabeg therefore provides a useful case study for the contemporary urban powwow. The examination of architectural changes to ceremonial buildings over the history of the Anishinabeg powwow demonstrates the Anishinabeg's ability to balance building traditions with ever changing cultural environments. The adaptation and retention of traditional Anishinabeg ceremonial spaces on reserves thus informs the thesis design of an urban powwow space. The thesis chooses as its site the Odawa Native Friendship Centre in Ottawa, a long standing symbol of the city's aboriginal community, and the host of three annual urban powwows. In considering the question of an architectural language of the urban powwow in the Canadian Capital, this thesis broaches the question of representation in relation to the ceremony. An architectural relationship with the urban powwow ceremony can be as meaningful as the traditional one established on reserves.

Table of Contents –

<i>Abstract</i>	iii
<i>Foreword</i>	1
<i>Introduction</i>	2
<i>Chapter One – Traditional Anishinabeg Ceremonial Architecture</i>	5
1.1 The Traditional Anishinabeg Powwow Grounds	7
1.2 The <i>Jiingtamok</i>	10
1.3 Sacred Migrations and Architectural Beginnings	14
1.4 Midewiwin Structures	15
<i>Chapter Two – Changes to Anishinabeg Ceremonial Architecture</i>	
2.1 The Adoption of the Drum Dance Ceremony	20
2.2 Medicine Shows	22
2.3 The Drum Dance Lodge	24
2.4 The Emergence of the Anishinabeg Powwow Grounds	26
<i>Chapter Three – The Urban Powwow</i>	
3.1 Changes to the Anishinabeg Powwow Ceremony	30
3.2 Urban Powwow Spaces	33
3.3 The Odawa Native Friendship Centre	34
3.4 Aboriginal Responses to the Urban Environment	40
<i>Chapter Four – The Odawa Dance Lodge</i>	
4.1 Existing Condition – Site Analysis	43
4.2 Existing Alterations	46
4.3 The Odawa Dance Lodge	49
4.4 Complementary Design Components	56
<i>Conclusion</i>	61
<i>Appendices</i>	63
<i>Endnotes</i>	75
<i>Bibliography</i>	79

Table of Illustrations

(All images photographed by author unless otherwise noted)

Chapter One -

- Figure 1 Odawa Native Friendship Centre's eighth annual winter powwow, 2003
- Figure 1.0 M'Chigeeng First Nation
- Figure 1.1 View of powwow grounds from the M'Chigeeng F. N. hiking trail
- Figure 1.2 Sacred tree
- Figure 1.3 M'Chigeeng F. N. powwow grounds
- Figure 1.4 Sacred fire contained within the ceremonial lodge
- Figure 1.5 Sketch of ceremonial lodge
- Figure 1.6 Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, M'Chigeeng F. N.
- Figure 1.7 Place names of Manitoulin Island
- Figure 1.8 Axonometric drawing of the Midewiwin shaking tent, in Robert Easton and Peter Nabokov, Native American Architecture, pg. 70.
- Figure 1.9 Midewiwin shaking tent, Milwaukee Public Museum.
- Figure 1.10 Midewiwin preparatory lodge photographed by Robert G. Beaulieu at Cass Lake Michigan, 1910. Minnesota Historical Society, negative 40458.
- Figure 1.11 Midewiwin lodge at Rainy River, Ontario. National Museum of Canada, 1941.
- Figure 1.12 Midewiwin birch bark scrolls from the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives, 1891.

Chapter Two -

- Figure 2.1 Drum dance enclosure at Lac Court Oreilles, 1899. Photographed by A. E. Jenks, Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives, negative 49399.
- Figure 2.2 Drum dance enclosure photographed by Alanson Skinner at Keshena Wisconsin, 1913. American Museum of Natural History, negative 105439.
- Figure 2.3 Menominee dance enclosure near Keshena in the 1890's, drawn by Daphne Shuttleworth after an illustration by Walter J. Hoffman.
- Figure 2.4 An Ojibwe dance drum photographed by Thomas Vennum Jr., 1979. In his book Ojibwa Dance Drum, pg. 245.
- Figure 2.5 Sioux grass dance house. Photographer unknown, Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives, negative 53396.
- Figure 2.6 Drum dance lodge under construction. Photographer unknown, American Museum of Natural History, negative 15981.
- Figure 2.7 Ojibwe dance lodge at Mille Lacs photographed by Frances Densmore, 1910. Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives, negative 596-d-8.
- Figure 2.8 Sacred tree, M'Chigeeng F. N. powwow grounds

- Figure 2.9 Sky hole over the sacred fire, M'Chigeeng F. N. powwow grounds
- Figure 2.10 Powwow ceremony in Victoria, B.C. photographed by David Neel in Powwow Series, pg. 20.
- Figure 2.11 Recently constructed Treaty Four Powwow Arbour at Fort Qu'Appelle Saskatchewan. Photographed by Bosgoed Projects, 1997.

Chapter Three –

- Figure 3.1 Powwow child photographed by David Neel, in Powwow Series, pg. 19.
- Figure 3.2 Host drummers at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre's eighth annual traditional winter powwow, 2003
- Figure 3.3 Odawa host drum
- Figure 3.4 National Aboriginal Veterans Monument, Confederation Park Ottawa
- Figure 3.5 Traditional dancer bustle
- Figure 3.6 Competitive urban powwow at Eastern Michigan University, 1998. Photographed by Tara Browner, in Heartbeat of the People, pg. 44.
- Figure 3.7 Eighth annual traditional winter powwow, Odawa Native Friendship Centre, 2003
- Figure 3.8 Odawa Native Friendship Centre's twenty-eighth annual competitive summer powwow, Nepean Tent and Trailer Park, 2004
- Figure 3.9 Odawa Native Friendship Centre
- Figure 3.10 Level 1 Plan of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre: Ceremony organization
- Figure 3.11 Intertribal dance at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre's eighth annual traditional winter powwow, 2003
- Figure 3.12 Intertribal dance at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre's eighth annual traditional winter powwow, 2003
- Figure 3.13 Intertribal dance at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre's eighth annual traditional winter powwow, 2003
- Figure 3.14 Competitive dancers at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre's twenty-eighth annual summer powwow, 2004
- Figure 3.15 Competitive dancers at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre's twenty-eighth annual summer powwow, 2004

Chapter Four -

- Figure 4.1 Odawa Native Friendship Centre
- Figure 4.2 Site accessibility
- Figure 4.3 Elder's lodge at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre
- Figure 4.4 Mural along northern wall of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre gymnasium
- Figure 4.5 Drum construction classes
- Figure 4.6 Traditional birch bark canoe
- Figure 4.7 Site plan of thesis proposal
- Figure 4.8 East elevation
- Figure 4.9 Crucifix positioned above entrance

Figure 4.10	Ceremonial Door
Figure 4.11	Schematic layout of entrances
Figure 4.12	Level 1 plans showing both ceremonial and non-ceremonial use
Figure 4.13	Atrium space
Figure 4.14	Section through path into the powwow lodge
Figure 4.15	Section through powwow space when gymnasium and lodge are conjoined
Figure 4.16	Dreamcatcher Youth Program mural
Figure 4.17	Playground mural
Figure 4.18	View of illuminated Scott Street façade
Figure 4.19	Potential growth of the garden into the surrounding community
Figure 4.20	Renovated Odawa Native Friendship Centre

Project -

Figure 5.1	Level 1 floor plan of thesis project
Figure 5.2	Level 0 floor plan of thesis project
Figure 5.3	Carruthers Avenue elevation
Figure 5.4	Section through lodge and garden
Figure 5.5	Level 2 floor plan of thesis project
Figure 5.6	Playlodge mural
Figure 5.7	Level 3 floor plan of thesis project
Figure 5.8	Healing and Wellness Program mural
Figure 5.9	View from library

Existing Building

Figure 6.1	Basement floor plan
Figure 6.2	1 st floor plan
Figure 6.3	2 nd floor plan
Figure 6.4	3 rd floor plan

Foreword –

As a child growing up in northern Ontario I came to know many Native American people, the majority of whom were Ojibwe. I remember one Ojibwe elder in particular that I only came to know as Ben, who would walk through the woods with my friend Mike and me at his side and show us all the wondrous things that could be found there.

One day we came across a clearing in the woods where a series of stakes lay in the ground, and Ben sat us down to explain the old ways of his people. The site had been chosen for the construction of a traditional birch bark canoe. The Ojibwe are well known for their ability to build these canoes. Ben pointed around at the abundance of birch trees in the area, explaining why this place had been chosen. With a piece of birch bark in his hand, Ben told us that the bark has a unique and cherished place in Ojibwe culture. The bark, provided by the Great Spirit, could be used in a variety of ways including the covering of canoes, and, years ago - to cover wigwams. The bark is lightweight, easily transported, and waterproof. The natural world provided all the resources necessary to build a traditional Ojibwe canoe but I can still remember a sense of sorrow in Ben's voice, as he explained why it was never finished...

Introduction –

Tradition and Invention in Native American Architecture

It has been said that a cultural re-generation movement is currently taking place among Native American peoples. This movement embraces notions of continuity and reinforcement, and speaks of a Native American desire to balance traditional ways with contemporary life. Of course amidst ever-changing cultural situations, cultures are always being formed or modified. However, in the case of Native American peoples, cultural change has tended to occur at an accelerated rate under the pressure of outside forces such as colonization, and more recently mass media. The innovation, diffusion, and abandonment of traditional Native architecture often followed political, economic, and religious forces. Early attempts to convert Native American cultures to Christianity in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century brought about specific changes to traditional spaces of worship, and building typologies shifted from culturally established ones to more hidden and ephemeral ones. The need for secrecy led to the disappearance of traditional ceremonial buildings and spaces.¹ One of the more recent forms of aboriginal ceremonial spaces to be reestablished on reserves is the contemporary powwow grounds, making the powwow and the question of powwow architecture, a central one. These grounds can often be a central public space in aboriginal communities and a venue for the preservation of cultural and spiritual traditions.

In examining traditional ceremonial grounds for the powwow ceremony, this thesis focuses primarily on the Anishinabeg of Manitoulin Island, a confederacy referred to as “the People of the Three Fires” established in the nineteenth century between the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and the Odawa, and who have occupied Manitoulin Island for hundreds of years. The powwow grounds of M’Chigeeng First Nation, on the northern shore of the island, offer a unique opportunity to study the function of architecture in relation to ritual activities. My familiarity with the community of M’Chigeeng, coupled with the resources of the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, provided a basis for this study of Anishinabeg ritual architecture. Chapters one and two examine the contemporary powwow grounds of the Anishinabeg and their historical precursors, and more specifically, the powwow ritual’s relationship to stable architectural structures in and around the Manitoulin area, notably, the Midewiwin lodge, and Drum Dance enclosures. Because the origins of the powwow ceremony can often be difficult to establish since each aboriginal nation has an account of where and how their powwow came into being, this thesis devotes chapter one to the exploration of the specific origins of the Anishinabeg powwow grounds.

While architectural historian Carol Krinsky’s study of reservation architecture in the early 1990s provides an important body of research on the subject of transformations of Native architecture, the author focuses primarily on the American reservation, with little attention paid to urban environments. The thesis recognizes the urban environment as being as important to the cultural re-generation movement as reserves or reservations and therefore examines the powwow ceremony in both urban and non-urban contexts.² The growing migration of Native American people into urban centres over the past three

decades underscores the struggle to maintain continuity between traditional ways and modern life.³ The adaptation to urban life can often entail a difficult transition for people coming from reserves because they are migrating from communities that do not necessarily conform to Western urban planning paradigms. Following these trends of migration, the urban powwow has emerged in many cities as a stabilizing agent, aiding in the adjustment to urban life, and facilitating the creation of bonds with the existing Native community. Chapter three provides an in-depth look at the urban powwow and the challenges that aboriginal people continue to encounter in the urban environment. The final chapter considers the absence of culturally appropriate spaces for aboriginal activities in North American cities, and the design challenge posed by the fact that

modern powwows in urban areas are often held in spaces or structures that are otherwise programmatically disassociated from the ritual. The investigation of ceremonial architecture as it pertains to tradition, and perhaps more importantly its tendency towards reinvention, can suggest a design strategy for an urban powwow space in the city of Ottawa.

Figure – 1 Odawa Native Friendship Centre's eighth annual traditional winter powwow, 2003

Chapter One – Traditional Anishinabeg Ceremonial Architecture

A closer examination of the powwow can yield valuable insights into the lives of aboriginal people. Following my attendance of two urban powwows in Ottawa, hosted by the Odawa Native Friendship Centre between 2003 and 2004, I came to understand that the ceremony is connected to social processes undertaken by the host community. My experiences as an observer and participant in both reserve and urban powwows has made evident the fact that the two contrasting environments of a reserve (M'Chigeeng) and a city (Ottawa) – have produced two very different spatial settings for the powwow ritual. Ceremonies held on reserves take place on consecrated grounds where the people have maintained a deep connection to their lands and this kinship is expressed architecturally in both the site and the structure of the grounds themselves. When I visited the powwow grounds of M'Chigeeng in October of 2003, I was overtaken with a sense of sacredness. The people who erected the ceremonial structure had done so from the cultural teachings of their forefathers. The selection of the site, harvesting practices, and building techniques, all involved ritual practices taught by the Anishinabeg's ancestors.⁴ The grounds appeared to transcend time itself and I felt compelled to uncover the function, symbolism, and heritage of this magnificent work of architecture.

The Anishinabeg powwow of M'Chigeeng is a continuation of the oldest powwow on Manitoulin Island established in Wikwemikong during the 1950s.⁵ Early powwow organizers on Manitoulin used the ceremony to revitalize traditional teachings, following residential schooling. Indeed, from the 1930s to the 1950s, before the era of Native self-governance, children were uprooted from their homes around the island, and

placed in residential schools at Spanish.⁶ When they returned to Manitoulin in the 1950s, they were called to reconcile the Western education they had received at a distance from their families, and the traditional culture they had been cut off from since their childhood. Manitoulin society in the 1950s was thus marked by a gap between the elders, from a traditional upbringing, and the youth; it was all the more important to find a way to transfer knowledge from one group to the other. For this reason, the powwows of the 1950s were important ceremonies in the revitalization of Anishinabeg culture: they provided a venue for re-seeding traditional culture and values back into the youth and for bridging generations and their respective cultural sensitivities.

It is important to remark here that Native youth in urban communities experiences a similar sense of marginality as the youth returning from Spanish to the reserves, discussed above. Native urban dwellers were not raised in the dominant culture and are often perceive themselves as outsiders.⁷ For them, the urban powwow is the setting for a coming together and celebration of a common culture, and, as for the youth returning to the reserves, an occasion for the transferal of traditional knowledge. This parallelism between non-urban and urban powwows gives direction to this thesis's search for an architecture of the contemporary urban powwow.

What is remarkable about the Anishinabeg powwow grounds of M'Chigeeng First Nation is that they were built by the community specifically for the performance of the ritual. The urban powwow, in contrast, never benefits from the same kind of community dedication. How then is the latter to be conceived? What precedents should it refer to? An investigation of the

Figure 1.0 –
M'Chigeeng F.N.

origins of the contemporary powwow grounds of M'Chigeeng serves here as a way to uncover the role traditionally played by architecture in the powwow ceremony. The ritual's symbolic language, notably the theme of circularity, will also be examined more closely, with a view to identifying whether it is suited to urban contexts.

1.1 *The Traditional Anishinabeg Powwow Grounds*

“In a world moving at a breakneck pace, the powwow is an oasis of sanity where words like tradition, respect, elder and teaching still have relevance. It is a world that is seen completely differently as a spectator than as a participant. It is a gathering, a festival, a ceremony that has its roots in ancient traditions.”⁸

Figure 1.1 – Powwow Grounds of M'Chigeeng, First Nation

The powwow grounds of M'Chigeeng First Nation, including the arena and its surrounding areas, are laid out according to a sort of culturally preconceived blueprint. The structure and organization are essentially a form of architectural inheritance received from the Anishinabeg's forefathers. Current Anishinabeg powwow grounds like those of M'Chigeeng are traditionally arranged in a series of enveloping circles. The circular form, symbolizing the cultural metaphors of the Sacred Circle or Medicine Wheel, is the most common physical trait of contemporary powwow spaces. This age-old symbol of cyclical renewal representing the continuity of time and life itself has been used by many aboriginal cultures to express cultural traditions, values, and philosophies.

“I was standing on the highest mountain of them all, and round about beneath me was the whole hoop of the world. And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner the shapes of all things in the spirit, and the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being. And I saw that the sacred hoop of my people was one of many hoops that made one circle, wide as daylight and as starlight, and in the centre grew one mighty flowering tree to shelter all the children of one mother and father. And I saw that it was holy.”⁹

The sacred circle described by Black Elk is a cultural symbol among many Native American cultures as well as other indigenous cultures around the world. Pagan religions often depended on ritual to ensure the effectiveness of cosmic places, founded on the belief in the cosmos as the source of transcendental order. In Anishinabeg religion, the sun and the moon are seen as part of a perpetual love affair between the feminine (Mother Earth) and masculine (Father Sky) elements of the Creation.¹⁰ The Anishinabeg were the children of this cosmic union and were cared for by their generous mother. The powwow remains a ceremony to rejoice and honour the blessings bestowed upon them by Mother Earth, and the grounds embody the transcendental order of their worldview.

The circular form of the powwow grounds in M’Chigeeng is achieved by a series of concentric rings of log columns planted in the ground. At the centre of the grounds are eight wooden posts that enclose a lone cedar tree. These columns symbolize four of the six cardinal directions in Anishinabeg culture that will be discussed later. At the base of the eight posts is a small structure measuring approximately thirty feet in diameter. This structure is known as the drum arbour, and is where singers and drummers are situated during the powwow ceremony.¹¹ The space

Figure 1.2 – The Sacred Tree

Figure 1.3 – Powwow Grounds, M'Chigeeng F.N.

outside the drum arbour is reserved for dancers who pass around the arbour in a clockwise rotation. The dance area is nearly one hundred feet in diameter with two outer rings of columns accommodating seating for spectators. The outer rings are interrupted by four openings that correspond to the cardinal orientations.¹² The eastern and western openings are slightly larger than those on the North and South. Since the East, or *waabnong*, symbolizes the direction from which light enters the world, it is understood as the path of enlightenment.¹³ The Anishinabeg and many other Native American peoples thus emphasize the eastern entrance tradition. It is simply not conceivable to organize a powwow space in such a manner that does not acknowledge the eastern entrance.

Outside the dance arena is an area where vendors set up booths and where visitors set up camp for the duration of the powwow weekend. The spatial arrangement of the powwow grounds sets up a passage from the outer circle towards the inner circle. This passage towards the central circle is an important part of the grounds design, as it symbolizes the journey towards cultural understanding for both aboriginal and non-aboriginal people. This path is a fundamental principle that any powwow space, urban or non-urban, must recognize.

Figure 1.4 – Ceremonial Lodge

Figure 1.5 – Lodge Sketch

To the east of the dance arena is a small pavilion that houses the sacred fire. The octagonal structure is roughly sixteen feet in diameter with wooden benches lining the edge of the fire pit.¹⁴ The structure is used regularly by local residents for ceremonial purposes, but during the powwow it is a space of offerings, prayers, pipe ceremonies, and purification rituals. Following the three-day annual powwow, this small pavilion remains a ceremonial space for the community's use throughout the year. The powwow ceremony and its spaces are therefore not merely part of an ephemeral event but rather continue to serve the community by their architectural presence.

1.2 *The Jiingtamok*

Prior to colonization, aboriginal people had no formal writing system. Therefore, tribal customs were passed on from one generation to another through narrative, song, place names, and rites performed during religious ceremonies. By means of an oral tradition, the people have an account of their genesis, their territory, and their arrival at a particular place. Knowing this about themselves and their homeland, the people maintain a sense of place and certain rights to sacred places and ceremonies. The powwow grounds of M'Chigeeng represent such a sacred place and like all things in Anishinabeg

culture, the powwow can be explained through oral tradition. The recurring theme about the role of stories in Native knowledge construction is reiterated in Thomas King's The Truth about Stories: "the truth about stories is that that's all we are."¹⁵ King emphasizes the role of oral tradition in Native American cultures, and describes how if one seeks to understand how something came into being – the answers are often revealed through oral tradition.

On October 8th, 2003, the Director of Cultural Events at the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation in M'Chigeeng sat down with me in his office to explain the oral tradition of his people's powwow, referred to as – the *Jiingtamok*.

Figure 1.6– The Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, M'Chigeeng F. N.

"Powwow is the White man's term for it; we call it the *Jiingtamok*. The *Jiingtamok* can be roughly translated as – a bending or bouncing knee in motion. It was a gathering where our people would come together and establish friendships, ties, and marriages. Our people were nomadic and would spread to the wind in different directions to our territories and during the summer months we would come together when these events were held."¹⁶

The Anishinabeg of Manitoulin associate the modern powwow with their oral tradition of the ancient *Jiingtamok* ceremony.¹⁷ The ceremony involved a gathering with feasting, dancing, singing, and give-aways, all of which are still common practices in the modern powwow. The Director of Cultural Activities explained that the *Jiingtamok* would have been held at a particular site, familiar to all tribes. There on consecrated grounds, interaction took place in a neutral space where all hostilities were to be put aside. During ancient *Jiingtamok* ceremonies, tribes all over Manitoulin traveled over

great distances of land and water before arriving at the sacred site. Sacred places on Manitoulin Island have influenced the lives of the Anishinabeg for hundreds of years. Anthropologist Frederick W. Waugh documented the cultural importance of sacred places in his following account of an Ojibwe healer's practices on Manitoulin in the early twentieth century.

“Medicine was frequently selected as a result of dreams. The particular place experienced in the dream signified where the plants will be taken from no matter how far the healer must travel. Only the plant in the particular place experienced in the dream, could harness the medicinal properties needed.”¹⁸

Manitoulin Island represents a vast network of sacred places, reflected in the place names used by the Anishinabeg for sites over the entire island. The island's sacred quality is reflected in the name “Manitoulin” which means “where the Great Spirit (*Kitche Manito*) dwells.”¹⁹ Like many Native American groups, the Anishinabeg embrace spatial conceptions of history in which places and their names are accorded central importance.

*Place Names of Manitoulin Island*²⁰

<u>Ojibwe (Anglophone Names)</u>	<u>Translations</u>
<i>Bebekodawangog</i> (Providence Bay)	- Where sand curves around the water
<i>Kagawong</i>	- Where mists rise from the falling waters
<i>Manitowaning</i>	- Den of Kitche Manito
<i>M'Chigeeng</i>	- Surrounded by stepped cliffs
<i>Mindemoya</i>	- The old woman
<i>Pushkdinong</i> (Gore Bay)	- The barren hill
<i>Sagradawong</i> (Southbay Mouth)	- The outlet
<i>Sheguiandah</i>	- Bay of gray slate
<i>Sheshegwaning</i>	- Place of rattlesnakes
<i>Tabikiwikwet</i> (Spring Bay)	- Cold water
<i>Tehkummak</i>	- Rays of light flashing in the sky
<i>Waiebegewung</i> (Little Current)	- Where the waters flow
<i>Wikwemikong</i>	- Bay of beavers

Figure 1.7 – Place Names of Manitoulin Island

Place names often describe the physical characteristics of a place, either as it is now, or as it was in the past. In this manner, place names provided a spoken picture of the landscape and became a method of mapping it. The place name of Little Current, for example, derived from the Ojibwe term *Waiebegewung*, concerns the current of the North Channel of Lake Huron right where that channel, which is miles wide, is narrowed down by the Goat and LaCloche Islands to a width of only a few hundred yards. The current through the channel is affected by the prevailing winds and changes from an easterly current, to a westerly one. Sometimes there is no apparent current at all, hence the appellation Little Current.²¹ Place names record moments in time when the Anishinabeg's ancestors first arrived on the island. To revisit these sites and speak their names is thus to walk through the footsteps of their ancestors.²² The ancestral migrations of the Anishinabeg are recorded in the place names of Manitoulin Island. The ancient migrations during the Jiingtamok era are similar in relation to those that take place at modern ceremonies. The contemporary powwow, in its traditional setting of a reserve,

remains a gathering of multiple aboriginal nations, involving people from all over North America. As will be discussed in chapter three, the same can be said of urban powwows – Ottawa’s among them – which attract large numbers of aboriginal people.

1.3 *Sacred Migrations and Architectural Beginnings*

“A myth is to a culture what a dream is to an individual. It is a projection of the relationship between a people, their past, and their environment. A myth is a reflection of a culture’s soul, its inner most sense of itself.”²³

Migrations are not only memorialized in place names but are also recorded in mythology and oral tradition. The creation myth is perhaps the most important myth in any culture because it is the exemplary model that all others tend to follow. Creation or origin myths recount how the world was formed and how things came to be, and, contained within these myths, are relationships that help to define the nature of the universe. Origin myths among the Anishinabeg speak of circumscribed geographical boundaries – earthly and supernatural – with which they associate themselves.²⁴ The following is an origin myth recounted during an elder’s council by an Odawa elder, Gray Squirrel, of Manitoulin Island in 1993.

Ki-je – Prefix meaning “Great”

Makinaak – Snapping Turtle

Gan – Waters

A-ki – Earth

Megis – Shells with powerful attributes

“Our ancestors, the Anishinabeg, originally lived along the Atlantic coast, and they migrated westward in search of Turtle Island, populating the land along the way. The search for Turtle Island began with the stage of creation when *Ki-je Makinaak* repeatedly dove into the *Ki-je Gan* searching, and finally emerged with *megis*. From these shells *A-ki* emerged, who *Ki-je Makinaak* then carried on his back, making a place for the Anishinabeg to live. The ancestors, searching for their sacred central island, or place, migrated westward, carrying *Ki-je Makinaak*’s gift of *megis* for guidance and safety.”²⁵

The Odawa origin myth told by Gray Squirrel bears a striking resemblance to many other earth-diver mythologies.²⁶ The Anishinabeg version however stresses a sacred migration in which they sought out Turtle Island. The Anishinabeg understand either Makinaak Island or Manitoulin Island as the sacred island that their ancestors came to arrive upon.²⁷ Their arrival to this sacred island and the origin myths that recount this arrival, play an important role in the construction of ceremonial structures. Before construction, an origin myth is recounted on the site, and in some instances the buildings themselves celebrate origin migrations. This idea of sacred migration before architectural construction is a central one and, it will be argued later on in this thesis, reappears in the case of the urban powwow. The greatest ritual settings of the Great Lakes people were the ceremonial structures built by the Midewiwin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These structures often involved the celebration of origin migrations during the public rite ceremony.²⁸

1.4 *Midewiwin Structures*

Midewiwin societies were groups of specially trained shamans that migrated across Ojibwe territories around the western Great Lakes. Recent investigations among the Anishinabeg found that the traditions and practices pertaining to the Midewiwin prevailed on Manitoulin Island by the 1860s.²⁹ Although records of French missionaries do not mention the Midewiwin, they do site the presence of what they refer to as *jongleurs* or *sorcières*, that are now understood to be Midewiwin priests.³⁰ Midewiwin

societies used several different structures including the shaking or conjuring tent, the preparatory lodge, and the public rite lodge.

Figure 1.8 –
Shaking tent axo

Figure 1.9 –
Shaking tent and
Midewiwin priest

The shaking tent was the smallest Midewiwin structure, used by individual priests when traveling alone. The tent, that the shaman entered, was made using a small sapling frame and was covered with bark or canvas. The floor of the tent was softened with the use of freshly cut spruce boughs.³¹ Midewiwin priests also used a preparatory lodge similar to wigwams when preparing ailing patients for the public rite ceremony. The shaking tent and preparatory lodge were used for rituals performed in secrecy but the

largest structure – known as the Midewiwin lodge or *Midewigaan* – was built specifically for the public rite ceremony.³²

The head priest directed the construction of the lodge while the Midewiwin women harvested the building materials according to ritualistic instructions.

Figure 1.10 – Preparatory Lodge

Ash poles were harvested for the barrel-roofed frames that often extended a hundred feet or more in length. The base of the frame was sheathed with boughs, mats, or bark to a height of about three feet. The height of the sheathing allowed for an unobstructed view of the proceedings inside the lodge. The interior periphery was lined with mats or animal hides where spectators sat during the ceremony. Along the central axis of the oblong structure stood a series of sacred poles (*Midewautik*) cut from live cedars. The number of poles often varied from one region to another.³³ The poles were carved with ritual symbols and typically held a symbolic bird on top; some also bore shells or white dots. These sacred poles were erected at the beginning of the public rite and taken back down after the ceremony was over.

One rite during the ceremony involved a procession with the entire group that wove around the sacred poles, symbolizing origin migrations. The cedar posts used for the lodge are what religious historian Mircea Eliade refers to as the “axis mundi.”

Figure 1.11 – Midewiwin Lodge Structure (note – the sacred pole at the centre)

“To understand the symbolism of sacred spaces, is, above all, to understand the religious value of space. Such symbolisms, such rituals, transform

space in which is inscribed a temple or a palace simultaneously into an imago mundi and into a Centre-of-the-World.”³⁴

Eliade states in his book Symbolism, the Sacred, and the Arts that “sacred space constitutes itself following a rupture of levels which make possible the communication with the trans-world, transcendent realities.”³⁵ The axis mundi or “centre-of-the-world” thus constitutes itself when a rupture exists between the three cosmic zones – generally heaven, earth, and the underground. The role of sacred architecture is to give this rupture and its reconciliation a physical form. In Anishinabeg culture, the axis mundi often takes the form of a tree, post, or sky hole (oculus) – symbolizing the convergence of the six cardinal directions of – North, East, South, West, Zenith, and Nadir. The axis mundi was a primary architectural device of the Midewiwin lodge as it allowed for the communication with the transcendental world. Indeed, in Midewiwin societies, curing was not possible without architecture as it was architecture that allowed priests to contact manito spirits and harness their healing powers. The significance of architecture in the lives of the Midewiwin is evident in the pictographs contained in sacred birch bark scrolls carried by the high priests. These scrolls were used to record mystical songs and ceremonies. The scrolls also depicted the initiation process of priesthood as a series of

Figure 1.12 – Birch Bark Scroll of the Midewiwin

movements through four sacred lodges. It should be noted however that, as Ruth Landes stated in Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin, “the specific bearing of any pictograph in a mystic song or other notation was the secret of the shaman who wrote it.”³⁶

The Midewiwin societies are not directly linked to the powwow ritual but as we’ll see, the Midewiwin did influence the architectural changes that lead to the modern powwow grounds. The Midewiwin lodge represents a time when ceremonial buildings had a traditional form and function, a time when public structures were built specifically for ritual activities and a time when the Anishinabeg could express their culture freely.

During the nineteenth century, Christian groups aware of Midewiwin ceremonies exerted mounting pressure on the Anishinabeg to abandon their traditional beliefs. This is why aboriginal ceremonies like the Midewiwin either vanished or went underground. By the turn of twentieth century the Midewiwin societies would be replaced by a new ceremony, this one veiled in secrecy.

Chapter Two – Changes to Anishinabeg Ceremonial Architecture

In 1837, Manitoulin Island became the first designated Indian reserve of Upper Canada. The reserve followed the Crown's decision to begin the removal and concentration program under which all aboriginal tribes in southern Ontario were to be relocated to Manitoulin as part of a resolution to the "Indian problem."³⁷ The concentration program stressed the need for a united front and it was during this period that the Anishinabeg confederacy was formed between the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and the Odawa. The new confederacy allowed for the combination of all three tribes' ceremonies, and by the end of the nineteenth century the Ojibwe and the Potawatomi brought with them a new ceremony – the Drum Dance.

2.1 The Adoption of the Drum Dance Ceremony

Figure 2.1 – Drum Dance Ceremony (note – in the upper left hand corner, outside the fence, is a the frame of a Midewiwin Lodge)

Midewiwin and early Drum Dance societies among the Ojibwe were closely related during the 1880s, with members belonging to both societies.³⁸ Drum Dance societies evolved from the Grass Dance societies of the Plains people and were similar in structure with drum keepers, female and male singers, pipe lighters, heralds, and waiters. The Drum Dance

ceremony was purchased or traded from one tribe to another when someone was selected or expressed interest in becoming a drum owner.³⁹ The Grass Dance drum was much larger than the traditional hand held drums of the Ojibwe. The larger drum came to occupy a central position in Ojibwe ceremonialism by the end of the nineteenth century. The adoption of the Drum Dance ceremony also involved the re-creation of ceremonial spaces on reserves.

Figure 2.2 – Drum Dance Enclosure

Figure 2.3 – Illustration of Drum Dance Enclosure

The open-air enclosures for the Drum Dance ceremony may have occurred during the transitional period when the Midewiwin began to form Drum societies. The early Drum Dance ceremonies were performed over a period of four days in outdoor enclosures similar to contemporary powwow grounds. The grounds measured anywhere from thirty to eighty feet in diameter and their circular enclosure was achieved with the use of earth embankments, logs, or fences. The outer walls often stretched to heights of six feet or more, demonstrating the desire to veil the ceremony from outsiders. The entrance to the grounds was set in the traditional eastern orientation. Individuals known as gatekeepers used large logs to block the entrance and exit once the ceremony began. Photographs and sketches of Drum Dance enclosures recorded by anthropologists at the

Figure 2.4 – Ceremonial drum

end of the nineteenth century do not contain any formal representation of an axis mundi, however these depictions show a drum placed at the centre of the dance arena and hung from four feathered staffs representing the cardinal directions of North, East, South, and West. The drum, sacred in quality and believed to possess spiritual powers, became the central focus of the

ceremony and was personified as a member of the society. The instrument was cared for, fed, smudged, and dressed.⁴⁰ The drum could very well symbolize the remaining two cardinal directions of the Zenith (heavens) and Nadir (underworld). The Drum Dance ceremony celebrated all four seasons; when migration patterns changed, an indoor space became necessary for the winter months. The latter took the form of the Drum Dance lodge. The Drum Dance enclosures veiled ceremonial activity and architectural renewal allowed a means for cultural reconciliation. This reconciliation with cultural environments will present itself again later in the study of the urban environment.

2.2 *Medicine Shows*

During the 1890s the Drum Dance ceremony was being practiced on reserves, but aboriginal rituals surfaced in cities as well. From the post-Civil War era until the beginning of World War I, medicine shows involving ‘real live Indians,’ toured North America.⁴¹ The Buffalo Bill Wild West and Pawnee Bill medicine shows notably gave non-aboriginal people the opportunity to observe traditional dances and songs. At the

same time, these shows provided an opportunity for aboriginal people to perform rituals outside the confines of reserves without scrutiny.

“White audiences developed intense curiosity about Indian cultures and flocked to see these colorful theatricals before the “vanishing” Indians vanished permanently.”⁴²

The term powwow was adopted sometime during the course of these medicine shows and is thought to be an appropriation of the Algonquian Naragansett words, *pau wau* meaning – “he/she dreams.”⁴³ The term was used to describe specific ritual actions that took place during healing ceremonies. Folk-healers from European societies appropriated the term *pau wau* to describe the use of herbal remedies and individuals traveling in medicine shows became known as powwow doctors. As these medicine shows treated audiences to an exhibition of war dances, spectators little by little began to associate the dances with the term powwow.

Aboriginal performers in the medicine shows were often famous aboriginal warriors from tribes in the United States, Sitting Bull and Black Elk being the two most prominent among them. These shows became synonymous with aboriginal warriors, who developed “Fancy War Dances” based on audience demand.⁴⁴ Fancy War Dances had not previously existed as a traditional Native American dance styles. The traveling medicine shows represent an important part of the powwow’s history because they marked the beginning of aboriginal rituals performed outside sacred spaces. Since that time, aboriginal rituals have no longer been restricted to reserves or sacred places. Yet, while these shows were taking place in cities across North America, a new form of Anishinabeg ceremonial architecture emerged on the reserves.

2.3 The Drum Dance Lodge

Towards the turn of the twentieth century the Drum Dance ceremony became common among many Ojibwe bands to the west of the Great Lakes.

The Drum Dance lodge was modeled after the Grass Dance house of the Sioux and was generally four, six, or eight-sided. ⁴⁵ Depending on the region, the structure was enclosed with a pitched or cone shaped roof and in some instances

Figure 2.5 – Sioux Grass Dance house

Figure 2.6 – Drum Dance lodge under construction

remained open to the sky. The eastern entrance is again a consistent design component. Inside the lodge, four large columns – painted according to sacred colours associated with the cardinal directions – supported the roof. In between the walls of the building and the four cardinal columns stood another series of smaller columns where spectators sat. As in the outdoor Drum Dance ceremony, the drum was placed directly at the centre of the lodge. Drum groups were arranged in a clockwise order of tribal seniority and wooden benches lined the walls around an earthen floor, beaten hard from dancing feet.

The Drum Dance lodge underwent certain architectural transitions over the years. In the later half of the nineteenth century Manitoulin Island saw a substantial growth in non-aboriginal population resulting from the newly built saw mills and blacksmith shops. ⁴⁶ The lodges began to include more modern building materials. Sheathing

materials changed from traditional vernacular materials to milled timber, and a central turret

Figure 2.7 – Ojibwe Drum Dance Lodge

perforated with small openings for light became a common design element of Ojibwe Drum Dance lodges. The lodge was a permanent structure on reserves but it in some instances was disassembled and relocated to another site. In the 1930s, Ernie St. Germaine observed the seasonal migrations that took place between the lodge and the outdoor dance areas by residents of Lac du Flambeau in Wisconsin.

“After sugar making in the spring, Lac du Flambeau residents living near the dance hall would move to the powwow grounds, where they would set up wigwams, which they occupied through the rice harvest. Then they would move back to their homes and use the indoor facility for their dances because it was heated with barrel stoves.”⁴⁷

By the 1940s Ojibwe Drum Dances societies had fallen into a state of decline. Many individuals began leaving reserves and moving into rural areas or cities. Elders reported that their society’s youth expressed little interest in learning traditional activities like the Drum Dance ceremony.⁴⁸ The role of a Drum Dance member – such as a drum keeper – was passed on along family lines and the absence of many youth in communities

led to the dissolution of Drum Dance societies. In some instances the sacred drums of the ceremony were sold to non-aboriginal collectors.⁴⁹ The following account describes the loss of Ojibwe Drum Dance traditions in the 1930s:

“The day that I first learned, I was told the Great Spirit has the power to put tobacco on that Drum... and every Drum should have a tobacco box. Today they make a fool of that Drum. I know it ain’t supposed to be that way. They just make the Drum and pound the hell out of it, no tobacco, no nothing. What happens? A lot of things [it always rains for their dances, for example], but they don’t stop to realize as long as they’re just having fun, that’s all that’s necessary. But I don’t feel that way myself. I walked away from those dances last time for that reason, that’s how much I think of it, and I’ll think of it until my last day on this earth, and that’s why I carry that tobacco with me.”⁵⁰

The Drum Dance ceremonies thus were all but over by the late 1930s and 1940s. Many elders felt saddened by the loss of traditional ceremonies like the Midewiwin and the Drum Dance. However the new powwow ceremony would mark the beginning of a revitalization movement among many aboriginal nations. Although the more modern powwow ceremony would eventually replace the Drum Dance ceremony, the Drum Dance influenced subsequent rituals and ritual spaces deeply.

2.4 *The Emergence of the Contemporary Powwow Grounds*

Throughout history Native American cultures have used architecture to embody mythological or cosmological concepts. Ceremonial structures and spaces encoded not only social order but also tribal views of the cosmos. Some tribes likened the creation of the world itself into the creation of a building, strengthening the metaphoric correspondence between building and cosmos. Therefore aboriginal peoples always held the ritual power to renew their cosmos through rebuilding, remodeling, or reconsecrating their architecture.⁵¹ The rebuilding of ceremonial spaces can be understood as a

reordering of the world itself. The sequence of Midewiwin lodge, Drum Dance structures, and contemporary powwow grounds, does not merely speak of a recent cultural re-generation movement, but rather, unfolded over hundreds of years in accordance with internal and external social and environmental changes:

“Tribal architecture is responsive as much to the inner environment of cultural presupposition and social interaction as it is to the external environment of wind and weather. This responsiveness makes architecture one of the richest of all human expressions. Most aspects of our existence are played out - and leave behind some sort of trace – in buildings and spaces.”⁵²

The influence of the Drum Dance societies on the contemporary powwow grounds is visible in the form of the grounds, still centered and generally configured in a circle. However, contemporary powwow grounds also represent a resurgence of an important cultural aspect of the Midewiwin era. Indeed, modern powwow grounds symbolize the reestablishment of public spaces of worship in aboriginal communities. Many aboriginal communities are reclaiming traditional ceremonial buildings, including powwow grounds. Each year, a growing number of aboriginal communities are hosting powwows, knowing that the ceremony can revitalize traditions of song and dance, as well as provide economic benefits.

The powwow grounds of M’Chigeeng were built sometime in the 1980s, fashioned after the older Wikwimikong grounds of the 1950s. The grounds represent the return of more traditional architectural symbolism, and express a desire to balance traditions with contemporary life. The grounds were built using traditional vernacular materials and techniques, but also integrate more modern manufactured materials that include shingles and milled lumber. In the 1990s a structure was added to the grounds of

M'Chigeeng for the powwow feast, built entirely from modern materials, including pre-engineered trusses, lumber, and concrete.

Figure 2.8 – Sacred Tree

The methods used to build the grounds have also retained traditional building practices. For example, the selection of the sacred tree was the very first act of construction. An Anishinabeg elder in the community selected the sacred tree that may have been experienced in visions or dreams. The trees harvested for columns were prayed for and blessed once the structure was completed.⁵³ The grounds of M'Chigeeng like the Midewiwin lodge were built for in relation to ritual activities. The sacred tree at the centre of the powwow grounds and the sky-hole positioned above the sacred fire has returned to more traditional representations of the axis mundi. The adherence to an eastern entrance and a western exit is also a primary component of the grounds that has been retained over the years. But perhaps the most evident transformation of the powwow grounds since the time of the Drum Dance ceremony has been its un-concealed spatial character. Unlike the Midewiwin lodge that was built specifically for the public rite, the Drum Dance enclosures and lodges adapted to accommodate a need for secrecy. In contrast, contemporary powwow grounds have reestablished themselves as an open public space of worship in aboriginal communities.

Figure 2.9 – Sky-hole above the Sacred Fire, M'Chigeeng F.N.

Figure 2.10 - Powwow, Victoria B.C.

Figure 2.11 – Recently constructed powwow grounds at Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan.

Chapter Three – The Urban Powwow

As discussed previously, the traveling Medicine shows during the first half of the twentieth century had a significant impact on current urban powwows. The medicine shows displaced aboriginal rituals from sacred spaces to secular environments. Urban powwow ceremonies are often held in spaces with little or no reference to aboriginal culture. However, the urban powwow has developed the ability to recognize and transform these secular spaces in the urban environment. The powwow ritual has undergone substantial transformations over the past century that shed light on cultural changes that continue to affect aboriginal peoples. In attempting to design a new urban powwow space, I felt it was important to understand how the urban powwow has changed in response to issues affecting the urban aboriginal community of Ottawa.

3.1 Changes to the Anishinabeg Powwow Ceremony

When Anishinabeg ceremonies were lost or forfeited under pressures of acculturation, the ceremonial practices of other Native American tribes were acquired by purchase or through trade. The Drum Dance ceremony associated with the Grass Dance societies made its way across the Plains and as far as the Pacific Ocean. The exchange of

Figure 3.1 – Powwow child

ceremonies between the Anishinabeg and other tribes, coupled with the application of their own customs has always allowed for ceremonial renewal. Intertribal associations have long been part of the powwow ritual,

where aboriginal people of all nations come together and celebrate a common ethnic identity. Dancing in a great circle, they unite as one people to the beat of the drum.

Figure 3.2 – Odawa Host Drum

Figure 3.3 – Odawa Drum

By the twentieth century the Drum Dance ceremony had spread throughout the interior of Canada and the United States. The popularity of the ceremony would be overshadowed by the contemporary powwow that is now practiced all over North America, including Mexico. The modern ceremony has adopted practices affiliated with the nineteenth century Drum Dance ceremony. The larger drum of the Drum Dance ceremony has become the central instrument of Anishinabeg powwows, however traditional hand held drums are still used by female singers. The inclusion of American and Canadian flags during Anishinabeg ceremonies were also first adopted during the Drum Dance era. Flag bearers tended the flags at the entrance of both the Drum Dance lodge and the outdoor arenas and these duties continue during current powwow processions.⁵⁴ One of the more distinguishing developments of the modern powwow followed World War II when the ritual became a living monument of aboriginal veterans.⁵⁵ The procession of the powwow - known as the Grand Entry - placed a Head Veteran at the forefront. At the beginning of the ceremony during the honour song, the

Head Veteran leads dancers around the circle followed by other aboriginal veterans and their families. If at any time during the powwow an eagle feather falls from a dancer's regalia, the dance is stopped and the Head Veteran is called upon. The feather represents a fallen warrior and an honour song is sung while aboriginal veterans dance around and retrieve the sacred feather.

Figure 3.4 – National
Aboriginal Veterans
Monument

Figure 3.5 – Dancer's Bustle

The contemporary powwow currently has two predominant types – traditional and competitive. With little employment available on reserves, the powwow became a necessary means of income for many aboriginal singers, dancers, and vendors. Competitive powwows are events where dancers and singers compete for cash prizes. This competition is sometimes viewed as negative among traditionalists but many aboriginal people have come to depend on the powwow circuit as a source of income. The powwow trail is a circuit of events held over the course of a year, spanning across Canada and the United States.⁵⁶ The circuit composed primarily of competitive events has bridged the gap between reserves and the urban environment. As part of the powwow circuit, urban powwows share a bond with reserves, one that connects and reunites bands with urban aboriginal communities.⁵⁷ Aboriginal youth often travel to reserves

over the course of the powwow season (April to October) and there they experience traditional ceremonial environments.

3.2 *Urban Powwow Spaces*

Figure 3.6 – Urban powwow in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1998

Figure 3.7 – Odawa Winter Powwow, Odawa Native Friendship Centre, 2004

Following World War II the contemporary powwow grounds emerged as a predominant powwow space on reserves. However, in the city the powwows have been placed into foreign settings. Urban powwows are typically held in secular spaces that include large outdoor expanses of land, arenas, gymnasiums, and community halls. Currently many Native American student associations at Canadian universities host annual powwows on urban campuses. University events during the summer are practiced in outdoor parks or squares, but if weather does not permit, the ceremony is usually moved into gymnasiums. The gymnasium has become a popular home of urban powwows. The growing popularity of urban powwows can be attributed to patterns of aboriginal migration from reserves and rural areas into the city. Since the 1970s there has been substantial growth in the number of aboriginal people in the urban environment.⁵⁸ Recent migrants tend to seek out other compatriots in an attempt to re-establish the old

culture in a new setting. The establishment of an urban aboriginal community involves the unification of various aboriginal people, no matter what their tribal status. Being a part of that community can ease in the adjustment to the urban setting and reinforce a sense of aboriginal identity. Among anthropologists this unity of various tribal peoples, referred to as Pan-Indianism, is operative in the adaptation to metropolitan areas:

“An awakened pan-Indianism... often becomes an additional dimension to, and sometimes a substitute for... tribal affiliations. Although only one-fifth of our respondents are socially active in pan-Indian associations, the great majority of Indians in the city clearly are ideologically and emotionally affiliated with pan-Indianism. Pan-Indianism thus seems to emerge as a stabilizing element – and perhaps a permanent part – of the adaptation of the Indian migrant to the metropolitan areas, and a significant facet of the ethnic diversity of the American city.”⁵⁹

The adaptation and retention of ceremonial architecture on reserves has ensured a continuing architectural role in relation to the powwow ritual. Traditional methods of building ceremonial spaces on reserves that relate to aboriginal rituals can no longer exist outside the boundaries of reserves. In the city, the urban powwow has remained essentially transient as it searches to establish itself in the urban environment.

3.3 The Odawa Native Friendship Centre

In 1968 Edith Whetung, Francis Backarytz, and Father James Whalen recognized the need to provide assistance to aboriginal migrants to the Ottawa area as their numbers grew larger. As a result, the Odawa Native Friendship Centre was opened to the public on August 19th, 1975.⁶⁰ The Friendship Centre, as the name suggests, allows recent aboriginal migrants to join with one another and ultimately form bonds. This non-profit organization thus aims to reinforce traditional aboriginal teachings in the city as well as

provide a greater awareness of aboriginal culture among non-aboriginal people (Appendix A). In the summer of 1976, the first annual Odawa powwow was held. This ceremony also sought to reinforce aboriginal cultural development, but perhaps more importantly, it has become a cultural event upon which the urban aboriginal community builds itself. The desire to include non-aboriginal visitors and participants during powwows is a relatively new development and has become intensified in the city.

“The first Odawa Powwow was held shortly after the founding of the Odawa Friendship Centre. Back then, the small but dedicated membership of the newly formed group, wanted to create an event that reflected the culture of its diverse aboriginal community, while reviving the traditional economy of barter and trade, that the region was known for historically. The group also wanted to find a way to bridge the cultural gap between the aboriginal and non-aboriginal community.”⁶¹

In May of 2004, I attended my first urban summer powwow at the Nepean Tent and Trailer Park, situated about 15km west of Ottawa. The event was the twenty-eighth annual summer powwow held by the Odawa Native Friendship Centre. Many individuals had descended upon the campground and set up for the duration of the ceremony. The powwow attracted upwards of eighteen thousand people. Many of the dancers, singers, vendors, and guests had traveled over great distances to attend this event. One group had traveled from as far as Arizona and after speaking with several vendors, I realized that a significant portion came from the nearby reserves of Kitigan Zibi, Akwesasne, Kahnawake, and Kanesatake.⁶² The event I attended represents one of many stops on the powwow trail that connect urban powwows with ones held on reserves. The urban powwow ceremony thus emerges as a connective tissue that unites the urban aboriginal community with surrounding reserves and beyond.

Figure 3.8 – The Odawa Summer Powwow, Nepean Ontario 2004

The summer Odawa powwow shared many similarities with other powwows I had attended as a child on Manitoulin, with one profound exception. The spatial setting bore none of the characteristics of traditional powwow spaces. The event was held outdoors in an urban campground. Snow fencing was used to roughly outline a circular enclosure similar to traditional powwow grounds. Vendors selling crafts and aboriginal foods were arranged around the exterior of the dance circle. The entrance of the grounds was in the customary eastern position but aside from the entrance the powwow space had none of the architectural symbolism found on Anishinabeg reserves. There was no formal representation of an axis mundi. The space appeared to be disassociated from the traditional architectural symbolism of the Anishinabeg. The disassociation between the ceremony and its spaces is a reoccurring affliction of urban powwows, as I discovered when I visited the other powwow hosted by the Odawa Native Friendship Centre. Over the past nine years the centre has also organized an annual traditional winter powwow. Like the Ojibwe Drum Dance ceremony, the urban Odawa powwow required an indoor space to accommodate the ceremony throughout all four seasons. This became possible when the organization leased the former St. Joseph's Elementary School built by the Ottawa Catholic School Board in 1933 (see Appendix E, drawings of existing building).

Figure 3.9 – The existing Odawa Native Friendship Centre

Figure 3.10 – Level 1 Floor Plan of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre:
Ceremonial organization of the building during the powwow ceremony

In December 2003, I attended the eighth annual traditional winter powwow held inside this building. When I entered the building I recognized the aroma of sweetgrass

and sage in the air.⁶³ Vendors lined either side of the central corridor of the building and at the end of the hallway was the gymnasium where the powwow ceremony was being held. Inside, drummers and singers were situated at the centre of the rectangular dance floor and along all four walls of the gym were chairs set out for spectators (Figure 3.10). Aside from similarities in organization and procession, the winter powwow appeared to be quite different from traditional ones. The inclusion of a round of musical chairs was something that I had never experienced before at a powwow. Although it was held in an apparent secular environment, I experienced an aura of sacredness.

“Many Anishinabeg, especially those on Canadian reserves, still speak their native language and participate in traditional religious observances such as the ceremonies of the Midewiwin Lodge. In their worldview, religion and spirituality are not separate from the business of everyday life, and activities cannot necessarily be conceptualized within the Western binary of sacred and secular. Therefore, traditional dance and music, even when performed at large, competitive powwows for a non-Indian audience, can still exist within the realm of the spiritual or sacred. It often seems as if Indian participants move in a reality set off from non-Indian observers, who tend to perceive a powwow as a combination carnival and sporting event. These differing sensibilities enable Indians to perform dances that, although in a commercial setting, have profound spiritual meaning for them.”⁶⁴

Figure 3.11 – Odawa
Native Friendship
Centre gymnasium,
December 2003

In the most prosaic of settings, a former Catholic school gymnasium, I came to view the urban powwow as a ritual that had the ability to activate inert or secular spaces and transform them into sacred ones. The ritual arguably never truly takes place in a secular environment because once the circle is formed and an elder has blessed the space – it becomes a sacred one. The urban powwow space can exist as sacred even in spaces that have little or no reference to aboriginal culture. However I realized that while the gymnasium of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre could be a sacred space, I desired to reestablish more traditional architectural symbolism found on Anishinabeg reserves. In addition and perhaps more importantly, the redesign of the urban powwow space at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre can respond to the concerns, aims, and goals of the aboriginal community of Ottawa.

Figure 3.12 – Traditional dancer, Odawa Native Friendship Centre's eighth annual winter powwow, 2003

Figure 3.13 – Traditional Dancer, Odawa Native Friendship Centre's eighth annual winter powwow, 2003

3.4 *Aboriginal Responses to the Urban Environment*

At present, nearly forty percent of all aboriginal people in Canada are living within urban centres.⁶⁵ This thesis considers some of the ways in which Native Americans have been influenced by, and have made adjustments to urbanizing processes. The focus on urban aboriginal issues has sharpened in recent years. The internal migration of more and more individuals from reserves demands attention be given to the urban environment. The inclusion of aboriginal culture can contribute immensely to the cultural richness of our cities. Aboriginal individuals' transitions into urban settings are often complicated, but the issue of aboriginal identity in the city has recently been brought forward by Michael Awad in an article published in *The Canadian Architect*:

“Unlike immigrant groups from countries such as Italy, China, and India, Aboriginal peoples are not arriving from other urbanized centres. All these previously urbanized cultures arrived pre-equipped with techniques to appropriate urbanity into their own image. Commercial activity often provides the physical focus around which a community could establish itself. Unfortunately, unlike most ethnic cultures, Native culture until recently had no tradition of commercial activity. Therefore, it must develop economic interests and rely on cultural activities around which to build a community identity.”⁶⁶

The issue of cultural identity is extremely important, as many aboriginal people currently live in cities with only tenuous ties to a reserve or nation.⁶⁷ Many individuals no longer speak their Native language, and are often ostracized when visiting reserves. Therefore it is extremely important that aboriginal people living in the city develop a communal identity. Both the summer and winter powwows hosted by the Odawa Native Friendship Centre are examples of cultural activities around which the Ottawa aboriginal community is establishing itself. The powwow reinforces aboriginal culture in the city and encourages cultural awareness among others.

In 1981, the provincial government of Ontario commissioned a Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting (Appendix B) to determine the effects of urbanization and assess desires for change. The final report cited the desire for cultural awareness as the second most pressing priority. The survey lists cultural awareness pertaining to the desire for the continuation of traditional ceremonies (powwows), native crafts, drumming, dancing, singing, language classes, preparation of traditional foods, and spiritual consultation. The report also stresses a desire for an awareness of aboriginal culture among non-aboriginal people. Almost eighty percent of individuals who participated in questionnaires included in the report felt that many people have a negative view of aboriginal peoples, and that non-aboriginal people should reflect an awareness and sensitivity towards aboriginal traditions.⁶⁸ The Odawa Native Friendship Centre continues to address these concerns through cultural activities – like powwows – and a wide variety of other cultural programs. The centre also provides drum making classes, aboriginal arts and crafts, dancing and singing instruction, and spiritual consultation. In turn, since the centre's opening, new programs have been established including family support, pre-natal nutrition, early parenting support, home childcare, life long care, employment referral/training, a youth centre, and computer classes. In recent months the Odawa Native Friendship Centre has been working with the Ottawa Carleton District School Board to establish an urban aboriginal alternate high school program.⁶⁹ Finally, the non-profit organization also continues to work towards cultural awareness among non-aboriginal cultures in the city of Ottawa and membership is open to any individual interested in joining.

The programs offered by the centre have arisen from the needs as discerned by organizers. These programs are in a continual state of realignment with the needs of the aboriginal residents of the Ottawa/Gatineau area. Therefore, I decided to focus on complementing the existing centre through the addition of a more culturally appropriate space for the powwow ceremony. The thesis design of a new urban powwow space at the existing Odawa Native Friendship Centre attempts to address the desire for cultural awareness among non-aboriginal people. The reestablishment of public ceremonial structures (powwow grounds) among aboriginal communities – like M’Chigeeng – has shown the importance placed upon the revitalization of traditional architecture. Yet, as part of the cultural regeneration movement, architecture should not be limited to the confines of reserves and can be reflected in the city as well. The powwow ceremony has spread to all regions of North America and the reestablishment of public ceremonial grounds on reserves should inspire future developments of ceremonial spaces in the city.

Figure 3.14 – Twenty-eighth annual summer Odawa powwow, 2004

Figure 3.15 – Twenty-eighth annual summer Odawa powwow, 2004

Chapter Four – The Odawa Dance Lodge

“No human culture is inaccessible to someone who makes the effort to understand, to learn, to inhabit another world.”⁷⁰

When Ben described the traditional methods of building an Ojibwe canoe, he explained how it was made, why it would have made a good canoe and why it was never finished. Ben’s teachings are not unlike the manner in which I came to understand the traditional powwow grounds of M’Chigeeng First Nation. By way of consultation with the Anishinabeg people of Manitoulin Island, I knew how the grounds came into being, why they were built in the manner they were and now understand why grounds like those of M’Chigeeng only exist on reserves. Traditional grounds are constructed in a manner that demands community involvement and the result is often a central public space on a reserve that is always regarded as sacred in nature. The urban powwow ceremony is not unlike its counterpart on reserves. It is a time when aboriginal people of all nations unite and celebrate a common ethnic identity, a gathering that follows the ceremonial practices of their ancestors. The dynamics of the contemporary Native American powwow – urban or not – remain largely unchanged with the exception of its architecture. The thesis design of an urban powwow space in Ottawa aims to reintroduce aspects of traditional ceremonial spaces into an existing urban condition in relation to organization, symbolism and teaching processes.

4.1 Existing Condition – Site Analysis

Since its founding, the Odawa Friendship Centre has occupied three different locations in Ottawa before moving into its current location on Stirling Avenue in

Figure 4.1 – Odawa Native Friendship Centre.
View from Scott Street looking West

Ottawa's West End in 1996.⁷¹ The transitory existence of the centre in Ottawa has generated a desire for settlement and for this reason, the organization has agreed to a lease-to-own contract for ownership of the building they currently occupy.⁷²

The building has become a home for the Odawa Native Friendship Centre and their arrival at the site coincides with the establishment of two annual urban powwows.

The current location of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre is where both the traditional winter powwow and the children's powwow both originated and currently take place. The building's site is appropriate for both the centre and the urban powwow for a number of reasons. Census reports compiled by Statistics Canada (Appendix C) reveals a concentration of aboriginal residents in the Ottawa area reside in and around the

Figure 4.2 – Site accessibility

downtown area. Accessibility to the site is important because members belonging to the Friendship Centre also include residents from the Gatineau area. Both the Chaudière and Portage bridges are located within a few kilometers of the site and allow for easy access over the Ottawa River. A large

portion of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre's members do not own automobiles, therefore access by way of public transit is also important. The site is accessible by bus along Scott Street and the O-Train is located within walking distance. During the summer many individuals use the bike paths along the Ottawa River to access the site. There are also recreational areas in close proximity to the site, including a small neighbouring park that is utilized by the youth attending the centre. The existing site of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre – established within close proximity to Ottawa's downtown, where a majority of aboriginal citizens reside (see Appendix B) – has become a strong landmark for the urban aboriginal community. With its numerous programs and activities, it is at present a well established center within the Native community of Ottawa. For these reasons among others, I have chosen to embrace the existing urban condition of the Odawa Native Friendship and the former Catholic High School it occupies. This thesis's proposition involves a series of operations upon the existing buildings and the introduction of a dedicated urban powwow space within it. The design of an urban powwow space will often involve existing urban conditions like that of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, hence this proposal for a rehabilitation/ re-use of an existing Friendship Center location aims to set a precedent for urban powwow design.⁷³

The research surrounding the powwow ceremony, the grounds of M'Chigeeng and the traditional ceremonial structures of the Anishinabeg, discussed in the previous chapters, involved more than just an awareness of their architectural history, but their social customs as well. It is important to note that the Anishinabeg people learn a great deal through personal interaction and experience. The Anishinabeg, like many other Native American peoples, embrace the social custom of gift giving or trade, as the value

of trading or gift giving lies not only in the acquisition of goods for oneself, but also in the social interaction that it implies. The custom of reciprocity involving an exchange is one that binds both the giver and receiver. In my view, my involvement with Odawa Native Friendship Centre in Ottawa became part of this cultural custom. The urban powwows held at the centre were ceremonies that the aboriginal community was willing to share with everyone, including myself. The ceremony and the very building that housed them informed me of the very real urban circumstances that aboriginal people are currently encountering. I viewed all of these as gifts – ones that I felt honoured to receive – and the thesis design became one that I could offer in return.

4.2 Existing Alterations

The research of traditional ceremonial structures among the Anishinabeg has demonstrated an ability to adapt and reinvent architecturally in times of cultural transition. The urban powwow has surfaced as part of the cultural baggage of aboriginal migrants to the city and the tradition of adaptation and reinvention in terms of architecture remains a valuable asset in the urban environment. The existing building has been altered a number of times. It was officially renovated when the Odawa Native

Figure 4.3 – Elder's Lodge

Friendship Centre first moved into it, in 1996, to correct accessibility problems, provide additional office space, and make certain allowances for programmatic needs. As I studied the building and its layers of renovations, I became intrigued with the installations done by the organization's members.

The most noticeable addition was the elder's lodge constructed in an old classroom at the southeast end of the building. Whenever possible, elders are brought into the Friendship Centre to share traditional aboriginal teachings. The elder's lodge consists of a sub-floor made of lumber with benches lining the outer edge. An opening at one end allows individuals to enter the tactile space. The lodge contains various pieces of artwork, artifacts, sweetgrass braids and a large depiction of the Sacred Circle at the centre of the sub-floor. The lodge became an area of interest to my thesis design because it was built by a group of members belonging to the Odawa Native Friendship Centre.⁷⁴ Similar to the powwow grounds of M'Chigeeng, this space represented a communalistic approach to building and the lodge reflected the desire of the group to transform the existing building. This desire has manifested itself in other manners as well.

Figure 4.4 - Mural on the northern wall of the existing gymnasium

Upon my first visit to the winter powwow, I noticed the gymnasium that housed the ceremony was adorned with magnificent murals (murals noted in the existing plans, Figure 6.2, Appendix E). A picturesque landscape covered both the North and East walls of the gymnasium, accompanied by a large buffalo painting on the West wall. Further research confirmed that the murals, painted, upon the arrival of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, had been added to in layers, by members and visitors. In 1998, an Aborigine visiting from Australia added the painting of a platypus while explaining the cultural significance of this animal to his people. These murals and the elder's lodge, two

Figure 4.5 – Drum making classes

of many examples of traditional teachings practiced in the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, reveal a process of communal involvement: a leading party demonstrates technique, explains cultural symbolism or significance and allows individuals to engage in the process themselves.

The construction of powwow grounds occurs in much the same way. Instruction on regalia, drum construction, art, basketry and the preparation of traditional foods are all teachings in which individuals – often from reserves – are able to pass on what they've learnt from their forefathers to the youth in a city such as Ottawa. Perhaps one of the greatest examples of this process was when the Friendship Centre invited an Algonquian elder from Kitigan Zibi to demonstrate his skills and knowledge in the tradition of building birch bark canoes. Members of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre were treated to a similar relationship that I had shared with Ben as a child. The elder demonstrated how to harvest the birch bark without damaging the tree, the methods for building the canoe, how to maintain it and all the cultural teachings that Ben offered me so many years ago. Processes such as these, retained throughout the periods leading up to the urban powwow, had a significant influence in the thesis design. My first concern was to explore where I could reintroduce elements of these traditional architectural practices into the new addition.

Figure 4.6 – Birch bark

4.3 The Odawa Dance Lodge

Figure 4.7 – Thesis Proposal

Powwow grounds share a common organizational pattern comprised of vendors, traders, an eastern entrance, spectator galleries, dance area, drum arbour, emcee stage, and a form of an axis mundi. In the thesis design – hereafter referred to as the Odawa Dance Lodge – I have accommodated spaces for all of these programmatic requirements. The thesis proposal retains portions of the existing building with particular attention paid to the gymnasium on the northern portion of the site and the existing parking lot on the western half. Existing building, addition and garden, all come together and attempt to create a more unified experience of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre (see Appendix D, drawings of proposed addition).

The thesis design retains the majority of the eastern façade with the exception of the gymnasium and its adjoining space. The existing entrance located on Stirling Avenue remains intact as it coincides with the tradition of an eastern entrance into the Friendship Centre and recalls the traditional eastern entrance common to all Anishinabeg ceremonial structures. In the adjoining section between the gymnasium and the remainder of the

The research of the traditional ceremonial structures of the Midewiwin Lodge, Dance Drum Lodge and the contemporary powwow grounds among the Anishinabeg has identified certain organization and symbolism that should be considered in the design of an urban powwow space.

Figure 4.8 – Stirling
Avenue elevation (East)

Figure 4.9 – Existing
crucifix, positioned
above the door

Figure 4.10 – Proposed
Ceremonial door in
adjacency space

building I chose to introduce a ceremonial doorway that I envisioned being used solely during the powwow ceremony. The large door is made of wood allowing an individual to potentially apply added cultural symbolism through carving. I chose to retain the existing stone crucifix positioned above the door, as it was an indication of the building's storied past. As the boundaries of powwow grounds are often marked using totem poles, and having witnessed the inner-workings of the Friendship Centre, I attempted to set a stage where the continuation of traditional practices – like totem carving – could be applied. The door is therefore accompanied by a space meant to receive a totem pole.

My own experiences of the powwows hosted by the Odawa Native Friendship Centre powwows have led me to the belief that the ceremony is endowed with the ability to sacralize spaces. Once one enters the sacred circle, it becomes evident that the ceremony is always a sacred event. The environment of a campground or gymnasium does not share the same spatial characteristics of the powwow grounds of M'Chigeeng, however I cannot say that when I entered the dance circle at these venues that the environments remained secular ones. I decided to represent this ritual activation of space when designing the atrium that connects the gymnasium with the existing building. Behind the ceremonial door is a series of storage rooms that open up and create an atrium space. This space allows for the circulation of larger congregations during the powwow weekend and vendors can use the neighbouring space to display their arts and crafts. As well as fulfilling a programmatic desire expressed by employees at the Friendship Centre, the storage rooms are meant to symbolize the act of opening up the building to the public. The powwow ceremony only takes place over a few days out of an entire year so it is important that the design accommodate everyday functions. The doorway and the atrium space located behind the door allow the building to be transformed from its everyday use into a space of ceremonial function. In this manner the building acknowledges, accommodates, and activates the powwow ritual.

Figure 4.11 – Schematic layout of design organization: main volumes and entrances

Powwow Ceremony - Open

Non Ceremonial Use - Closed

Legend

1 - Ceremonial Doorway	7 - Artifact Cases
2 - Totem Pole	8 - Coatcheck
3 - Atrium	9 - Washroom
4 - Vendor Space/
Community Lounge	10 - Powwow Storage
5 - Kitchen	11 - Gym Storage/Pantry
6 - Servery	12 - Gymnasium/
Powwow Space

Figure 4.12 – Floor plan of powwow in two states:
ceremonial and everyday usage.

Figure 4.13 – Atrium space

The traditional organization of powwow grounds places vendors and traders on the outer periphery. The two primary types of vendors are those who sell traditional foods and others who sell arts, crafts, music, apparel and various other items. In the thesis design the kitchen and the community lounge are arranged so that once visitors enter the building they find their way past these traditional programs. The lounge provides additional vendor space and

acts as a congregation area, while the kitchen arrangement allows for the vending of foods and the preparation of the powwow feast. Nearly eight hundred traders, organizers, volunteers, participants and visitors make their way through the building over the course

1 - Ceremonial Door	7 - Entrance into conjoined powwow space
2 - Atrium	8 - Kitchen/servery
3 - Tribal flags	9 - Roof garden
4 - Main corridor through existing building	10 - Office
5 - Odawa Native Friendship Centre Archives	11 - Exiting ramp to garden
6 - Playlodge	

4.14 – Section through atrium space: detail of overlapping programs

of the traditional winter powwow weekend. I anticipated that the growing popularity of the urban ceremony would continue, and that a larger space for the event would eventually be required. At the end of the atrium is the secondary entrance into the powwow space, where the gymnasium and lodge are conjoined.

Figure 4.15 – Section through conjoined powwow space

The Odawa Dance Lodge is designed to provide a larger gathering space for the winter powwow that combines both the gymnasium and a proposed traditional lodge (see Figure 5.1, Appendix D). The larger space can also accommodate other functions, which include – exhibitions, lectures, weddings, dinners and theatrical performances. The existing gymnasium at the Friendship Centre has been leased for these types of events in the past and revenue generated by these events is important for the funding of the various programs offered by the non-profit organization. When the Odawa Dance Lodge is not being used for larger gatherings such as powwows, it can be divided into two separate spaces by erecting an ephemeral divider. Once divided, the eastern portion of the urban powwow space operates as a gymnasium and the western half remains as a ceremonial lodge. The addition of a more traditional lodge space – located in the northwestern portion of the site – accommodates smaller ceremonies like the children's powwow held in the spring. The space could also be used for storytelling or as a space where singers

and dancers are taught and can practice. The dance space is delineated by a series of eight columns supporting the roof.

In the lodge, the four cardinal directions of North, East, South and West are marked by wider intercolumniation in relation to the structure, as in the powwow grounds of M'Chigeeng. The lodge required an axis mundi in accordance with Anishinabeg tradition therefore I chose to place a sky-hole at the centre of the lodge in reference to this ancient custom. The reestablishment of the axis mundi in the Odawa Dance Lodge is a reintroduction of architectural tradition according to traditional ceremonial spaces, and becomes, in a manner of speaking, a form of architectural repatriation.

The designation of a ceremonial entrance, the reintroduction of an axis mundi and all the symbolism contained within them can make for a more culturally appropriate space for the urban powwow ceremony. These were aspects of the design that I felt were important to an urban powwow space but I also felt the design required areas where the community involvement I had witnessed at the Friendship Centre could potentially be enhanced. Perhaps the design could continue to receive the inscription of the community's growing culture into the building itself.

4.4 Complimentary Design Components

I discovered a learning process in the works of the people attending the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, one that I had known as a child and one that began to influence the thesis design. The organization and construction of the gymnasium and lodge were design aspects that I felt I could offer as an acting architect. But traditional powwow grounds like those of M'Chigeeng have taught me the value of community involvement

in the building process. Thus, I began to investigate methods by which I could utilize the Friendship Centre's transformations and use them in complementary design components. The murals painted all along the interior walls of the gymnasium and others located both

Figure 4.16 – Dreamcatchers
Youth Program mural

Figure 4.17 - Playground mural

inside and outside the existing Odawa Native Friendship Centre became an important design component of the building envelope. The northern façade of the Odawa Dance Lodge along Scott Street has been completely redesigned and therefore the proposed renovation would involve the destruction of the gymnasium murals with the exception of the eastern wall. The new design had to incorporate mechanisms to allow for the potential for new murals to be applied. The new northern façade is primarily comprised of fenestration allowing natural light to enter the space. Along the interior of the wood structure (*glulam*), I incorporated a canvas skin that is

stretched over the cross bracing and fenestration like an animal hide stretched for tanning. The stretched canvas allows for the application of murals or pictographs. As darkness falls, interior lighting illuminates the canvas and the murals become visible from outside the building.

Figure 4.18 – View of northern façade along Scott Street at night

The decision to redesign the northern façade and the inevitable destruction of the existing murals was necessary in order to open up the space. The transparency of the space was a way of reactivating more traditional powwow grounds design and of recalling the cycles of concealing and revealing observed in the ceremonial buildings of the Anishinabeg. The Midewiwin societies performed their curing rituals largely in secrecy but the Midewiwin lodge – built specifically for the public rite – involved the participation of the entire community. The Drum Dance enclosures and lodges that followed, concealed ceremonies from outsiders who discouraged the traditional religious observances of the Anishinabeg people. The walls stretching to eight feet or more in height around the drum dance enclosures acted as a veil of their ceremony. In contrast, the contemporary powwow grounds represent a revival of public spaces of worship. Since the first urban powwow took place in Ottawa nearly thirty years ago, the ceremony has continued to encourage the participation of non-aboriginal people and promotes an awareness of an aboriginal cultural identity in the city. The translucency of the façade around the gymnasium – powwow space contributes to this end by showing, rather than hiding, the important cultural space that lies behind it.

The Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting commissioned by the government of Ontario in 1981 listed cultural awareness as one of the most pressing issues affecting aboriginal people in the urban environment. Although the survey was done over twenty years ago, the desire for cultural awareness persists into the present; the thesis design aims to address this issue architecturally. The design proposal attempts to incorporate methods by which the surrounding community, pedestrians and commuters, can experience the cultural activities of the centre without necessarily entering the building. The transparent façade along Scott Street is one approach. Another important strategy to extend the building beyond its walls is the inclusion of a public garden. .

The thesis design incorporates a garden that is publicly accessible from both the northern and western edges of the site. The addition of a garden to the Odawa Native Friendship Centre can begin to address the issue of cultural awareness as well as provide a setting in which traditional teachings can be exercised. The proposed garden is designed for the cultivation of medicinal plants that could include sweetgrass, sage, tobacco, cedar and perhaps traditional foods such as squash, corn and beans. All of these plants and vegetables are traditional agricultural items used by Native American people for countless generations. Urban aboriginal youth could be taught the role of agriculture in the lives of their ancestors and its cultural significance, and could then apply this knowledge in their very own gardens. Through processes of learning like this one and others like the construction of birch bark canoes, the Odawa Native Friendship Centre's range of influence is not limited to the building's site but ultimately includes the entire community.

The garden also accommodates an outdoor amphitheater where people can sit and enjoy elders' teachings as well as storytelling, dances and songs (see Figure 5.2, Appendix D). Dancers and singers can use the space when practicing for competitive powwows and the many youngsters who frequent the site can use it as a recreational space. The path entering the amphitheater from the bus stop on Scott Street follows an adjacent wall, descending as a visitor passes around, and eventually into the space. The wall has a programmatic function as an earth retainer but its design symbolizes a path of enlightenment. A pedestrian walking along the path suddenly finds him/herself within the garden and at the centre of the Odawa Native Friendship Centre. Views along the path allow pedestrians to see the various programs contained both inside and outside the building. The pathway entering the site from Scott Street allows individuals to enter the building or if they choose, to continue along the path, into the garden, and arrive at the sacred tree at the centre of the amphitheater. This concentric path way represents my gradual understanding of the powwow ceremony, its ceremonial precursors, and Anishinabeg culture. The lone cedar represents the symbolic sacred tree of traditional powwow grounds, but perhaps more importantly, the tree is a metaphor for the reseeding of aboriginal culture in an existing urban environment.

Figure 4.19 – Potential growth of the garden and site into the surrounding community

Conclusion

Figure 4.20 – Renovated Odawa Native Friendship Centre, view from Scott Street, looking west

This proposition for the *Odawa Dance Lodge*, built upon the foundation laid by individuals in the 1970s, was driven by my interest in trying to house the urban powwow. But this thesis became more than an investigation of architecture. It's been a personal journey that began with the people and places that influenced my childhood, and that had done so perhaps even more than I realized. Over the course of my research I found my way across sacred lands, and my arrival at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre became in a way – my very own vision quest. There I found a community with specific goals and aspirations that, I believed, deserved to be addressed carefully through architecture. However the most surprising development of this study has been my recognition of architecture's ability to contribute to community and cultural development. When a Friendship Centre is established in a city as the Odawa was in Ottawa in 1975, it often comes to occupy an existing building in the urban fabric. Due to the fact that the Friendship Center's mission is to support gathering and outreach among the urban aboriginal community, the building that houses it becomes an important landmark for that community. The question of how to architecturally set up this encounter between an existing building and Native culture is an important one. These existing buildings must

be appropriated and made into meaningful gathering places. The inclusion of spaces that align themselves more closely with aboriginal traditions, such as a garden or a powwow space, go a long way in the cultivation of aboriginal culture in the city. The transformation of an existing building into a more culturally sensitive one is one that is in keeping with the transformative nature of Anishinabeg ceremonial architecture. In this sense, Anishinabeg values continue to perpetuate through time, and subsequently provide all our cities with added cultural richness.

Appendix A – Odawa Mission Statement

Odawa Is Committed To...

- Reinforcing Aboriginal cultural development and creating greater awareness and interaction with other cultures; this would include the Annual Summer Odawa Pow Wow which is a celebration of Aboriginal culture, enjoyed by over 18,000 visitors - Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals from across North America.
- Promoting positive Aboriginal images, self-respect and expression through a variety of cultural programs and activities.
- Facilitating the development of skills, knowledge and leadership in Aboriginal youth that will allow them to successfully participate in the surrounding community.⁷⁵

Appendix B – Ontario Task Force on Native People in Urban Settings

The most pressing needs of urban Natives, as seen by
staff of Native organizations are...⁷⁶

Housing	94	(17.6%)
Cultural awareness	81	(15.2%)
Employment	68	(12.7%)
Solutions to alcohol abuse	48	(9.0%)
Education	47	(8.8%)
Family and children's resources	35	(8.8%)
Social welfare	35	(8.8%)
Justice	25	(4.7%)
Youth resources	25	(4.7%)
Recreation	23	(4.3%)
Women's resources	16	(3.0%)
Health and nutrition	11	(2.1%)
Other	21	(3.9%)

Note: the numbers and percentages refer to the number
of mentions and not to the number of people.

Appendix C - Aboriginal Population in the City of Ottawa

- Statistics Canada, 2001 Census Aboriginal Population Profile⁷⁷

Population Census by District				
City District	Total Population	Aboriginal Population	% of District Population	% of Total Aboriginal Population
Cumberland	52, 430	620	1.18	7.2
Gloucester	110, 264	1,140	1.03	13.2
Goulbourn	23, 604	105	0.45	1.2
Kanata	58, 636	470	0.80	5.5
Nepean	124, 878	930	0.75	10.8
Osgoode	17,607	240	1.36	2.8
Ottawa	337,031	4,130	1.23	47.9
Rideau	12,695	70	0.55	0.8
Rockcliffe	2,028	15	0.74	0.2
West Carleton	17,267	155	0.90	1.8
Vanier	17,632	745	4.22	8.6
<i>Totals</i>	774,072	8,620	1.1	100

Note: The total aboriginal population of Ottawa has been estimated in excess of figures listed above. The City of Ottawa estimates 35,000 aboriginal individuals including Inuit and Metis are currently residing within the city.⁷⁸

Figure 5.1
Thesis Project
Level 1 Floor Plan

Figure 5.2

Thesis Proposal
Level 0 Floor Plan

Figure 5.3 – Carruthers Avenue elevation

Figure 5.4 – Section through lodge and garden

Appendix E – Existing Building

Figure 6.2

Figure 6.3

Existing Building

2nd Floor Plan Scale 1:300

Figure 6.4

Endnotes -

- ¹ Leblanc, Larry. Compendium of the Anishinabek. M'Chigeeng First Nation, Ont.: Kenjgewin Teg Educational Institute, 2003. p. 163. Native Americans – whose spirituality was discouraged by Christian groups – developed a desire to conceal their ritual practices.
- ² Note: the term “reserve” is used in Canada, while the term “reservation” is used in the United States. For information on the cultural regeneration movement in Native American architecture, see Carol Krinsky, Contemporary Native American Architecture, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- ³ Waddell, Jack. The American Indian in Urban Society. Boston: Little Brown, 1971. p. 18.
- ⁴ Explanation of the powwow grounds building process provided by local residents of M'Chigeeng F. N. during interviews conducted between Oct. 6th – 10th, 2003.
- ⁵ In 1995 my family and I visited the traditional summer powwow in M'Chigeeng (previously known as West Bay). The ceremony was established following the success of the Wikwemikong powwow that has been practiced on their reserve since the 1950s.
- ⁶ For detailed accounts of the residential schools of Spanish, see Basil H. Johnston, Indian School Days, (Toronto, Ont.: Key Porter Books, 1988).
- ⁷ Information provided during interview with Vince Kicknoway, Coordinator of the Healing and Wellness Program at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre on Tuesday March 16th, 2004.

Chapter One –

- ⁸ Neel, David. “*Powwow Series*,” in Living Traditions. Catalogue of exhibition held at the Kamloops Art Gallery. Kamloops, B. C: Hemlock, 1998. p. 18.
- ⁹ Black Elk. Black Elk Speaks, as told through John G. Niehardt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969. p. 43.
- ¹⁰ Clifton, James A., George I. Cornell, and James M. McClurken. People of the Three Fires. Grand Rapids, Michigan: The Michigan Indian Press Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1988. p. 67.
- ¹¹ Explanation of the powwow grounds was provided by local residents of M'Chigeeng F. N., during interviews conducted Oct. 6th – 10th, 2003.
- ¹² Shawnee Meawasige, Ojibwe of Serpent River F. N., elaborated upon the spatial symbolism of the powwow grounds during an interview in Sudbury on Oct. 18th, 2003. Mr. Meawasige spent several years traveling to various powwows across Ontario and Michigan.
- ¹³ Buswa, Ernestine and Jean Shawana. Teachings of the Medicine Wheel. M'Chigeeng First Nation, Ont.: Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, 2001. p. 35.
- ¹⁴ Survey of the M'Chigeeng F. N. powwow grounds, conducted by author on Oct. 7th, 2003.
- ¹⁵ King, Thomas. The Truth about Stories. Toronto, Ont.: House of Anansi Press, 2003. p. 2.
- ¹⁶ Excerpt of interview conducted on Tuesday Oct. 7th, 2003, with the Director of

- Cultural Events at the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, M'Chigeeng F. N.
- ¹⁷ The residents of M'Chigeeng First Nation recognize the *Jiingtamok* ceremony as the ancient precursor of the modern powwow ceremony.
 - ¹⁸ Waugh, Frederick W. "Field Notes - Ojibwa of Manitoulin Island." In the Canadian Museum of Civilizations Archives, 1920.
 - ¹⁹ Rayburn, Alan. Place Names of Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997. p. 205.
 - ²⁰ Place names and translations provided by the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, M'Chigeeng F. N.
 - ²¹ Myers, Frank A. "*How Little Current got its name*," in Inland Seas. The Quarterly Journal of the Great Lakes Historical Society. Vermillion, Ohio: 1960. p. 112.
 - ²² Basso, Keith. Wisdom Sits in Places. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1996. p. 34.
 - ²³ Leeming, David and Jake Page. The Mythology of Native North America. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998. p. 73.
 - ²⁴ Clifton, James A., George I. Cornell, and James M. McClurken. People of the Three Fires. Grand Rapids, Michigan: The Michigan Indian Press Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1988. p. 78.
 - ²⁵ Leblanc, Larry. Compendium of the Anishinabek. M'Chigeeng First Nation, Ont.: Kenjgewin Teg Educational Institute, 2003. p. 351.
 - ²⁶ Earth-diver mythologies are common among many cultures. Typically the Supreme Being or his assistant sends an animal into the primal waters to find mud or clay with which to make the earth on the back of a turtle. See Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958).
 - ²⁷ Aboriginal people often use the term "Turtle Island" to describe North America. However, the Anishinabeg understand "Turtle Island" to refer to either Makinaak Island or Manitoulin Island, depending on where they are from.
 - ²⁸ Midewiwin rituals and its enclosures are discussed in Ruth Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).
 - ²⁹ Leblanc, Larry. Compendium of the Anishinabek. M'Chigeeng First Nation, Ont.: Kenjgewin Teg Educational Institute, 2003. p. 275.
 - ³⁰ Ibid, p. 276.
 - ³¹ The construction of Midewiwin structures is discussed in Robert Easton and Peter Nabokov, Native American Architecture, (New York: Oxford U. P., 1989). Frederick W. Waugh has also documented Midewiwin ceremonies among the Ojibwe of Lac Seul in the 1920s. His field notes are available from the Canadian Museum of Civilization.
 - ³² Johnston, Basil. Ojibwe Language Lexicon. Ottawa, Ont.: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978. p. 87.
 - ³³ Ibid, p. 89.
 - ³⁴ Eliade, Mircea. Symbolism, the Sacred, and the Arts. Edited by Diane Apostolos-Cappadona. New York: Crossroad, 1985. p. 106.
 - ³⁵ Ibid, p. 107.
 - ³⁶ Landes, Ruth. Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968. p. 172.

Chapter Two –

- ³⁷ Pearsen, Shelley J. Exploring Manitoulin. Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1996. p. 7.
- ³⁸ The most comprehensive text on the subject of the Drum Dance ceremony is Thomas Vennum, The Ojibway Dance Drum, (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1982). Frances Densmores recorded some of the earliest Drum Dance ceremonies among the Ojibwe, circa 1900.
- ³⁹ Vennum, Thomas. The Ojibway Dance Drum. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1982. p. 79.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 89.
- ⁴¹ The Wild West Indian shows are discussed in Tara Browner, Heartbeat of the People, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002) and Thomas King, The Truth about Stories, (Toronto, Ont.: House of Anansi Press, 2003). Thomas King criticizes these shows for inventing what he refers to as the “White Man’s Indian.” Performers were required to wear regalia as well as non-aboriginal decoration, that led to the European notion of what an Indian should look like and this stereotype remains today.
- ⁴² Browner, Tara. Heartbeat of the People. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002. p. 29.
- ⁴³ Ibid, p. 27.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 29.
- ⁴⁵ The architectural heritage and building process of Drum Dance lodges is discussed in Thomas Vennum, The Ojibway Dance Drum, (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1982) and Robert Easton and Peter Nabokov, Native American Architecture, (New York: Oxford U. P., 1989).
- ⁴⁶ Pearsen, Shelley J. Exploring Manitoulin. Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1996. p. 131.
- ⁴⁷ Vennum, Thomas. The Ojibwa Dance Drum. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1982. p. 122.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 132.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 139.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 132.
 - William Bineshi Baker, Sr., tape-recorded interviews. Transcripts, Archives of the Office of Folklore Programs, Smithsonian Institution. p. 24.
- ⁵¹ Easton, Robert and Peter Nabokov. Native American Architecture. New York: Oxford U. P., 1989. p. 38.
- ⁵² Ibid, p. 38.
- ⁵³ Explanation of the powwow grounds building process provided by local residents of M’Chigeeng F. N. during interviews conducted between Oct. 6th – 10th, 2003.
- ⁵⁴ Vennum, Thomas. The Ojibwa Dance Drum. Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1982. p. 125.

Chapter Three –

- ⁵⁵ Browner, Tara. Heartbeat of the People. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002. p. 125.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 66.
- ⁵⁷ Shaunee Meawasige, Ojibwe of Serpent River F. N. spent several years traveling the powwow trail with his father. He provided additional information about the powwow circuit during an interview conducted in Sudbury on June 26th, 2004.
- ⁵⁸ Waddell, Jack. The American Indian in Urban Society. Boston: Little Brown, 1971. p. 19.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 62.
- Price, John. “*The Migration and Adaptation of American Indians in Los Angeles*,” in Human Organization 27 (Summer, 1967)
- ⁶⁰ Information from brochure, made publicly available from the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, Ottawa.
- ⁶¹ Bressette, Shelly. “*Honouring our Aboriginal Veterans*,” 23rd Annual Odawa Powwow Program. Printed by the Odawa Native Friendship Centre in Ottawa, 1999. p. 4.
- ⁶² Based on my observations and informal interviews conducted with people at the summer Odawa powwow in Nepean, Ont., 2004.
- ⁶³ Sweetgrass (*Wiingashk*) is a sacred plant used by many Native American cultures. This plant is woven into braids and used for purification rituals. Elders use sweetgrass and sage to bless and purify powwow spaces before the ceremony begins.
- ⁶⁴ Browner, Tara. Heartbeat of the People. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002. p. 35.
- ⁶⁵ Statistics provided by First Peoples Hall at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.
- ⁶⁶ Awad, Michael. “*Aboriginal Affairs*,” in Canadian Architect. May Issue, 2004. p. 54.
- ⁶⁷ King, Thomas. The Truth about Stories. Toronto, Ont.: House of Anansi Press, 2003. p. 55.
- ⁶⁸ Maidman, Frank. Native People in Urban Settings. Toronto, Ont.: Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting, 1981. p. 24.
- ⁶⁹ Information from brochure, made publicly available from the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, Ottawa.

Chapter Four –

- ⁷⁰ H.L. Gates, Jr., “*The Education of Little Tree*,” the New York Times, November 24, 1991, sec. 7, p. 30.
- ⁷¹ Information provided by Jerry Lanouette, former Executive Director of the Odawa

Native Friendship Centre.

⁷² Information provided during interview with Vince Kicknoway, Coordinator of the Healing and Wellness Program at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre on Tuesday March 16th, 2004.

⁷³ Only a small percentage of the one hundred and six Friendship Centres across Canada occupy buildings that were designed and built as Friendship Centres. Information provided by the Ontario Federation of Friendship Centres, Ottawa.

⁷⁴ Information provided during interview with Vince Kicknoway, Coordinator of the Healing and Wellness Program at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre on Tuesday March 16th, 2004.

⁷⁵ Information from brochure, made publicly available from the Odawa Native Friendship Centre, Ottawa.

⁷⁶ Maidman, Frank. Native People in Urban Settings. Toronto, Ont.: Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting, 1981. p. 71.

⁷⁷ Statistics Canada. Census on Aboriginal Identity Population, 2001: www.statscan.ca. Date of extraction, Sept. 24th, 2004.

⁷⁸ City of Ottawa. Aboriginal Population of Ottawa, 2001: www.ottawa.ca.

Bibliography

- Awad, Michael. *Aboriginal Affairs*. Canadian Architect. May 2004. p. 54.
- Basso, Keith. Wisdom Sits in Places. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1996.
- Black Elk. Black Elk Speaks, as told through John G. Niehardt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969.
- Browner, Tara. Heartbeat of the People. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.
- Buswa, Ernestine and Jean Shawana. Teachings of the Medicine Wheel. M'Chigeeng First Nation: Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, 2001.
- Clifton, James A., George I. Cornell, and James M. McClurken. People of the Three Fires. Grand Rapids, Michigan: The Michigan Indian Press Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1988.
- Easton, Robert and Peter Nabokov. Native American Architecture. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Eliade, Mircea. Symbolism, the Sacred, and the Arts. New York: Crossroad, 1985.
- H.L. Gates, Jr. *The Education of Little Tree*. New York Times. November 24, 1991, sec. 7, p. 30.
- Johnston, Basil. Indian School Days. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1988.
- Ojibwe Language Lexicon. Ottawa.: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1978.
- King, Thomas. The Truth about Stories. Toronto, Ont: House of Anansi Press, 2003.
- Krinsky, Carol. Contemporary Native American Architecture. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Landes, Ruth. Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.
- Leeming, David and Jake Page. The Mythology of Native North America. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

- Leblanc, Larry. Leblanc, Larry. Compendium of the Anishinabek. M'Chigeeng First Nation, Ont.: Kenjgewin Teg Educational Institute, 2003.
- Maidman, Frank Native People in Urban Settings. Toronto, Ont.: Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting, 1981.
- Myers, Frank A. *How Little Current got its Name*. Inland Seas. The Quarterly Journal of the Great Lakes Historical Society. Vermillion, Ohio, 1960.
- Neel, David. *Powwow Series*. Living Traditions. Catalogue of exhibition held at the Kamloops Art Gallery. Kamloops, B. C: Hemlock, 1998.
- Pearsen, Shelley J. Exploring Manitoulin. Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Rayburn, Alan. Place Names of Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Thompson, Stith. Motif-Index of Folk Literature. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1958.
- Vennum, Thomas. The Ojibwa Dance Drum. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1982.
- Waddell, Jack. The American Indian in Urban Society. Boston: Little Brown, 1971.