Faith in a Glass Case: Religion in Canadian Museums

Shelly Nixon

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the PhD degree in Religion and Classics

Religion and Classics
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

© Shelly Nixon, Ottawa, Canada, 2012

Dedication

For John.

Abstract

This thesis explores how religion is being represented, interpreted, and discussed in Canadian museums. It draws from a sample of thirty-one semi-structured interviews with curators and museum professionals and from the author's own observations of fifty-one museums in eleven provinces and territories across Canada to explore the themes of space, power, and identity as they relate to religion in Canadian museums. Using the theories of sacred space created by Knott, this thesis explores how Canadian museums are capable of becoming sacred spaces based on their ability to give visitors numinous experiences, to act as contested spaces, and to serve as a location of religion. Canadian museums are powerful, as argued by Bourdieu and Foucault, by their very nature as places that produce and define knowledge, through claims to objectivity and an emphasis on a progress narrative, giving museums (and curators) power to define what is and is not religious by deciding whether and how to discuss the religious aspects of an artefact, object, or culture. Within the context of these two themes, museums enact Ricoeur's theory of narrative identity by telling stories about different groups in order to create and communicate their identities. Some museums present a homogenous Canadian identity based on white mainline Christian identity while others explore the complexity of Canadian identity by telling the stories of non-mainstream religious or ethnic groups and their participation in Canadian history. Aboriginal peoples in Canada have become involved in the display of their traditions in larger museums and have started creating their own museums and cultural centres where their voices can take precedence.

Contents

DEDICATION II
ABSTRACT III
CONTENTS IV
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS VI
LIST OF FIGURES VII
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT 1
Introduction 2
Context 10
Museums in Canada 29
Recent Ideological Changes 50
Conclusion 75
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY 76
Introduction 77
Sampling Method 77
Sample Description 79
Measurement 80
Data Collection and Analysis 82
Results 83
Conclusion 132
CHAPTER THREE: SPACE 133
Introduction 134
Theories of Space 136
Sacred Space 144
Conclusion 188
CHAPTER FOUR: POWER 190
Introduction 191
Theory 192
Sites of Power 211
Power/Knowledge 211
Structural Power 229
The Politics of Recognition 236
Conclusion 251
CHAPTER FIVE: IDENTITY 253
Introduction 254
Narrative Identity 256
Identity in Museums 266
Canadian National Identity 272
Founding Canada 274
The Founding Nations 276
A Nation at War 314
Mainline Christianity 343
Conclusion 362
CHAPTER SIX: ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSES 364
Introduction 365
Mennonites 368
Doukhobors 377

Ukrainian ... 382
African/Black ... 389
Jewish ... 403
South Asian ... 414
Japanese ... 422
Muslim ... 426
First Nations, Inuit and Métis ... 432
Conclusion ... 462
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS ... 463
APPENDICES ... 473
Appendix A: Recruitment Letter/E-mail ... 473
Appendix B: Museum Descriptions ... 474
Appendix C: Consent Form ... 477
Appendix D: Interview Questions ... 479
WORKS CITED ... 482

List of Abbreviations

BCCNS	Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia
CHIN	Canadian Heritage Information Network
CMA	Canadian Museums Association
CMC	Canadian Museum of Civilization
CWM	Canadian War Museum
DCH	Department of Canadian Heritage
DDC	Doukhobor Discovery Centre
JCNM	Japanese Canadian National Museum
JHCWC	The Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada
MAP	Museums Assistance Program
MMHM	Montreal Memorial Holocaust Museum
MHV	Mennonite Heritage Village
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum
SJJHM	Saint John Jewish Historical Museum
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
VMC	Virtual Museum of Canada
VMNF	Virtual Museum of New France
WW1	World War One
WW2	World War Two

List of Figures

Figure 1: Urban Life Through Two Lenses 341

Figure 2: Anno Domini 348

Figure 3: Pallium Window 354

Figure 4: Citizens 399

Chapter One: Introduction and Context

Introduction

Museums have evolved from being places where the private collection, preservation, and display of material culture for personal enjoyment were the primary goals, into becoming public institutions where these same pursuits are employed to tell a meaningful story for the consumption of society at large. Similar to libraries and schools, museums exist to serve and educate the public, in spaces where interpretation is used to tell significant stories from the past that both have shaped and reflect society. In Canada, historical circumstance and societal change have transformed the museum so that it now has a uniquely Canadian expression, where communities, religious, and ethnic groups hear their stories being told in a way that has the potential to be meaningful to all visitors. The focus of this thesis is on museums' representation of culture; it is based on the premise that a culture, as the expression of a society, cannot be adequately represented or understood without understanding the role of religions, spiritualities, and religious institutions in culture. Many, but not all, Canadian museums have as a goal to display and discuss cultures. These are the types of museums that are the focus of this study. Science centres, natural history museums and art galleries all have important goals, but are generally not directly related to the representation of cultures. As a result, when "museums" are referenced throughout this thesis, it is meant in a specific sense of museums that involve the representation of cultures.

This thesis explores how religion is being represented, interpreted, and discussed in Canadian museums. It draws from a sample of thirty-one semi-structured interviews with curators and professionals working in museums across Canada, and

from the author's own observations during visits to fifty-one museums across Canada. The museums that are the focus of this study were located in eleven provinces and territories across Canada.[1] The sample includes interviews with curators located at six large general interest museums,[2] eleven local history museums,[3] five historic reconstructions[4], three memorial museums[5], ten heritage centres[6], three denominational museums[7], and two aboriginal museums.[8] [9]

As presenters of culture, museums are institutions that operationalize religious diversity, pluralism, and multiculturalism in Canada by including in their exhibitions the material artefacts of religious and ethnic groups, and they are mandated by the Canadian Museum Association (CMA) to encourage greater understanding among Canadians. Museums exhibiting religious and culturally significant objects face a difficult task, as they must decide whether their responsibility is simply to display the

---

[1] I have entered the museums that form my sample into Google Maps Canada's online mapping tool, which is available online at (last accessed July 17, 2011): http://maps.google.ca/maps/ms?msid=212390184612638764352.00049c68e920e3e5d4a23andmsa=0andll=61.058285,-94.306641andspn=35.180675,114.169922

[2] These often examine natural science, art and culture galleries. Examples include the Royal Ontario Museum or the Glenbow Museum

[3] These discuss the history of a particular place, such as the Collingwood Museum.

[4] Sites that (re-)create a specific place important to the history of a group, including sites of religious importance that have, over time, become museums, such as Saint Marie among the Hurons.

[5] These are dedicated to remembering (a) specific event(s) in history, such as the Montreal Memorial Holocaust Centre.

[6] These tell the story of a particular group for whom religion, ethnicity and culture are typically intertwined, such as the Mennonite Heritage Village in Manitoba and the Ukrainian Museum of Saskatchewan.

[7] Deal with the specific story of a religious denomination in Canada or a particular historical figure or point in time that is important to that denomination's history, such as the Marguerite Bourgeoys Museum in Montreal.

[8] Dedicated to presentation of Aboriginal heritage, such as the Ksan Historical Village in British Columbia.

[9] These categories are not intended to create typologies but instead are meant only to illustrate the nature of the museums that are the focus of this study. The categories are somewhat fluid and overlapping (the same museum might be included in more than one category). For example, many community museums will also have a war museum within them and many Jewish museums will often have a holocaust remembrance exhibit though not being a specifically holocaust oriented museum. See Table 2: Museum Categories for a tabular description of these museums.

artefacts along with a minimal factual explanation, allowing visitors to formulate their own opinions, or whether they should risk involving themselves deeper by providing interpretations of the artefacts and in the process select one narrative from amongst the various competing narratives surrounding these objects. In Canada, the latter is becoming the preferred approach, and in an effort to select narratives that are meaningful to museum visitors, who because of increased religious and cultural diversity, may or may not be members of the group being represented, museums are beginning to develop close collaborative relationships with the religious and ethnic groups affiliated with the objects on display.[10]

There are two main difficulties museums face when trying to display or represent religion. First, many museums operate as scientific institutions that are firmly entrenched in modernity and display artefacts with the goal of communicating knowledge in the form of supposedly unbiased truths. While this approach may work for dinosaur bones and geological samples, religion does not always fit neatly into the worlds of objectivity and science, as it is firmly entrenched within cultures and societies, and is consequently difficult to isolate, study, and describe scientifically. Second, museums, especially in Canada, now exist in a world where multiple ways of understanding co-exist, affect each other, and sometimes compete, vying for legitimacy and voice. Religion is one locus of these competing narratives, but people often expect

[10] I am being purposefully vague here as there are special cases such as the Beothuk, a group of First Nations people who are extinct, where various groups such as the Innu and the Mi'kmaq are competing to claim ownership over the stories of the Beothuk.

the museum to be a forum where their most sacred objects, deeply held beliefs, and meaningful stories are communicated with reverence.

As a review of the literature indicates, the themes of space, power, and identity are always present when a museum discusses religion. This is not to suggest that these are the only themes that orient the display of religion in museums, but the three individually and in conjunction can help reveal important insights on the representation of religion in Canadian museums. Theorizations of sacred space create a context for understanding how the museum acts as a locus of power for the discussion and representation of identity. Identity, in turn, affects every aspect of life from the day to day decisions of individuals, to the policies and laws of governments. Especially within the Canadian context the increased interactions of differing groups necessitates spaces such as museums where communities and individuals can interact safely to grapple with ever-changing and evolving Canadian identities. Space, power, and identity overlap and interact, but by isolating them and examining how each affects the display of religion in museums, this thesis attempts to draw out the complexities brought out when a museum attempts to explain the messy reality that is religion.

This the hypothesis of this thesis is that museums have now entered a stage where the increased role of the public in exhibit creation and the greater reciprocity between curators and stakeholders mark a transition in how the issues of space, power, and identity are played out in Canadian museums. This hypothesis has three parts. First, it posits that curators are grappling with changing and conflicted public and institutional understandings of the nature of space in museums. This is especially

pertinent in regards to how curators have either resisted or become more comfortable blurring the lines between sacred and secular space. Second, it speculates that groups being represented are demanding more power in affecting their representation, and that museums are beginning to redistribute power between themselves and these groups. I expect to find evidence the traditional authoritative role of the museum is slowly being replaced by a more collaborative approach to representation, where curators and communities work in tandem to create exhibits that are meaningful for all parties. Finally, this thesis asks if increased awareness of the museums' ability to shape and critique identity, particularly religious identity, can cause groups or communities to make conscious use of museums as a tool for communicating their identities.

While I have tried to be as unbiased as possible in this thesis, it is only natural that I approach this research with several normative assumptions. The normative framework of this thesis assumes that: first, museums are agents of power in society; second, that collaboration is the most ethical way for exhibits to be created; and third, that exhibits will inevitably communicate identities. The goal of recognizing the existence of these norms is not to validate them, but to contextualise the analytic approach and observations made in this research.

Both in Canada and abroad, the topic of religion in museums is often subsumed under larger topics of culture and ethnicity, both in museums and among academics (with the notable exception of the work done by Grimes (1990) and (1992) which focuses on ritual in museums, and sacred objects in museums. Only two major works have addressed the topic of religion in museums. First, drawing on a sample of thirteen

exhibits and museums from around the world (with a slight emphasis on Britain and the Western world and with one chapter by David Goa, a Canadian scholar), Paine (2000) edited the first exploratory survey of how museums address religion. Second, Sullivan and Edwards (2004) took a slightly more policy-oriented and pedagogical approach to the issue of religion, concentrating on the display of sacred objects in museums in the United States. It is clear that internationally, the topic of religion in museums has only recently drawn focused scholarly attention. In this context a focused exploration of religion in Canadian museums has never before been done, and an exploratory study would offer an important starting point for future research concerning the representation of religion in museums in Canada, while providing the academic and curatorial community with new information and data about how curators understand and act upon the display of religion in museums.

The first chapter of this thesis introduces the historical and academic contexts of this research. To understand the modern museums that are the subject of this research, it is first necessary to understand how museums have changed throughout the course of Canadian history to become the institutions that they are today. Understanding the unique social and historical role museums have played in Canada allows us to show why research on the representation of religion in Canada is just as important as the body of research that is being done around the world on the same topic. Second, to understand museums today it is also necessary to understand how paradigmatic shifts in Canadian culture such as postcolonialism, postmodernism and globalization have affected the museum and its role in society. The second chapter provides a detailed and

comprehensive description of the research methodology, including the sample, data collection methods, and a description of the results obtained from the interviews; it introduces the theoretical context and framework for the analysis of the data.

Chapter three offers first a theoretical discussion of space in the museum; it then reviews various studies on the construction of sacred space, and on sacred space in the museum. This theoretical framework is sustained by the presentation of data that illustrate how museums can become sacred spaces. Accepting the possibility that the museum can be a sacred space has two ramifications. First, it identifies one way that religion is present and represented in museums, through the creation of spaces that are either sacred to a groups because of their religious understanding of the space, or because of the museum's affiliation with civil religion and heritage. Second, it illuminates its inherent potential authority in society; the sacred nature of the museum makes it a site of power from which it can make authoritative statements about society.

Chapter four first examines previous research to outline how power can be played out in the museum. Drawing mainly on the writings of Foucault and Bourdieu, I examine the notions of power that are relevant to the museum and the ways in which power is active in the museum. Power is active in the museum primarily through the ability to create and control the narratives of history and identity that are written and displayed for the public. The chapter then explores the power dynamics at play when the museum regulates whose voices are permitted to speak and be heard in the museum. This occurs at various levels, two of which are investigated in this thesis. First, the museum regulates what languages and discourses can be used in the museum,

which excludes those who refuse to or cannot use the language and discourse expected in the museum. Second, the day-to-day realities of running a museum, from generating funds to creating exhibits, and to pleasing stakeholders, mean that power is embedded into the very structure of the museum as museums without financial, logistical or community support cannot exist to communicate their narratives; and this support can be a strong locus for regulation. Finally, this chapter examines the politics of recognition in the museum to explore the overlap of power and identity. The museum is a modern institution that plays an important role in communicating, recognizing, and validating identities, by presenting them as authentic. As a public institution the museum can exact power by refusing to recognise a group or an individual's internally formed identity. This is particularly important in Canada as we balance multiple identities including those of our nations, regions, languages, cultures, and religions.

Chapter five begins by outlining a theoretical approach to identity. This thesis draws predominantly on Paul Ricoeur's theories of narrative identity to argue that identities are created through the stories we tell about ourselves, and the stories others tell about us. Museums are authoritative instructions; the stories they present, and how they stories are told affect the identity of the subjects. If a museum refuses to tell a story, changes it, or tells only one side of the story about a group, that narrative can influence the dominant understanding of a group's identity. The chapter then uses this theory to present some of the dominant narratives of Canadian identities together with the role religion plays in constructing these identities. Given the role museums play in their communities, it can be demonstrated that museums appear culturally embedded

into Canadian society, and are essential actors in constructing socio-cultural and religious narratives.

The dominant or hegemonic stories outlined in chapter five become a basis for comparison with the alternative discourses of identity discussed in chapter six. Chapter six gathers all the themes of space, power, and identity in the context of group narratives that differ from the hegemonic Canadian, mainline Christian identity. The Canadian history and culture of several groups that are represented in the museums that were part of the sample under study are examined in with the picture created by various museums. This chapter therefore examines how these communities are either represented or represent themselves. They argue for their inclusion as a part of the Canadian identity, even if they are linguistically, culturally, or, most importantly, religiously outside the mainstream, and do not fit within the hegemonic picture of Canadians in Museums. This chapter allows me to conclude that while Canadian museums are beginning to change, there are still (and likely always will be) power struggles about Canadian identity in museums.

Context

To approach the topic of this thesis one must clarify several terms of analysis, and provide a historical context on the development of museums, in Europe and subsequently in the United States and Canada. This section begins by explaining how the term religion will be understood and used within this thesis. Next it explores both the historical and ideological development of the museum as an institution in a historical overview of the origins of the museum, touching on the theme of the

relationship between the museum and public sphere, on the ideas of heritage and progress, and on the changes that happened during and after the modern period to create the museum as it is commonly understood today. Then, this section explores the history of museums in Canada, occasionally comparing it to its British and American counterparts to build an understanding of how museums are viewed in Canada. Next, this section explores issues of postcolonialism, postmodernity, gender, and globalization as major factors that have significantly influenced the notions of museums in Canada. Finally, this section concludes with a working definition of the museum that will inform the remainder of this thesis and will provide a description of the current state of museums in Canada.

Religion

The broadest description of this research is that it examines the representation of religion in museums. To identify the presence of religion in museums I used Geertz's (1985, 4) anthropological definition of religion which says religion is:

> (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

This definition helped to identify the material and immaterial evidence of symbolic religious systems. Material evidence of religion included sacred objects, liturgical objects, objects associated with spirituality, places of worship, historical documents

pertaining to religion,[11] and religious art. Immaterial evidence of religion included interpreters, religious narratives, myths, and oral histories.

When interviewing the curators I did not provide them with a definition of religion, instead I let them decide if they discussed religion in their museums, without providing them with a definition. The curators could also define similar terms such as sacred, tradition, culture, and spirituality. While the disadvantage of this approach is there is no definitive understanding of religion that can be quantified across Canadian museums, the advantage is it highlighted the varieties of understandings of religion curators use when creating their exhibits. To some extent this falls within Orsi's (1997) understandings of lived religion, but rather than focusing only on individual religiosity, it examines how religion is embedded and played out on a day-to-day basis in the museum. This approach also allows me to sift through the data using my own definition of religion.

Museums

The word museum comes from the Latin word m*ouseion*. The *mouseion* was originally a temple dedicated to any or all of the nine muses of ancient Greek myth. The most famous *mouseion* was established in 290 BCE by Ptolemy at Alexandria (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 3) as a centre of learning dedicated to the muses (Burcaw 1997, 25). In addition to its role as a temple, the *mouseion* was a place for study and entertainment. While the collections were not the primary purpose of the *mouseion,* they were quite vast; containing artefacts such as statues, surgical and

[11] For example, pictures of churches, registrars, baptismal records, news clippings, photos of congregations.

astronomical instruments, hides, and other parts of animals, as well as living specimens in a botanical and zoological park. The *mouseion* differed from museums as know them today in four important ways. First, as a temple, religion was embedded into all aspects of the *mouseion* including its design and function. Second, the *mouseion* was chiefly a philosophical academy supported by the state with a number of famous scholars in residence such as Euclid and Archimedes (Burcaw 1997, 25). Third, this academy was not open to the general public. The idea of public display for the preservation of heritage and education did not arise until much later. Fourth, collections were more of an afterthought than a guiding principle. There were collections in Greek and Roman temples of statues, art, votive offerings, and in the case of the Romans, pillaged booty, which were on occasion open to the public, but these collections were for reminding citizens[12] about the power of the empire(s) (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 4). The m*ouseion* at Alexandria was destroyed either during Julius Caesar's fire in The Alexandrian War (Gellius 1927), by the decree of Theophilus in CE 391 (Gibbon 1901, 204), or by the Muslim conquest in CE 642 (El-Abbadi 1990).

After the downfall of the Romans and through to the Middle Ages, the idea of the museum was barely kept alive in Western Europe, although the instinct to collect remained strong, cathedrals and churches kept storehouses of relics and religious art. The objects plundered from the Middle East during the crusades were added to these collections (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 5). In the case of the Greeks and the

[12] Greek citizenship was very limited. For example, an Athenian citizen was an adult male whose family had lived in Athens for the three previous generations. This excluded slaves, women, immigrants and a variety of other people.

Romans the *mouseion* reminded citizens and conquered peoples of conquests of the empires. In the medieval period, large Cathedrals with vast collections of relics were used as a way for towns to compete against each other for the favour of God and to remind devotees of the power of the church (Chidester 2000, 198).

The *mouseion* seemed lost to Antiquity, but the ideas that made the western[13] museum possible began to (re)assert themselves during the Renaissance in the 15th century (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 5). In his architectural study of the British museum, Crook (1972, 32) argues that "[t]he modern museum is a product of Renaissance Humanism, 18th century enlightenment and 19th century democracy." Renaissance Humanism was defined by an interest in the classical past through an engagement with the writings, art, and philosophy of Antiquity, as well as the beginnings of a slow movement towards the scientific method (Hale 1981). By the 16th century two new words appeared in the Italian lexicon foreshadowing the modern museum concept. First, the term *galleria,* which came to signify a long, grand hall lit from one side for the purpose of exhibiting sculptures and pictures. The second was the cabinet or *gabinetto,*[14] a square room filled with stuffed animals, botanical rarities, and small works of art such as medallions, statuettes, artefacts, and curios (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 5). At this point, neither the gallery nor the cabinet was open to the public. Rather they were reserved for the entertainment of the rich and powerful. Neither was there an impulse to collect for heritage, as collecting was done for prestige

[13] I am using the term western museum here as recent research has brought forward examples of preservation of material heritage in other cultural contexts that were previously unrecognised by scholars as museums.
[14] The Germans called it a *wunderkammer* which translates as miracle chamber

and curiosity. During this period, the rich and the royal began to develop a passion for collecting authentic works of art. Some of the collections became so big they overflowed out of their houses and palaces, and needed to be stored in buildings erected for the sole purpose of displaying the art and artefacts. In fact, some of the most important museums in Europe today, such as The British Museum, began as royal or private collections in the 15th and 16th centuries. These cabinets of curiosities and private collections of art and nature continued through the 17th century remaining a hobby of the wealthy (Burcaw 1997, 30).

Two major developments towards the creation of a public museum occurred in the 17th century, the first in 1671 when the first official university museum opened in Basel, the second followed twelve years later when the Ashmolean Museum opened at Oxford, an establishment which is still open today (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 5). While these museums are important as they mark the first appearance in Europe of the notion of the public museum since Alexandria, entry was still restricted to the royal, noble and rich. In 1694, the Abbot Boisot of the Abbey of Saint Vincent in Besancon France died, leaving his personal collections to the Abbey, on the condition that the public be admitted to see them regularly (Burcaw 1997, 26). This is the first recorded instance of such a collection being accessible to the general public. Other museums began to follow suit, opening their doors to the public on a limited basis. However, the owners of the museums and collections took some liberty in defining who exactly was included in 'the public.' For example, the British Museum, founded in 1753, was said to be open to the public, although it only received thirty visitors daily, who had to apply

well in advance, and were closely watched and chauffeured through their entire visit. By 1800 small museums with restricted entry were appearing all over Western Europe, although in many of these museums, people were required to present credentials to enter the museum, and if those credentials were acceptable, they waited two weeks or more for a ticket (Burcaw 1997, 26).

The move into modernity created a number of ideological changes in European society that solidified western museums' role as public institutions with emphases on community and heritage. Modernity is the result of a series of social and ideological changes that occurred roughly between the 17th and 19th centuries. Of all the changes that came out of modernity, the development of the ideologies of nationalism and the scientific mindset were most intimately tied to shaping the museum. This section will briefly examine how the museum became a tool for nationalistic discourse, using the Louvre during the French Revolution as an example. Then it will examine how the development of the scientific method and a belief in the unbiased nature of science shaped the museum.

Nationalism

Nationalism involves tying an identity, usually ethnic, linguistic and/or cultural, to the state (Gellner 1983, 6-7). Although there are arguments over whether it originated in 17th Century Britain, in France during the revolution of 1789, or in Germany, most scholars will agree that by the 19th century, the world was full of both nations and nationalisms (Calhoun 1993, 213). Three things are important to consider when thinking about nationalism in the context of museums. First, the ability of a group

of people to define themselves as a nation is today largely dependent on the identification of a common heritage. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines heritage as "our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations"[15] (UNESCO 2010). As Hoelscher (2006, 200) reminds us, heritage "is a mode of understanding and utilizing the past that is, at its very core, deeply partisan and immediately felt…and a foundation of personal and collective identity." Museums serve as storehouses of heritage, both tangible and intangible. After the United States invaded Iraq in 2003, the National Museum of Antiquities in Baghdad was ransacked. In response to the tragedy, Raid Abjul Ridhar Muhammad, an Iraqi archaeologist, said in an interview with the New York Times, "[a] country's identity, its values and civilization resides in its heritage. If a country's civilization is looted, as ours has been here, its history ends." (Burns 1993). The museum can be used by the state as a tool to frame heritage and create history.

[15] UNESCO further divides heritage into Natural and Cultural categories. Natural Heritage defined as: "natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation; natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty" (UNESCO 1972).
Cultural is further subdivided into tangible and intangible heritage, where tangible heritage includes "monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view" (UNESCO 1972).
Intangible cultural heritage is defined as "the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills (including instruments, objects, artefacts, cultural spaces), that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. It is sometimes called living cultural heritage, and is manifested inter alia in the following domains: Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; Performing arts; Social practices, rituals and festive events; Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO 2003).

History can and usually does play a large role in framing the nation, and although this particular analysis is situated in a modern framework, it is important to remember that western countries are not the only states to tie history to nation (Calhoun 1993, 225) but that the discipline of history practised in most museums today is heavily influenced by modernity and the tradition of creating histories that give readers a sense of collective identity. The museum can frame heritage as a glorification of the past, or of the future, and both paradigms serve the same purpose of delineating the nation through their heritage. As Steiner (1995, 5) says, "in many cases, it seems to me, the glorification of past and future—or what may be called "forward-looking" versus "backward-looking" regimes of representation—often co-exist, complement, and even contradict one another in the nationalist agenda of state museums." Nationalists may be prone to writing "whig histories" that provide a more favourable account of the development of a nation (Calhoun 1993, 225). These representations can be constructed (and even contradictory) to deal with any sort of cognitive dissonance, most important though is that the final narrative of the museum uses heritage to support the identity desired by the state.

Second, museums became universally open to the public well after the development of Protestantism. Protestantism affected both the development of nationalism and the proliferation of museums. The Protestant Reformation destroyed the belief in a universal Christian kingdom and replaced it with regional sects and variants of Christianity (Calhoun 1993, 220). The Protestant revolution was also a major reason Europe moved away from Latin as the language of academic thought and

debate. Latin was replaced in institutions by common vernaculars, thereby increasing the number of people who could participate in dialogues about heritage and nation as they became able to read and interpret for themselves. Likewise, the separation of some academic institutions from the Catholic Church meant critique was no longer paramount to heresy. Protestantism emphasised a certain amount of sovereignty for both individuals and institutions separate from the church. People were now able to participate individually in the development of societal institutions through the spread of texts and participation in public discourse about what institutions should be and what purpose they should serve. The desire for participation was not limited to religious institutions but also spread to other institutions, such as the nation and the museum.

Third, small increases in literacy throughout society allowed people access to what Anderson (1983) called "print capitalism," of which museums were one of the earliest examples. Prior to the reformation, although the language of the elites, Latin had acted as a unifier across Europe. Those who owned publishing houses wanted larger markets to sell books to, larger than the numbers of those who spoke Latin and smaller than the number of people who spoke local linguistic dialects. As such national identities were aligned with linguistic identities and print capitalism encouraged a standardised version of each national language (Calhoun 1993, 234). Print capitalism allowed everyone who consumed culture, such as novels and newspapers, to participate directly in imagining the community. Museums and art galleries serve as consumable forms of print culture for two reasons; first opening to the public and the

elites meant they were one more place where culture was discussed in these common vernaculars. Second, museums used the medium of material culture rather than relying only on words to tell the same stories of national development that were common in other forms of print technologies. As Calhoun (1993, 235) says:

> In cosmopolitan museums artefacts from far-flung contexts were (and are) displayed within classifications ordering the world into nations. In national museums, artefacts from disparate temporal and spatial settings are arranged into national narratives. The crucial link was the production of replicable series of artefacts available for classification into types or periods (as distinct from temples still seen as singular in their sacredness, or modern "auratic" works of art imbued with the singularity of an individual creator). The idea of nation is itself an instance and an archetype of this classifying logic of categorical identities.

A good example of how nationalism was used in the museum comes from following the development of public museums in France, particularly the Louvre. In 1750, the Royal French government began to open the picture gallery of the Palais de Luxembourg regularly to the public. There were also plans in the works at the end of the 18th century to make the Louvre open to the public at certain times, which eventually resulted in one hall being opened for public viewing on Wednesdays and Saturdays. There were many public proposals and attempts to renovate and open the museum more often, but it remained both incomplete and restricted until the French Revolution in 1789 (Nora and Kritzman 1996, 278).

After the revolution, the National Constituent Assembly declared in May of 1791 that the Louvre would be "a place for bringing together monuments of all the sciences and arts" (Nora and Kritzman 1996, 278). On August 10th, 1792, Louis XVI was imprisoned and the royal collection in the Louvre became national property. The

museum began opening fully to the public for three days of every week on August 10th, 1793 for the first anniversary of the monarchy's demise (Oliver 2007, 21-22). In 1794, France's revolutionary armies began bringing objects from across Europe, to establish the Louvre as a "sign of popular sovereignty" (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 24-25). Throughout the revolution, the museum was used as an instrument of cultural integration to spread historical and aesthetic knowledge to the public by allowing access to the works which had previously only been available to an elite few (Nochlin 1971, 75). The revolutionaries attempted to take a French ethnicity and cultural tradition and use them to define French heritage. Ensuring public access to the museum was a way to make certain all levels of society were able to participate in the discourse of framing the French nation.

The Louvre is also an excellent example of how heritage and history could be re-framed to match the narrative desired by the nationalists. After the revolution, the Louvre contained artworks mostly from the overthrown monarchy, and from churches. These paintings were eventually reclassified as objects of National Heritage in order to preserve them (Nochlin 1971, 75). The ruling parties tied these tangible pieces of national heritage into the French identity, thus creating a "high culture" (Gellner 1983). French "high culture" could then be extended into the reality of everyday interactions, making it easier for people to imagine the French community (Calhoun 1993, 225). Through the transmission of this "high culture" the state could exercise power to civilise the masses (Bennett 1988, 19), in other words encourage a desired nationalistic behaviour: the appreciation of French art. In short, the story of the Louvre during the

French revolution is evidence of Anderson's (1983) understanding of the museum as a tool that allows the state to appear as the guardian of tradition and heritage. This power was enhanced by the fact that the symbols of tradition, in this case examples of fine French art and objects from colonial conquests, are easily reproduced and displayed.

Fyfe (2006, 36) explains how "Durkheimian theories about the collective character of rites and representations (with its powerful insight that people put things into categories because they live in groups) are discernible in work on the museum's role in transfiguring societies as communities and nations." The Louvre did two things: first, visiting the Louvre allowed the visitor to participate in a ritual of French citizenship—viewing and appreciating the art—which Duncan and Wallach (1980, 456), argue is a rite of citizenship. Performing these activities in a museum with other citizens emphasised the collective nature of this ritual and further solidified the individual's ties to the imagined community. Second, the Louvre categorised artefacts into French and not French. An underlying narrative about the unique characteristics and even superiority of French art helped reify the distinction. Fyfe (2006, 36) also argues that museums help modern populations overcome the divisions of class, gender, and ethnicity, to think of their commonality. Despite the fact that most museum narratives focus on the male upper-class experience, or in the case of the Louvre high art and the patriarchal interpretation of that art, the museum attempted to create over-arching narratives of what exactly it meant to be a member of the French nation.

Science

Rationalism, empiricism, and the scientific method are all examples of ways of thinking and viewing the world that arose out of the modern period. These ideologies helped shape, and were reciprocally shaped by, museums in Europe. Similar to the museum, the root of the scientific paradigm lay in ancient history. Early Egyptian texts show methods of diagnosing illnesses that resemble the methods used by scientists today (Achinstein 2004, 4). In ancient Greece, Thales is noted as the first Greek philosopher to search for natural explanations for phenomena rather than supernatural (O'Leary 1949). Thales influenced both Plato's deductive reasoning and Aristotle's assertion that some universal truths can be known from induction, both of which set the stage for what would eventually become the scientific method in Europe (O'Leary 1949). With the decline of the Roman Empire in Europe and the spread of Christianity, Greek ideas and philosophies fell out of favour. However, some of these texts survived, possibly preserved and translated by Arabs who invaded portions of the Byzantine Empire and eventually migrated to Spain and Sicily in the 12th and 13th centuries (Grant 2007). As the works of Aristotle became absorbed into university curricula across Europe and were slowly reconciled with Christian theology, the Renaissance triggered an increased interest in the ancient Greek texts, eventually influencing the likes of Galileo and Newton (Grant 2007, 36). In the 18th century, when David Hume attempted

to systematise a scientific method, the reciprocal relationship between the museum and the sciences became evident.[16]

The development of taxonomy and scientific forms of classification were pivotal in shaping the museum as an institution. In the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly in Italy, scientists began to use natural history collections stored in museums as part of the scientific observation and study of nature (Findlen 1994, 154). The collections of curiosities and specimens from colonial encounters in the New World allowed museums to become "laboratories of nature" where scientists could perform tests, dissections, and disseminate their results to the rest of the scientific community (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 75). As a part of the scientific method, taxonomy and classification can be traced back to Aristotle and Antiquity but the most common system used today was created by Carl Linnaeus who formed the foundations for modern botanical and zoological taxonomy (Hull 1965, 315). The development of a scientific taxonomy is not as important to this thesis as the desire to categorise that it reflects, and that manifested itself in the museums from modern period on. In *The Order of Things* Foucault (1989, xvii) provides a stark example of how classification systems are culturally embedded:

> This book first arose out of a passage in Borges, out of the laughter that shattered, as I read the passage, all the familiar landmarks of my thought—our thought, the thought that bears the stamp of our age and our geography—breaking up all the ordered surfaces and all the planes with which we are

[16] The history of science is far outside the scope of this thesis, for information on this topic see: Agassi, Joseph. *Science and Its History: A Reassessment of the Historiography of Science*. (Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, 253) New York: Springer, 2008.; Heilbron, John L., ed. *The Oxford Companion to the History of Modern Science*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

> accustomed to tame the wild profusion of existing things, and continued long afterwards to disturb and threaten with collapse our age-old distinction between the Same and the Other. This passage quotes a 'certain Chinese encyclopaedia' in which it is written that 'animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camel-hair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies'. In the wonderment of this taxonomy, the thing that we apprehend in one great leap, the thing that, by means of this fable, is demonstrated as the charm of another system of thought, is the limitation of our own, the stark impossibility of thinking that.

He goes on to illustrate that the system of classification created above would be "so fundamentally alien to our western way of thinking as to be, in fact, 'unthinkable', and, indeed, 'irrational'." However, to the writer, this system of classification would have been a completely valid and rational way of knowing and understanding the world. It has been argued by some anthropologists that the systems of classification used by indigenous populations and other cultures were often interpreted within the framework of religion rather than science. By the end of the modern period the 'irrational' was assumed to be the province of religion. Mithlo (2004, 746) demonstrated that this further "othered" the indigenous people represented by casting their indigenous knowledge system as a religious endeavour rather than as a scientific pursuit which resulted in characterizing of indigenous nations as antiscientific. The fact that some Christian missionaries believed that indigenous people had no religion created a double bind for indigenous populations as their knowledge systems were considered neither scientific, nor religious.

Scientific thinking laid the groundwork for the social sciences, which arose out of a belief that scientific principles such as observation, experimentation, and other forms of qualitative and quantitative research could be applied to society. Anthropology, the social science with the longest historical relationship to museums, uses scientific principles of observation, generalization, verification, and categorization in hopes of creating a systematic way to study humans. Museums usually have an explicitly stated purpose of collecting anthropological objects and artefacts for preservation; however it is the act of classifying the objects that causes museums to become institutions of power (Kahn 1995, 324). As Cannon-Brooks (1984, 116) argues:

> The fundamental role of the museum in assembling objects and maintaining them within a specific intellectual environment emphasises that museums are storehouses of knowledge as well as storehouses of objects, and that the whole exercise is liable to be futile unless the accumulation of objects is strictly rational.

While scientific taxonomies are viewed as unbiased, the very act of dividing the objects in a museum into natural or scientific artefacts and cultural artefacts was often a conflation of imperialism with science. As Kahn (1995, 324) states:

> From the 16th and 17th century cabinets of curiosity established by wealthy travellers, to the 18th and 19th century amassing and displaying of war loot in museums like the Louvre, to the late 19th century competitive scrambling for tribal objects that shaped the museum movement, to the late 19th and early 20th century world's fairs and international expositions, museums have served to legitimise racial exploitation at home and the creation of an empire abroad. At each step along the way of collecting, preserving, interpreting, and displaying, museums create subtexts through the type of order they construct and impose.

In the museum evolutionary stories of progress were easy to tell through the medium of material culture and seemed to make intuitive sense. Conn (1998) argued that in the

late 19th century, the dominant forms of science and of knowledge more generally were premised on what he calls `an object based epistemology'. In other words, physical objects were regarded as sources of knowledge, which, if properly classified and arranged, could be read in order to reveal underlying scientific principles. The visual and the 'objective' were dominant forms of scientific proof. Nationalists used museums to help ethnographically and culturally slot people into national, ethnic, and sometimes racial categories. Science was a tool for dividing the world into 'us and them.'

Perhaps, rather than actual science, it is the scientific discourse used in the choice and positioning of objects, and in the explanatory labels that partially contribute to a museum's legitimacy. If we assume that science is nothing more than the process of observation and experimentation that leads to an increased body of knowledge, then there is no reason to implicate science in the problems of racism, imperialism, and ideas of cultural evolution. However, the way a museum is designed can imply science where none exists by infusing an exhibit with "a sense of scientific dissection, disembodiment, classification, and arrangement of whole cultures and of individual people. As well, using labels that refer to the scientific urgency to preserve dying cultures bears a stamp of scientific discourse, the accumulation of as much knowledge as possible" (Kahn 1995). As Mead and McClanahan (1971 , 64) argue: "[t]he presentation is, in effect, art, but art that becomes science, transformed from one medium into another." Evolutionist paradigms of biology should not inform cultural exhibits about people. The use of science to describe the artistic artefacts of some people as more culturally advanced than others removes the discourse of

interpretation. Museums need to admit that the creation of their displays is interpretation and is therefore inherently biased. Thus if they use the discourse of science, which is assumed to be inherently unbiased and therefore more legitimate, they are implying an unbiased interpretation of culture where none exists.

Within the social sciences, particularly anthropology, the problems in museums arose when anthropology became rooted in natural history paradigms. Even displaying other cultures in a natural history section implies an othering where 'they' are an object of scientific study and 'we' are not. Kahn (1995, 235) sees the conflation of social and natural science as dangerous when anthropology becomes the "science of other people in another time." Drawing on Fabian (1983) she argues that an anthropological natural history paradigm denies the coeval relationship between the people who are studying, and the people being studied, denying that the anthropological object could be a contemporary rather than a predecessor. Likewise an obsession with progress is cloaked in scientific discourse and draws on the sciences of geology, comparative anatomy, and related scientific disciplines which are used to classify the other and create taxonomies. Based on observation, the early anthropologists displayed scientific exhibits about colonised peoples that were based purely on imperial observations rather than either scientific experimentation into genetics or unbiased study. As Kahn (1995, 336) warns; "[t]he embarrassing fact that exhibits about some, but not all, people are placed in natural history museums is a confirmation of the strong grip that evolutionist paradigms have on anthropological thinking."

A second important conflation was the mixing of imperialist policies and scientific study. During the periods of British Colonial expansion, boats were often sent on "scientific data gathering missions," but always to areas of both economic and colonial importance (Owen 2006). On these missions, explorers would collect ethnographic materials for the purpose of proving Darwinist ideas of cultural evolution. With the publication of Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection in 1859, and the emerging discipline of pre-historic archaeology these collections from explorers could be systematically and 'pseudo-scientifically' interpreted in the light of cultural evolution. Museums played a role in the dissemination of this knowledge by publicly displaying these collections using an evolutionary typological interpretation and actively promoting progressive cultural evolution as scientific fact. This served both to convince people of the necessity of British Imperialist policies; that the savage needed to be civilised and their culture preserved for posterity. It also educated the wider populace about their place in nature and society. Such interpretation resulted in a racist, scientific, ethnological framework that espoused a compassionate view of colonised people but still saw them as inferior savages. The framework became an important psychological and moral tool within imperial society used to justify imperial expansion and many of the negative excesses and consequences of imperialism (Owen 2006).

Museums in Canada

Returning now to the 1600s this section traces the development of museums in Canada. While the revolutions were happening in the United States and Europe, the settlers in Canada were still thought of by England and France as a fledgling colony,

useful for the purposes of sending resources back to Europe. To date, the majority of museum studies have occurred in Europe and the United States. As a younger nation, the development of museums in Canada has followed a similar if more compressed path, with its own unique twists as a result of specific situations in Canadian history. Academic interest in Canadian museums did not begin to develop until the 1970s, when Key (1973) traced the history of museums in Canada from Jesuit educator-collectors in the 18th century, through the museum expansions of Canada's Centennial year, to the announcement of a Canadian museum policy in 1972. Another comprehensive history has not been written since Key's book; instead academics have tended to focus on individual exhibits and/or museum policy.

This section begins with a brief recounting of the early collections of missionaries and anthropologists that eventually become some of Canada's first museums. Second, this section explores the changes that occurred in museums between confederation and the Second World War by examining the effects of growing Canadian nationalism. Third, this section discusses the dramatic increase in the number of museums in Canada between World War Two (WW2) and Canada's Centennial anniversary, and explores how museums changed between confederation and the present day. Finally, this section ends with a further discussion of some of the major paradigmatic shifts that occurred in museums worldwide.

Canada as a Colony

The history of museums in Canada began when Canada was still considered part of "the new world" and the rich natural resources drew the economic interests of

Imperial Britain and France. The Aboriginal peoples who were central to the resource trades that enriched the colonial powers were the keen objects of missionary interests, and the imperial and the missionary ambitions were often intertwined (Higham 2003). Canada's earliest museums can be attributed to the Jesuits who came to Canada as missionaries to the Aboriginal peoples. As an order, Jesuits placed an enormous emphasis on education and, at least in their early schools in Canada, often used visual aids to teach their lessons, which included natural history specimens. This illustrates one of the initial distinctions from museums in Europe in that Canadian museums and collections served an educational purpose from the very beginning. A national purpose could not develop until Canada was a nation in its own right. As well, the early missionaries to Canada included a number of Jesuits including Jean de Brébeuf and other martyrs and saints whose relics were collected and stored in the first churches. These collections were primarily located in the French Maritimes and what would eventually become Quebec (Key 1973, 99). Although the collections of Aboriginal artefacts at the Musée Kateri Tekakwitha and at Sainte Anne de Beaupré pre-date their formal openings, the first authentic documentation of a collection comes from Laval University which had a mineral and geology collection in the last decade of the 18th century. However Laval's collections were not formally recognised as a museum until 1852, fifteen years before Canadian Confederation.

Prior to discussing the history of museums in Canada it is important to note that Canada's Aboriginal peoples had their own methods of preserving both material and immaterial culture, although they would not have been recognised as museums or even

serving a museum function during the colonial modern period. The goal however was less about preserving culture and more about transmitting knowledge to the next generation. For example, oral history and oral tradition were critical methods of cultural transmission in Aboriginal cultures across Canada but were not widely recognised as valid methods of preservation until recently. Even today, there are still controversies and difficulties incorporating oral history into museums (Trigger 1983). It is also worth observing that in many instances Aboriginal peoples knew that many of the artefacts were being moved into collections. Previously historians have emphasised the colonial overtones of such relationships and unfair natures of many of the exchanges, however while we cannot ignore the power imbalances that were inherent to the system of trade as a result of colonialism, indigenous peoples did have some measure of control over the object exchange, both in what they permitted to be traded, and in creating goods designed specifically for a European market and by integrating the process of colonial trade into their own world view (Brown 1998, 36).

During the 19th century there was a large increase in the number of museums, a phenomenon Key (1973, 100) attributes to the proliferation of the Mechanics Institute movement, a labour collective across the Maritimes that advocated for the creation of regional institutes which sponsored lectures on a variety of subjects while developing library facilities and haphazard collections. This marks a second differentiation from Europe where museums first started appearing by decrees of government, and opening of private royal collections, such as those during the French Revolution. Mechanics

Institutes were for working class men and were organic community organizations with the public as the driving force behind their creation and continuation.

The first official museum in Quebec was opened by an Italian entrepreneur in 1824, but only lasted for two years. However another attempt at opening a museum occurred the same year the first closed. The first national museum, a geology museum, followed in 1845 when Canada realised that showcasing the natural resources of the country could potentially attract business people from the rest of the British Empire. According to Key (1973, 120), there was very little drive to create a consciousness about Canadian history, or to work towards developing and showcasing Canadian culture. In 1880 a national gallery opened in Ottawa and started receiving grants from the federal government to help with acquisitions and maintenance; however the gallery had to wait twenty years for the legislation making it a legal entity despite receiving funding in the interim (Key 1973, 128). Key (1973, 120) makes the observation that at the start of the 20th century the museum picture was quite bleak compared to Great Britain, Europe, and the United States. However, he did not adequately take into account that Europe and the United States were both more densely populated, that they had larger and more established city centres, they had a century (or more) than Canada to develop distinct national identities, and that the arts and intellectual scene in Canada, though existing, had not yet established itself the way it already had in Europe and the United States. Canada was still focused on attracting immigrant labourers and farmers to build up the infrastructure of the country rather than intellectuals and artists who were more likely to be attracted to the established universities. Key also

says that because Canada was still a colony until 1865, collectors who came to Canada gathered Aboriginal artefacts and shipped them back to Europe as curiosities or to be sold into private collections. Canada was still not considered distinct from the British Empire so the policy of collecting "Canadian artefacts" may have seemed to be a meaningless pursuit.

By the 1880s, Mechanics Institutes were being replaced by historical and pioneer societies with a mostly middle class membership. These societies flourished as middle class Canadians became more aware of Canadian history and heritage. This awareness led Canadians to ask what it meant to be Canadian. At the same time, the Canadian government was attempting to attract desirable, middle class, immigrant farm workers from Western Europe. Government funding for travelling museum exhibitions during this period increased when they realised these exhibitions could help attract immigrants as well as foreign investment and industry. During this time the belief that Aboriginal people would eventually assimilate into Canadian culture and that their traditional cultures would disappear resulted in an increasingly explicit drive to collect First Nation's artefacts (Gillam 2001, 59).

The period before World War 1 (WW1) ended with the creation of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto with the *ROM Act* of 1912 and the official opening on March 19th, 1914. Perhaps the largest and most famous museum in Canada, the ROM came about because of the collections and lobbying of Charles T. Currelly and Edmond Walker. These two men drew on European models to establish a distinctly Canadian museum. They connected the museum to the University of Toronto by using tenured

faculty who would curate exhibitions and do research in their spare time. It also moved the museum away from being a middle class venture to a more colonial activity focusing on international artefacts, and drawing on imperial collection practises. The ROM also contained natural history and cultural history in one shared space, an important precedent that would affect the creation of subsequent provincial and national museums (Gillam 2001, 67).

In 1911, the Canadian government performed the second census which asked questions about birthplace, citizenship, and period of immigration, and supplemented the previous questions that were only concerned with religion and ethnic origin (Statistics Canada 2005). Although it is probably a historical coincidence that a National museum opened in Ottawa in the same year, Anderson (1983, 164) has discussed the importance of census in regards to identity in colonial states. According to Anderson, the introduction of ethnic categories by the colonisers creates the frames of reference later used by the colonised in the formation of their own identities.

WW1 took priority in Canada over the further development of museums, but after the war, the surge in nationalism that arose out of Canadian's disillusionment with British colonialism, as well as anxiety concerning the growing divide between Quebec and the rest of Canada, made museums seem relevant again. The National Gallery, which had moved to the Victoria Memorial Museum, received formal recognition in 1927, sixty years after confederation (Key 1973, 128). Between 1900 and 1932, when Sir Henry Miers, the President of the British Museums Association and Mr. S.F. Markham compiled a report on the state of Canadian museums, 101 museums were

found bringing the reported total number of museums in Canada to 119 (Miers and Markham 1932). They also found that despite the surge in the number of museums, the quality of Canada's museums was still lacking when compared to the United States and Britain in terms of government support and current conservation and display methods. This report helped fuel the actions of some of the earliest members of the Canadian Museums Association (CMA), which had yet to be formally established, who wanted to advocate for the advancement of Canada's museums, galleries and sites of historical significance.

With the onset of the Great Depression, Canadians decreased their museum attendance significantly and governments cut the funding to museums and galleries appreciably. With the outbreak of WW2, more resources were poured into the military and museums took a back seat to the war effort. Organisers became serious about developing the CMA just before Canada became involved in WW2, but their attempts to organise were thwarted by timing: the lack of funding and the war effort made museums a low priority and each museum in Canada, a country still not as connected as Britain and the United States, was focused on its own survival. However, two factors resulted in a surge in nationalism following WW2. First, Canadians began to truly feel as though they themselves had decided to fight in the war as Canadians and not merely as subjects of the British Empire, resulting in more public discourse concerning the creation of a distinct 'Canadian identity.' Second, there was a growing movement of artists including painters, writers and musicians organizing in the 1940s into professional peer groups drawing inspiration from the Group of Seven who had focused

on primarily Canadian subjects for the previous two decades (Key 1973, 171). In 1947, a group of professionals gathered at Musée de la Province de Quebec to begin preparing the groundwork for the CMA, an organization that would speak on behalf of all museums in Canada and act as a centralised advocacy group.

In the post-WW2 boom, there was both an increase in the number of museums in Canada, as well as a change in the way people thought about museums. By the 19th century, museums in the United States and Britain were focusing on display methods and the idea of human progress (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 114). Canada had quite a bit of catching up to do as many of the collections in the small museums at this time were nothing more than haphazard assortments of curiosities, both geographical and from Aboriginal people, with little thought given to display and education. In a review of the Canadian museum movement, Guthrie and Guthrie (1958, 5-11) showed that even though Canada had seen a huge increase in the number of museums since 1945, their display methods had remained static and the government fell far short of other governments in their support for museums. The majority of Canada's museums were history museums with a jumble of collections that attempted to preserve locally significant historical materials. As well, these were mostly run by historical societies with no full-time, and often no part-time staff, even fewer of whom had any museum training at all. Guthrie and Guthrie felt that museums did not take an active part in community life saying: "[t]he modern concept that exhibits should be attractive, sequential and stimulating is almost unknown." This report, published in 1953, combined with the lobby efforts of artists groups and the CMA coincided providentially

with increased tourism to Canada and an approaching Centennial anniversary of Confederation. At the time, tourism in Canada focused mostly on wildlife, hunting, fishing and other outdoor pursuits, but museums were advertised as viable alternatives. Canada's Centennial led to a growing consciousness about the need to preserve historical architecture, homes, settlements, ships, and other objects and areas of historical significance (Key 1973, 176).

The upcoming Centennial celebrations breathed new life into the Canadian museum movement. The government poured millions of dollars into Canada's museums, building new ones and creating additions for older ones, all to commemorate Canada's 100th birthday. Museums began to take Guthrie's (1958) advice on design, but as there was a shortage of museum professionals, people with commercial backgrounds and experience designing store displays were hired by museums, and the organisers of the exhibitions at Expo '67 to make up for the staff shortage (Canadian Museums Association 2009). Over 50 million people visited Expo '67 praising Canada's new museums. Creating the wave of interest in museums that would move from the 1970s through to today (Key 1973).

1970s to Today

The last forty years has been a period of rapid change in the museum world with several paradigmatic shifts occurring in the public sphere that affected the perception of museums, as well as several ideological upheavals that influenced museums internationally. The first major shift in museum thought occurred in 1970 when UNESCO announced the implementation of a convention on the means of prohibiting

and preventing the illicit export, import, and transfer of ownership of cultural property (UNESCO 1970). This was probably the (official) end of colonial collecting practises that illegally moved objects between museums and took advantage of indigenous peoples worldwide. However, enforcement took some time to catch up with theory and Canada did not make its own major changes until the fallout from the controversial exhibit *The Spirit Sings* in 1988 at the Glenbow museum in Calgary.

Although in the amendments to the Canadian constitution in 1982 Aboriginal peoples were guaranteed legal rights, the discourse of Aboriginal rights had not yet necessarily found its way into Canada's cultural institutions. Museums continued their traditional display of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis objects creating displays that were usually exoticizing, essentialist, and colonial in nature. One poignant example of these paternalistic attitudes is the controversy surrounding *The Spirit Sings* exhibit. This exhibit at Glenbow Museum displayed First Nations people as relics of the past, as curiosities, and did not take into account some of their wishes regarding the care of sacred objects. For example, the museum insisted on displaying false face masks, despite the wishes of Mi'kmaq Elders who saw the artefacts as too sacred for display in a museum. Aboriginal peoples, scholars, and other museums reacted to this exhibit with protests and boycotts of the exhibit. The result of the fallout from this exhibit was a conference convened by the CMA and the Assembly of First Nations. A task force was formed with members from both organizations who worked together to create guidelines concerning collaboration between museums and Aboriginal peoples. Specific recommendations included the participation of Aboriginal people in the governing

process of museums; involvement of Aboriginal people in the planning, research, implementation, presentation and maintenance of all exhibitions, programs, and/or projects that include Aboriginal cultures; repatriation of objects of cultural patrimony;[17] training of Aboriginal museum professionals; and implementation of recommendations through legislation and funding programs (Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association 1992). Although the report marked a turning point ideologically, its actual implementation has had varying levels of success. Devine (2010, 229) is critical of the ability of the Task Force's report to make real changes arguing that historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, and scientists are often unaware of the role that colonialism played in the formation of their professional paradigms. A similar task force was later convened in the United States when the American Museums Association decided to work with the federal government to produce the North American Graves Protection Act (NAGPRA) in 1990.[18]

In Canada there has been an increase in the number of museums associated with minority groups over the past twenty years. Examples such as the National Nikkei Heritage Centre Society, the Canadian Museum of Hindu Civilization, and the Aga Khan

[17] Human remains, sacred and ceremonial items, and other significant cultural objects

[18] NAGPRA still has several loopholes and exceptions and involves significantly more litigious processes than the Canadian guidelines. First, NAGPRA only applies to publicly-funded American museums, leaving the private commercial galleries and extensive personal collections unaffected. Secondly, the legislation does not apply to the major American flagship museum, the Smithsonian, though it should be noted that a special piece of legislation (the National Museum of the American Indian Act of 1989) governs approaches to repatriation at the Smithsonian. And finally, under NAGPRA, repatriation of artefacts is only mandatory when it involves the patrimony of Native American communities in the United States. This means that large American museums that hold ethnographic materials from Canada and elsewhere are not obliged to return anything to their original owners, much less engage in meaningful dialogue.

Museum[19] are all run by the ethnic communities they represent, and are being used as platforms for cultural preservation, and to tell the stories of these groups in Canada. As well, there have often been exhibits about minority communities in smaller regional museums. The tone and the style of these exhibits is changing as the local communities become more involved in their own representation and as museum workers get more training about how to respectfully represent minority groups. These museums and more respectful exhibits also allow these groups to have some control over how their non-mainline Christian religions are presented in the museum.

Scholars such as Allen and Anson (2005) are hopeful that multiculturalism as an enshrined policy can encourage pluralism and within this framework museums can play a role as places where different cultures can preserve their own identities while interacting with others, at a deeper level than folkloric multiculturalism. However, Karim (1993, 190) believes that in the popular mindset, multiculturalism has devolved from being a characteristic of the entire society (multiculturalism within a bilingual framework) that allowed for an inclusive national community, to become representative of only the non-British, non-French and non-Aboriginal communities. Karim states that "[m]ulticulturalism in the 1960s and 1970s had attempted to deconstruct symbolically the dominant Canadian notions of Anglo-conformity and biculturalism by depicting the entire population as constituting 'the multicultural community;' presently, this concept is increasingly being marginalised to mean only 'the others.'" Despite the pervasiveness of the discourse of multiculturalism and the fact

[19] Expected opening in 2013

it is a federal policy, there has been very little research done into its actual effects on museums in Canada.

In 1972, the National Museum Policy had been established, and with it came the first truly steady stream of financial aid from the government, of an allotted $9.4 million.[20] The increased funding resulted in another growth spurt for museums in Canada. In 1975 Martin Segger, an advisor for the British Columbia Museum, talked about this growth, to the CMA stating that "[p]art of this growth has been stimulated by the rising tide of Canadian Nationalism and the growing awareness in schools of the educational value of museums, in the last eight years membership in the British Columbia Museum Association has tripled." (Canadian Museums Association 2009). Most interesting about this quote is the emphasis on the educational function of the museums. The debate over whether the museum is primarily aesthetic or educational has been carried out since the 1800s (Zeller 1989, 29-30). Museums studies scholars have since come to agree that the museum is an inherently educational institution (Zeller 1989) whose job is to research and represent social history and science. Museum workers now actively create education programs for children and adults and encourage curators to do research into their fields of specialization (Hein 2007).

The growth in the number of museums could not last forever though and with the recession of the 1980s came government cutbacks, but no significant decrease in museum attendance (Canadian Museums Association 2009). The 1990s saw more cutbacks to museum funding, and in particular the Museum Assistance Program (MAP)

[20] $45 million today if we account for inflation

which had become a major source of income for many museums across Canada. The rise of the internet also caused museums to be more self-reflective. Knowledge was at peoples' fingertips, and the museum could no longer be simply a disseminator of knowledge, the ability to interpret and connect with communities both local and global became a driving force of museum development (Canadian Museums Association 2009). 1992 was the 125th anniversary of Confederation and as with all events of national significance, there was increased reflection on what it meant to be Canadian. This reflection led to the realisation that many of the veterans who had fought in the two world wars, Korea and now even some peacekeepers were passing away and their stories were being lost. The *Task Force on Military Museums and Collections* (1991) recommended the creation of more military museums and the greater conservation of military collections, as well as a more formal linkage between the Canadian Forces and Canadian museums.

The federal government's Department of Canadian Heritage (DCH) is responsible for museums and has a goal of supporting "Canadian museums in their efforts to be vibrant and engaging." The Heritage Policies and Programs Branch of the DCH is supposed to "ensure that Canada's heritage is preserved and accessible to Canadians today and in the future." DCH also runs the Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN) which has 1400 members among Canada's heritage institutions. CHIN also hosts the Virtual Museum of Canada (VMC) which contains hundreds of online exhibits that either mirror physical exhibits in Canada's museums, or are virtual exhibits with only an online presence. The DCH is also involved with five Canadian

museums that are officially "National Museums," three of which have affiliate museums. These include: the Canada Science and Technology Museum and its affiliate museums the Canada Agriculture Museum and the Canada Aviation and Space Museum; the Canadian Museum for Human Rights; the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) and its affiliate museum the Canadian War Museum (CWM); the Canadian Museum of Nature; and the National Gallery of Canada and its affiliate museum the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography (Canadian Heritage 2010). The largest independent institution for museums in Canada is the CMA which publishes a journal, hosts annual meetings and a large online presence. Membership in the CMA is voluntary but members must adhere to a series of ethical guidelines. Similar organizations exist in all the provinces and territories except for the Northwest Territories.

Several surveys have been performed by a variety of groups to examine which Canadians are going to museums and their attitudes towards these institutions. The *Museums and Art Gallery Attendance in Canada and the Provinces Survey* (Hill Strategies Research Inc. 2003) analyzes the attendance of Canadians at various types of museums, including: public art galleries; science, technology, and natural history museums; general, human history, and community museums; and commercial art galleries. According to this report science, technology, and natural history museums attracted 3.4 million people in 1998 and general, human history, and community museums drew 2.9 million Canadians. Women and men visit museums and art galleries in roughly equal proportions (32.8% or 4.0 million women, 31.7% or 3.8 million men). Canadians who

speak English at home have the highest museum attendance rate of 34.5% of all language groups, 28.2% Canadians who speak French at home attended museums in the survey year and Canadians who do not speak one of Canada's official languages at home have the lowest attendance rate at 25.6%. Urban Canadians visit museums in somewhat higher proportions than rural Canadians: 35.5% of urban residents visited a museum during the survey year, while 27.7% of rural residents visited a museum.

The survey, *Canada's Museum Tourism Enthusiasts a Special Analysis of the Travel Activities and Motivation Survey (TAMS)* (Canadian Tourism Commission 2004) focuses on Canadians who are considered Museum and Related Cultural Institution Tourism Enthusiasts—Canadians who exhibit a particular interest in museums and other related cultural institutions when they travel. According to this survey, of the 23.3 million Canadian adults in 2000, about 3.2 million are Museum and Related Cultural Institution Tourism Enthusiasts (14%). Thus, the domestic tourism market for Canada's museums and related cultural institutions is approximately 2.7 million adults. In Canada, these museum enthusiasts are more likely to be women (56%) than men (44%). The average income of this group is $58 200 (Canadian Dollars) and 44% have some post secondary (44%) or university education (27%).

A final survey commissioned by the CMA, *A Survey of Canadians and Their Views about the Country's Museums* (Canadian Museums Association 2003) surveyed 2400 Canadians to determine the awareness that people have of museums in their community, and to share their views about what these institutions reflect about this country's cultural and historical heritage. 80% of respondents know of a museum in

their community, and 48% visited such an institution in the past year at least once. 68% of respondents see museums as offering both an educational as well as an entertainment/recreational experience, in addition to 15% who see such trips as purely educational, and 9% as purely entertainment/recreational. 92% of respondents believe it is important for children to be exposed to museums and 96% believe museums contribute to our quality of life. 97% believe museums play a critical role in preserving objects and knowledge of Canada's history. 93% believe museums play a valuable role in explaining other regions and cultures and 60% believe museums can play an even more significant role in Canadian society than they do now, though one-third feel this job is being done well.

To find out what present day issues museum workers face and consider pertinent, I examined the online archive of press releases and advocacy articles of the CMA to look for themes over the past five years (Canadian Museums Association 2011). The three issues that seem to elicit the most discussion in the museum community are securing funds, protecting vulnerable heritage, and ethical dilemmas. Securing funds is an issue concerning both the public and private sector. The CMA encourages members to lobby the government for more secured funding through programs such as the MAP. Likewise, museums are encouraged to find ways to keep individual donors and recruit more private and corporate donors to their museums (Canadian Museums Association 2008).

Protecting vulnerable heritage refers to the museums' concerns with artefacts either related to historically vulnerable groups, or artefacts in situations where cultural

heritage can be destroyed such as flood or fire prone areas, during conflicts or times of looting. In Canada these discussions have traditionally occurred with First Nations people (Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association 1992). A similar discussion was hosted by the CMA and the Canadian Jewish Congress during the Canadian Symposium on Holocaust-era Cultural Property in 2001 (Canadian Museums Association/Canadian Jewish Congress 2001) which explored:

> ... the complex historical, research, legal, and moral issues posed by the potential presence of Nazi-spoliated works of art and other cultural property in Canadian public collections; and to develop recommendations toward a national strategy to address these issues with the diligence and professionalism they demand.

The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions core activity on preservation and conservation held a conference in 2002 and published the proceedings which included a history of cultural preservation and recommendations for cultural institutions in vulnerable areas (International Federation of Library Associations 2003).

Finally the ethical issues faced by today's museums are vast and varied. The small list compiled here is by no means exhaustive. Many ethical issues seem to revolve around balancing competing interests. For example, Ernest Wotton wrote an article for the CMA about how to balance the need for pleasant and aesthetic lighting against conservation concerns about too much light on sensitive artefacts (Wotton n.d.). The same article also discusses balancing the need to attract visitors and crowds, with the need to create good stories and preserve collections (Wotton n.d.). Other concerns involve balancing voices in museums, and supporting cultural diversity, a challenge at

the best of times. Cameron (2000) argues this is impossible in physical museums. Even though they may be forums, the embedded power structures of museums mean they cannot be completely open forums where everyone has an equal voice. A final ethical balance in the museum is philosophical; how to balance new ideas about the role of the museum with traditional ideas. Newer disciplines and ideologies such as gender studies, postcolonialism, and globalization force the museum to continuously reinvent itself. Cameron has attempted to address this saying that while the museum does have to change and adapt, its original purposes of scholarship, reporting history, preserving cultural memory, and keeping that memory accessible and vital for today are still entirely relevant.

In the 21st century, there is increased pressure for museums to develop a relationship with the communities they represent and the community in which they are situated. A survey of Canadian museums in 2003 showed that Canadians are aware of museums, approve of them as tools for education about and exposure to different cultures but believe that museums are capable of playing an even more significant role than they already do (Canadian Museums Association 2003, 3). This has shaped the definition of a museum put forward by the CMA, worth quoting in full:

> Museums are institutions created in the public interest. They engage their visitors, foster deeper understanding and promote the enjoyment and sharing of authentic cultural and natural heritage. Museums acquire, preserve, research, interpret and exhibit the tangible and intangible evidence of society and nature. As educational institutions, museums provide a physical forum for critical inquiry and investigation.
>
> Museums are permanent, not-for-profit institutions whose exhibits are regularly open to the general public. This definition

> encompasses institutions that pursue similar objectives and accomplish most or some of a museum's functions (Canadian Museums Association 2009). [21]

The museum is now fully recognised as an institution built for public service and education, and this definition indicates that objects and collections are no longer the most important parts of a museum. Instead we now know that the communities who frequent, are displayed, and ultimately support the museum are and will continue to be the driving forces in their development and continued existence.

Today, there are over 2500 museums in Canada including non-profit museums, art galleries, science centres, aquaria, archives, sports halls-of-fame, artist-run centres, zoos, and historic sites. Museums employ over 24 000 Canadians in a variety of positions and contribute $650 million in direct salaries and wages to the economy. The number of volunteers who work in museums is nearly double this at an estimated 55 000 museum volunteers across Canada in all aspects of museum life including research, restoration, conservation, education, children's programs, and even managing and curating museums. 7.5 million school children visit Canada's museums annually and over 59 million other people will visit a Canadian museum this year. As well, it is estimated that tourist visits to museums contribute approximately $17 billion to Canada's economy.[22] [23]

---

[21] Accordingly, the following are recognized as museums: Exhibition places such as art galleries and science and interpretation centers; Institutions with plant and animal collections and displays, such as botanical gardens, biodomes, zoos, aquariums and insectariums; Cultural establishments that facilitate the preservation, continuation and management of tangible and intangible living heritage resources, such as keeping houses and heritage centers; Natural, archaeological, ethnographic and historical monuments and sites

[22] All figures drawn from Official Directory of Canadian Museums and Related Institutions, CMA; Canadian Encyclopaedia; and Statistics Canada.

Recent Ideological Changes

While museums went through numerous changes to get to where they are today, there is still much room for critique and growth as museums adapt to their new roles in society. As Harris (1990, 140) acknowledges, "The museum's position is no longer seen as transcendent. Rather it is implicated in the distributions of wealth, power, knowledge, and taste shaped by the large social order." While some museum workers and scholars still see the museum more as a temple than a forum and are still convinced of the unbiased nature of the medium, others are now asking themselves about what messages museums are unintentionally conveying. In the past fifty years society has seen several paradigmatic shifts. While these shifts do not disregard the ideas of modernity entirely, they often call into question the underlying assumptions of modern thought, providing critiques of societal institutions, such as museums, that are heavily influenced by modernity. This section will briefly examine the critical theories of postcolonialism, postmodernism, gender studies, and globalization to illustrate how these new paradigms are affecting museums today. Since each of these critical theories and their application to the topic of religion in museums could be a book unto itself, the goal here is not an exhaustive examination, but rather an overview to show how each of these areas of study will inform the analyses in this thesis.

---

[23] Similar statistics are available about Canada's visual arts and galleries but are tangential to this thesis. This information can be found at http://www.canadacouncil.ca/publications_e/fact_sheets/jy127245404713281250.htm

Postcolonialism

Perhaps one of the most difficult growing pains for the museum was the move away from colonialism towards postcolonialism. This section begins by describing colonialism and elaborating on how it was (and is) acted out in museums. Then, I will describe some of the qualities of postcolonial theory and how they can be used to critique the colonial mindset. To exemplify, I will examine a conflict that occurred at the ROM where the colonial and the postcolonial mindsets came head to head in an exhibit called *Into the Heart of Africa*. This section will finish with an examination of how postcolonial theory, while popular among scholars, has not necessarily trickled down to affect museum practise everywhere.

Postcolonialism is a reactionary ideology predicated on the existence of a colonial period in European history and a subsequent mindset that arose out of that period. Chidester (2000, 424) defines colonialism as "the use of military and political power to create and maintain a situation in which colonisers gain economic benefits from the raw materials and cheap labour of the colonised." However, colonialism goes far beyond the simple use of military coercion for economic benefits. It also created a complex system of relations between indigenous peoples and the invaders in what Pratt (1992) referred to as contact zones, "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today." A museum acts as a contact zone where the coloniser and the

colonised meet, the balance of power is towards the coloniser as the museum favours western forms of cultural knowledge and discourse.

Colonialism is very much about boundaries, expanding the boundaries of the colonisers' power, but also putting up clear boundaries between the colonisers and the colonised. These divisions were inherent to the museums of modern Europe. As Fyfe (2006, 36) says: "Euclidean museum space enlisted Western populations on the side of an apparently superior rationality; in the 19th centuries Western peoples found their intrinsic differences from 'primitive' colonial peoples ratified by the museum and calibrated within the deep time of civilization." An example from religious studies illustrates how the colonial paradigm would help create and then exploit artificial boundaries. Upon reaching India's Malabar Coast, colonisers found that St. Thomas Christians and Hindus had developed congenial relations based on significant inter-religious co-operation. However, the British East India Company worked to break down the social and economic ties that had developed between the two communities by favouring the St. Thomas Christians and by reifying boundaries between the two groups through an imposition of a European understanding of religion. The British found that religion was an excellent way to delineate between groups, as such the word Hinduism was created to describe the non-Christian and non-Muslim traditions in India. As British Imperialists favoured the Christians over the Hindus on the Malbar Coast, relations broke down and animosity developed between the two groups

eventually resulting in riots (Inden 1990).[24] The Christians were more like the British and could therefore be trusted and favoured, while the Hindus were an "other" to be feared and controlled.

Religion, race and ethnicity are all constructed categories that, because of colonial conditions, were applied to colonised groups. Rather than a coloniser being forced to acknowledge that their power was exploitive to another group, they could 'other' the colonised. Religion, race, and ethnicity were reified by colonisers and tied to actual identities to emphasise the separation between 'us' and 'them.' Imperialism could now be justified paternalistically. 'They' were less sophisticated, 'they' were more primitive, and 'their' religion was incorrect, as such 'they' require a colonial presence to modernise and Christianise them. The museum played a role in the goals of European imperialists:

> A museum is not the neutral and transparent sheltering space that it is often claimed to be. More like the traditional ceremonial monument that museum buildings frequently emulate—classical temples, medieval cathedrals, Renaissance palaces—the museum is a complex experience, involving architecture, programmed displays of art objects, and highly rationalised institutions. And like ceremonial structures of the past, by fulfilling its declared purposes as a museum (preserving and displaying art objects) it also carried our broad, sometimes less obvious political and ideological tasks (Duncan, Karp and Lavine 1991, 90).

Classification may seem like a neutral activity, and museums may seem like places that can provide unbiased representations of other groups. Colonialism was very

[24] It is important to remember that this opinion comes with the cynicism of a historical lens. The British colonialists were genuinely convinced about the reality of their categories, which they did indeed use for 'administrative' purposes. It is also difficult to verify how amicable the relations were between the Christians and the Hindus prior to the colonial period as a golden age lens on history may be at work.

much about control of the colonised. Separating them into distinct groups made it more difficult for resistance, and competition between groups meant colonisers could get the desired goods and services provided by the colonised for significantly cheaper prices. Museums played a large role in communicating these classifications to the colonisers by collecting 'primitive' artefacts from civilizations that were destined to disappear as they inevitably modernised and became Christian.

> Museums place history, nature and traditional societies under glass in artificially constructed dioramas and tableaux, thus sanitizing, insulating, plasticizing, and preserving them as attractions and simple lesson aids; by virtue of their location, they are implicitly compared with and subordinated to contemporary established values and definitions of social reality. When we "museumify" other cultures and our own past, we exercise conceptual control over them. (M. M. Ames 1992, 32)

The exercise of conceptual control is one of the hallmarks of colonialism, particularly in the museum. As will be demonstrated later in this section, the movement of conceptual control from the coloniser to the colonised is a hallmark of the move towards a postcolonial paradigm in the museum.

Although my knowledge of postcolonial theory is largely situated within the field of religious studies, there is a great deal of overlap between the ideas of postcolonialism in religious studies and museum studies. For example, Chidester (2000, 423) defines postcolonial studies as an examination of the production of knowledge within the power relations of colonial situations, a definition which can be uniformly applied to religious studies or museum studies. In either case, postcolonialism shifts the focus away from the worldviews of the colonisers to account for the effects of colonialism in the history, and to give voice to the colonised. The emergence of postcolonial theory

does not mean that a colonial mentality no longer exists in society, instead it is an academic paradigm that works to "relocate the production of knowledge within the power relations of colonial situations" (Chidester 2000, 423). Ideologically and practically museums are being forced to confront their colonial pasts and acknowledge the power imbalance inherent in their institutions. On a practical level, some museums are being forced to deal with their colonial pasts by returning objects that were acquired in questionable circumstances, reinterpreting their collections to ensure fair representation, forging new partnerships that allow represented people a place as stakeholders, and sharing some of their previous power (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 234). On an ideological level, postcolonialism manifests itself in the dialogue over how museums should create exhibits and the backlash that occurs when museums return to a colonial style of representation.

Exhibits of African artefacts are often a site of conflict between colonial display methods and postcolonial critiques. In November of 1989, the ROM opened an exhibit titled *Into the Heart of Africa* to which I will be referring periodically throughout the course of this thesis. This exhibit, which attempted to provide a postcolonial critique of the collection practises of the museum, found itself at the centre of its own postcolonial critique. There were three critiques of the exhibit that give a good overview of how postcolonial thought might be applied to a colonial museum exhibit and the ideological and practical steps a museum can take when faced with its own imperialism. The ROM did not take into account the political climate in the city of Toronto at the time of the opening of the exhibit, there had been violence between the police and some members

of the Black community and as such, tensions were quite high. Which brings us to the first problem, the belief that a museum is a neutral space which can exist outside the political intricacies of the communities both that it represents and within which it is situated. The assumption of neutrality, rationality, and objectivity are modern assumptions that are foundational for museums even to this day (Hutcheon 1994). As Ames (1991, 13) reminds us "Museum policy can no longer make undisputed claims for the privileges of neutrality and universality. Representation is a political act. Sponsorship is a political act. Curation is a political act. Working in a museum is a political act." Postcolonial studies allow us to critique the neutrality of the museum and recognise how colonised people are affected by assumptions of neutrality. These effects are best articulated by Vergo (1989, 2-3) who says:

> Museums make certain choices determined by judgements as to value, significance or monetary worth, judgements which may derive in part from the system of values peculiar to the institution itself, but which in a more profound sense are also rooted in our education, our upbringing, our prejudices. Whether we like it or not, every acquisition (and indeed disposal), every juxtaposition or arrangement of an object or work of art, together with other objects or works of art, within the context of a temporary exhibition or museum display means placing a certain construction upon history ... Beyond the captions, the information panels, the accompanying catalogue, the press handout, there is a subtext comprising innumerable diverse, often contradictory strands, woven from the wishes and ambitions, the intellectual or political or social or educational aspirations and preconceptions of the museum director, the curator, the scholar, the designer, the sponsor to say nothing of the society, the political or social or educational system which nurtured all these people and in so doing left its stamp upon them.

Second, colonial display practises are often critiqued for not incorporating the voice of the colonised. The organisers of *Into the Heart of Africa* did not involve the African community in Toronto in the exhibit, except for a small focus group that examined the promotional materials, but not the exhibit itself. Museums that create displays using the colonial voice are often prone to 'othering.' Othering creates a definitive separation between the colonisers and the colonised, an 'us and them' mentality, or in the museum, between the viewer and the displayed. Colonial methods of display fail to recognise commonalities between the two groups, and assume that one group has a superior way of being. Reiss (1992, 651), working from the perspective of literary studies, uses postcolonial theory to offer an idea of what it would take to move away from the 'us' and the 'other' dichotomy. As he posits:

> It has to do with learning to listen, precisely, to differences; with trying to understand them in their own terms as wholes, before absorbing them as "our" "other"; with knowing that diverse cultural processes do exist, binding people in different kinds of relations and different understandings of being (for example), and that these must change our ideas of literature and criticism just because they question the claim of any culture to centrality or universality.

Postcolonial theory argues that the colonised group being represented must be given an opportunity to speak for themselves and tell the story in their own words (Said 1979). *Into the Heart of* Africa contained no actual African voice to give a response to the colonial collector, in fact the Africans were portrayed as passive rather than active in their own histories. The ability of Africans, and all colonised peoples, to speak for themselves, represent themselves, and have self-determination, bring us to the topic of agency. Agency is complex and scholars in all of the humanities and social sciences

are still negotiating how oppressed people can have agency in their narratives without furthering the colonial voice. Agency is not agency if the holders of power act as though it is their position to allow the colonised to speak with their own voice. As McMaster (2007, 72) argues: "[n]ative voice is more than native people talking, but is a form of representation, authority perspective and visuality." The strategy suggested by Taylor (1993, 55) for literary narrative would also be useful for museums. She suggests using a dialogical process of intersubjectivity to account for the difference in power relations between the colonised and the coloniser. Instead of granting the colonised a voice on the terms of the coloniser, the two enter into a dialogue and respond to each other's renderings of the same story by subsequently adjusting their own narratives. Such an approach would have dramatically altered the narrative created by the curator of *Into the Heart of Africa*, while allowing the curator to pursue her goal of critiquing the colonial collecting practises of the museum.[25]

Despite the prevalence of exhibits that have been publicly critiqued for their colonial display methods and the existence of a large body of literature that provides both theoretical and practical advice to museums regarding exhibition practises, the colonial mindset is still present in many museums. Staying with our example of displaying African artefacts, McMaster (2007, 79) argues that despite a change in the public perceptions of Africa and several decades of postcolonial critique "these object-centred and objectifying modes of installation continue to retain their exclusive holds

[25] This is an ideal solution, given the fact there was a very tense relationship between the Toronto Police and the Black community at the time, the politics would have made it difficult to find representatives to speak for the Black community, which is diverse and by no means has a unified voice.

on museum display." Why is this still the case? McMaster theorises that "[i]t has to do on the one hand with a profound desire, deeply rooted in western cultures, for the experiences of 'resonance' and 'wonder' that are produced by the presentation of objects as artefacts and art." Museum visitors still wish to view the exotic and see things that are foreign to their everyday experience rather than focusing on the commonalities between cultures. While some museums have learned from the mistakes of the past, there is still a long way to go before museum exhibits concerning Africa and other colonised people are fully dialogical in nature. Perhaps, this is because to some extent western society still functions within the confines of modernity. As Anderson (1983, 99) argues, "under colonialism, and even more after its formal ending, the west has been exporting museums and their technologies of representation as integral parts of modernity's archiving, memorializing, and nation building practices." The next section will examine how postmodernity is being used to critique museum practises while functioning within a modern framework.

Postmodernism

Postmodernity is a fluid idea with varying interpretations of its creation, tenets, and applications. This section will begin by describing modernity and examining how postmodernity is a reaction to the ideals of modernity. I then briefly discuss the core ideas of postmodernity and some of the changes it has elicited in the museum. Finally, it will end with a brief discussion of two theorists who believe that in fact there is no such thing as postmodernity, but instead we are still in some form of the modern period that while different, does not indicate a complete paradigmatic shift.

As Hobsbawm (1990, 9) reminds us: "[c]oncepts, of course, are not part of free-floating philosophical discourse, but socially, historically and locally rooted, and must be explained in terms of these realities." Modernity as a mode of analysis has been applied to almost every cultural institution in existence. To further complicate the issue, every region that has been exposed to modernity has reacted to it and interpreted it uniquely. For the purpose of this paper, I have built an understanding of modernity that draws on research in both religious studies and sociology. Within religious studies, most scholars agree that while a definition of modernity cannot be adequately pinned down, they do agree the term could be applied to "significant developments in 17th and 18th century Europe" (Wiebe 2000, 351). Modernism on the other hand, describes the ideological changes brought about by modernity such as the notions of capitalism, industrialization, urbanism, modernization, individualism, rationalism, nationalism, reason, and secularism that helped transform the social structures of society and revealed a new way of thinking about the human condition (Wiebe 2000, 354). While these descriptions are extremely vague, most important to a religious studies understanding of modernism that also applies to the museum is the argument that largely intangible aspects of human experience, such as religion, ethnicity, and history can be studied scientifically. The scientific knowledge gained about religion is somehow superior as it considered objective and neutral, though according to Wiebe (2000, 359) this is contingent on the existence of 'neutral zones' (Huff 1993, 203) such as universities and museums that are politically neutral. By the

end of this thesis, it will be clear that all institutions of knowledge are politically and ideologically embedded in the society in which they exist.

Supplementing the religious studies understanding of modernity and modernism with a sociological understanding creates a series of frameworks and critiques of structures and institutions in society that can be applied to museums. Giddens (1991, 1) says: "'modernity' refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the 17th century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence." In a later book about modernity Giddens (1998, 94) elaborates about the characteristics of modernity saying it includes:

> (1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation, by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy. Largely as a result of these characteristics, modernity is vastly more dynamic than any previous type of social order. It is a society—more technically, a complex of institutions—which, unlike any preceding culture, lives in the future, rather than the past.

The reference to institutions in this quote is critical to this analysis of museums. Seeing museums as outcomes of the modern period contextualises the paradigms and the practices that have defined and influenced museums since their creation. This definition also assumes the dynamic nature of these institutions and their interconnectedness with society. A sociological understanding of modernity is pragmatic. Rather than focusing on discussions of what modernity is and the discourse surrounding it, a sociological understanding instead allows us to examine the practises of individuals and institutions within modern society (Wagner 1994).

Having demonstrated the ambiguous nature of definitions of modernity and modernism, there is little hope that postmodernity should be any easier to elucidate. There is much disagreement among scholars about what postmodernity is, or if it even exists. Among the variety of understandings of postmodernism there are some identifiable common traits that can be used to examine recent changes in museums. First, similar to postcolonial theory which is predicated on the existence of a colonial period, postmodernity requires that there is a clear ideological distinction between the way things were done in the modern period and the way they are done now (Wolfart 2000, 381). As will be demonstrated in this section, there are some scholars who think this break between the modern and the postmodern is at best, arbitrary, and at worst, non-existent.

Second, postmodernity is thoroughly concerned with power relations. A good example of power relations in the museum comes from an examination of narrative, which will be touched on here but described in more detail later in this thesis. Postmodernism has greatly increased the emphasis on narrative as a tool for analysis in academics. Lyotard (1984, xxiv) defined postmodernism as "incredulity toward metanarratives," such as the narratives of science and rationalism. Power imbalances are inherent to museums as their displays and exhibitions are finite and therefore must pick and choose which narratives to display. While museums used to adhere to the idea of a curatorial voice that reflected an authoritative right to make scholarly conclusions, the museum is now often expected to reflect differing voices and perspectives, even when they seem contradictory, all of which are hallmarks of postmodernism.

Influenced by postcolonialism, postmodernism also brings into to focus a variety of narratives, usually of people who were on the margins of society and treats them as subjectively valuable. Previously, and to some extent continuously, the scientific, chronological narrative is privileged in the museum and to make use of this medium you must be able to speak the language of science. However, according to Prior (2006, 516) some museums are "eschewing the traditional scientific narrative in favour of a non-linear, usually thematic, narrative reflective of a sampling culture where objects from disparate locations are lifted, borrowed, or brought together to form new or temporary constellations." These non-scientific narratives allow more people to participate in the museum discourse redistributing the power previously guarded by the museum.

Third, according to Gellner (1992, 22), postmodernists are intensely interested in how meaning is created. The meanings of various signs and symbols are no longer considered universal, instead, signs and symbols are considered negotiable and fluid as opposed to decreed and fixed. This becomes relevant in the museum as science is no longer a final authority deciding the value and meaning of objects, instead the meanings of objects are subjective and open to debate and critique. For example, a False Face mask in a museum can represent tradition and spirituality to one Iroquois person while representing colonial power imbalances to another who does not feel as though false face masks should be displayed, which may further conflict with the view of an anthropologist who may see the mask as an important cultural artefact to be preserved and studied. Likewise the tourist, the consumer, women, children and ritual specialists

will all interpret the mask differently and see it as representing different aspects of Iroquois culture. Through collecting, conserving, or exhibiting objects, museums make judgements, and in the words of postmodernists, ascribe meaning (and power) to the objects and the very institutions that contain them (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 235). According to postmodern museum theories, the meanings that are construed from objects are many, variable and fragile. Meanings are not constant, and the construction of meaning can always be undertaken again in new contexts and with new functions. Hooper-Greenhill (1989, 215) argues the radical potential of museums lies precisely in this. As long as museums and galleries re-examine the repositories of artefacts and specimens, new relationships can always be discovered, new interpretations with new relevance's can be found, new codes and new rules can be written.

Interestingly, in the postmodern museum, the museum itself becomes a symbol, the meaning of which is negotiated and dynamic.

> The idea of a universal survey, ideationally bound to enlightenment narratives of progress, has appeared increasingly unrealistic and outdated, as the old top-down model of museums, whereby curators and scholars present the fruits of their connoisseurship to a passive audience. Instead, museums are embracing mixed arrangements aimed at opening up audience interpretation beyond linear narratives of traditional art history (Prior 2006, 516).

In this way, the museum can almost become a critique of its own previous incarnations. Opening the museum to multiple narratives and reflexive exhibitions is not necessarily a positive change. Prior draws on Eco (1983) to argue that museums are displaying such a concentrated experience that they have created a "hyperreality," a larger than

life version of history that is capable of replacing history itself. The postmodern museum is dependent on the ability of the visitor to engage and question the narratives being displayed; the fear with a hyperreality is that the visitor will be unable to distinguish the constructed narrative in the museum from the other narratives that exist outside the museum on the same subject. On the other side of the coin, the proliferations of blockbuster exhibitions and what is known as the "McGuggenheim" phenomenon cause others to worry that the museum is losing its institutional integrity and becoming nothing more than a place for entertainment (Mathur 2005).

While Prior (2006, 522) believes that postmodernism does not fully encompass the "extent and abruptness of change that has occurred in the museum." There are many scholars who believe that postmodernism is not the correct framework for analysing the changes that have occurred recently in museums. There are some scholars, who are willing to admit that there has been either a shift in modern thinking or that the term modernity is not a sufficient descriptor. Pollock (2007, 3) argues that rather than use the language of postmodernity we should understand museums using what Bauman (2003) refers to as "liquid modernity." Whereas postmodernity assumes that the old framework of the museum has been completely replaced by a new one, liquid modernity sees the museum as caught in a loop of internal modernization where it undergoes constant deconstruction and reinvention. Within this framework, the museum currently has no goal and no idea of where these changes will lead it, except that it is undergoing constant deconstruction and recreation, and now must adhere to a notion of public purpose based on critical engagement. In a similar vein, Giddens

(1991) has acknowledged distinct changes that demarcate the era we currently live in from the previous one, but rejects the idea of postmodernism arguing instead that we are in a late-modern era which is the direct result of the same social forces that created the modern era. Giddens believes we have not yet moved out of modernity; instead we have just instituted radicalised versions of modernity called late modernity. Giddens argues that late modern societies are more reflexive, self-aware, and more willing to question the precedents of previous generations. One could argue that this self-reflexivity and the desire to question the norms of classification and display in the museum are evidence of this late modernity rather than of a postmodern mindset infiltrating the museum.

Gender

The role that gender has played in museum display has as of yet to be thoroughly analysed. As such, this section does not attempt to fill any gaps in the literature, but to demonstrate an awareness of gender issues in the museum and create a picture of where present day gender studies are in relation to museums. There are two main issues in gender studies concerning museums. The first concerns the number of women belonging to a particular field, whether in academia or the museum world; the other involves the articulation and the representation of feminist perspectives, and representation of those who do not conform to traditional gender roles (Pachter 1994, 56). Statistics concerning the number of women employed in Canadian museums were notoriously difficult to find. Some scholars have identified historical trends concerning women's work in museums, although this research seems to pertain mostly to the

United States, it may prove to be mirrored in the Canadian context as well. Weber (1986) identified three generations of women museums workers. The first generation of women who began museum work started just before the close of WW2 and continued into the 1950s. These women were usually highly specialised anthropologists or art historians who became associated with museums through involvement in a related professional field. The second generation occurred between 1950 and 1970, corresponding to a big increase in museum activity in the United States. These women were generalists who performed numerous tasks that needed to be done because of the expanding nature of the museum profession. Their tasks included organizing collections, renovating buildings, and developing public programs. The third generation went from 1970 to the present, or 1994 which was the time of publishing. These women were and are university trained often with masters' degrees and doctorates who viewed the museum as a bona fide profession, rather than as something to feel time. It will be interesting to see if future research reveals another wave of women workers in the museum. Finally, museums are less likely to use female artists as well, Dumalo, et al. (2007, 144) showed that female artists have fewer opportunities to display their work, and are often paid less than male artists in art museums across America.

The second gender concern in museums is the representation of women and other people who do not conform to traditional gender norms. Sullivan (1994, 100) believes that both sexism and racism are inherent to the museum. He states:

> I do not contend that as institutions museums overall are maliciously racist and sexist, although I believe that there have

> been instances of overt racism or sexism. I believe however that we are thoughtlessly racist and sexist institutions. It is not that we do not care, but that we lack systematic ways to assess and to evaluate our flaws in order to direct cumulative change in our activities.

In an attempt to overcome this systemic sexism and racism in the museum, a 1976 sex equity committee was commissioned for a renewal of the New York State Museum. This committee found five ways gender bias consistently occurred in the museum. First was invisibility, women and minority groups were underrepresented in the museum, an omission which implied that these groups were less valuable in society. Likewise, Machin (2008, 54) has critiqued science museums for assuming a universalism about gender, showing gender biases even when displaying animal specimens, and using gendered language on display cards that demonstrates a bias towards male specimens as more valuable and female specimens as only interesting in how they deviate from the male "norm." Conkey and Spector (1984) show that archaeologists, who have had a long and influential relationship with museums, have been repeatedly critiqued for ignoring, marginalizing or misinterpreting the lives of women in their fieldwork. The passivity of women is also present in the display of women in art museums. As demonstrated by Berger (1972), the art traditionally shown in galleries tends to display women as passive objects to be looked at by the viewer, whereas men in art are active and engage directly with the viewer.

The second issue found by the committee was the stereotyping of women in museums, where women were being represented in rigid and traditional roles thus limiting the perceived abilities and potentials of that group. Porter (1990) in her study

of how work history is represented in museums found that women were most often identified within the spheres of domesticity, reproduction, and consumption, while women's roles as workers were trivialised despite the fact that 48.7% of all women in Britain have paid employment and women form about 40% of the workforce. On top of this, domestic work is seen as repetitive and mostly uninteresting; as such the household sphere is often not included or even considered actual work. Porter also demonstrated that museums tended to focus on the leisure time of Victorian upper class women rather than on the working experience of lower class women, the domestic tasks of women and servants, or of paid female industrial labourers.

Third, exhibits at the museum were consistently imbalanced/selective about women and minority groups by displaying only one side of an issue, situation or group of people and often glossed over controversial issues. Using museum representations of work again as an example, we can also see how women have traditionally been portrayed as passive objects in museums rather than active subjects. Women were users of technology rather than creators of technology, and they did not influence how technology and society changed, rather, history happened to them instead of them making history.

Fourth, museums were often guilty of fragmentation and isolation. By separating issues related to minorities and women from the main body of the text, exhibits and instructional materials imply that these issues are less important and not part of the cultural mainstream. Museums ignore the everyday experience of women, and instead tend to focus on exceptional women in history. Focusing only on exceptional women

has two consequences; first it marginalises the everyday experience of women as uninteresting and unimportant for display in museums. Second, while it does provide an example for women to aspire too, it also creates a narrative where successful women are those who have escaped the domestic drudgery to do something exceptional. Within this narrative there is no room for women to be 'in the middle' they are either exceptional, or uninteresting. As well, creating a sub-discipline of history called 'women's history' separates it from the cultural mainstream and presents it as somehow less valuable than and peripheral to the "real" history being discussed in the rest of the museum (Mayo 1994, 60). Similar to the arguments made previously about biases in science, history has traditionally had its own biases in how facts are interpreted, what is considered important and what was affected by historical events and how. As Mayo (1994, 61) explains,

> Finally, it is not yet widely recognised that women's history is more than simply factoring women into existing, traditional models developed for and by men. We have considered history primarily in male defined terms rather than from a female-centred value system. We have asked questions of history inappropriate to women's experiences. Filtered through a prism of gender, history can be modified, providing a different angle of vision that brings an altered perspective to the world.

Finally, museums, their correspondence, advertizing and curricular materials often have a linguistic bias. Many museums are still prone to using masculine pronouns such as the generic 'he' or 'mankind' as well as masculine terms such as 'forefathers' that subtly ignore the references to the participation of women in society (Sullivan 2004).

Globalization

Globalization is culmination of all the other factors influencing museums discussed in this chapter. This section will discuss a definition of globalization, explore how globalization has affected museums, and examine what we can expect to see in museums in the future as the world becomes more globalised. Similar to the other concepts discussed in this chapter, globalization is difficult to define explicitly. However, all definitions of globalization contain a common emphasis on relationships and interconnectedness. For example, Friedman (2002, 62) describes globalization as:

> ... the integration of everything with everything else. A more complete definition is that globalization is the integration of markets, finance, and technology in a way that shrinks the world from a size medium to a size small. Globalization enables each of us, wherever we live, to reach around the world farther, faster and cheaper than ever before.

Waters (1996, 8-9) is more specific, examining globalization as a series of relationships between social organization and territoriality. He argues that these relationships are characterised by three types of exchanges, each of which comes with its own function: material exchanges which localise, political exchanges that internationalise, and symbolic exchanges with globalise. This understanding of the functions of globalization is particularly relevant to museums, as they are likely, especially with increased global communication, to act as either willing or unwilling participants in these sorts of exchanges. Museums have only recently entered the discussion of globalization despite their long participation in global matters (Lieber and Weisberg 2002, 273).

Globalization is marked not only by decreased barriers to exchange, but also by a fluidization of institutional and international boundaries. Just as economics, politics,

heritage, and identity are all now interconnected because of globalization, boundaries between corporations, the state, financial institutions, educational institutions, and the museum have become fluid, influencing each other and overlapping (Rectanus 2006, 382). The increased influence of corporations over other spheres of life has led some scholars to warn about a homogenization of culture and the dominance of western culture, as well as an increased commoditization of traditional cultures (Lieber and Weisberg 2002, 280). People from non-western cultures now design many of their goods to be appealing on a global consumer market, in turn this often affects their own culture changing it away from what some westerners view as 'authentic.' However, it is also important to remember the agency of indigenous and other non-western peoples who decide to use their art and culture as a means of interacting on a global scale. Leiber and Weisberg (283) argue that the fear of folkways changing and modernizing often comes from people who are outside of the actual culture and have an idealised picture of what authentic folk art is. "Folk art, rather than demonstrating purity, provides an excellent case study of the dynamics of assimilation and differentiation as it is usually a mixture of local production and aesthetics with outside influences." The increased flow of visitors and information due to globalization has meant that the authority once claimed by cultural museums has become outdated and even offensive as indigenous people become more empowered and are exposed to international representations of their cultures (Alexander and Alexander 2008, 296).

Interestingly, a reaction of museums towards globalization has been to create stronger ties within communities. Rectanus (2006, 394) argues that this is partially

because corporations have taken a stronger interest in using museums to insert their own interests into local politics and communities. Likely this is also a result of what has been termed "glocalization," where local communities use the tools of globalization to serve their own local needs (Bauman 2003). According to Alexander and Alexander (2008, 296) one of the most tangible changes occurring in the museum because of globalization is the increase in virtual visitors with the introduction of websites, online museums, and online archives, a trend that is certainly evident in many parts of Canada. Even the smallest museums now have a global presence but a local focus.

The term 'nation' is undergoing re-analysis due to globalization. Verdery (1993, 44) argues that globalization and transnationalism have made it difficult to both maintain and define national boundaries. As she says: "[t]he increased flow of capital—and of populations, in its wake, producing the much commented phenomenon of transnationalism—calls into question in an unprecedented way all those arbitrary, taken-for-granted nation-state boundaries." Since the 1700s modern museums have been inherently tied to the nation, telling the story of a nation's heritage, creating an identity, and acting as an authority to delimit who is included in a nation and who is not. As the forces of globalization become stronger and national boundaries become more permeable museums will have to change to reflect the increased complexity of the idea of the nation state. As well they will likely have to cede some of their authority as dissident voices within nations and diasporic communities are now capable of questioning the picture of a nation created by a museum.

Globalization has also made us aware of other forms of cultural heritage presentation existing already in other cultures. Museums have become "global symbols through which status and community are expressed" and because of this they are "subject to appropriation and the struggle for ownership" (S. J. Macdonald 1998, 2). The ability of globalization to bring out awareness of other forms of cultural critique serves to level the field, hopefully somewhat eroding the primacy and the power of the western style museum to act as an authority on other cultures, while allowing these other cultural forms of displaying and preserving material heritage to enter into an international dialogue on their representations of local culture. As illustrated by Mathur: (2005, 701)

> At the same time, in the past two decades we have seen a significant challenge to the authority of museums by indigenous peoples and other minority groups, and an increased attention by western museums to the contemporary arts of the non-western world. In short, new global relationships have resulted in different kinds of configurations of power and new kinds of political challenges to such power, and this has changed the dynamics between centres and margins that previously structured our exhibitionary world.

Mathur (2005, 698) theorises about what the role of the museums will be in the new public sphere dominated by globalization. Mathur believes that the biggest challenge to museums will be the consumer culture that pressures museums to be more like theme parks or shopping malls. Although she argues that these concerns are by no means new, the real concern of museums in the future will be the trend towards behaving like multi-national corporations with an emphasis on replication and profitability.

Conclusion

This chapter has defined the terms of analysis used in this paper (museums and religion), provided a surface level summary of the history of museums in Europe and Canada, outlined the present-day situation of museums in Canada, discussed the issues faced by museums, and provided a summary of the ideologies and paradigmatic shifts in society that have affected and continue to influence the development of museums. With this understanding in place of where museums have been, this paper can now move to examine where museums are now. This introduction has shown that although museums may not play a central role in Canadian life, they have played an important role as centres of education, and places that reflect the ideological changes occurring in society.

Chapter Two: Methodology

Introduction

Canada is a vast country, as I learned driving 17 000 kilometres in my 1998 Jetta to perform this research. The literature review showed that while many studies exist concerning individual exhibits or museums, no one had yet done a cross country survey on the topic of religion in museums. This research is unique as all the interviews were contextualised, by personal visits the communities and the museums in hopes of getting to know both the communities and the museum workers more intimately.

This chapter illustrates how it is possible to create and carry out an exploratory study to investigate how religion is displayed in Canadian museums. It begins by explaining the creation and recruitment of the sample. Then it explains the design and execution of the interviews. It then describes the sample population and data analysis. The largest portion of this chapter provides a summary of the results of the interviews by thematically reviewing the responses to all the questions. This study is exploratory and nothing more than an attempt to look for themes that can be investigated by more detailed research in the future.

Sampling Method

To gather the sample I began by using the CMA website's directory of museums. This database was initially drawn from information on CHIN[26] that was removed when the site was re-vamped in 2010. To compensate I compiled a new list using the various provincial museum association's websites and the VMC's museum listing service. From

[26] I found this out when I called the CMA on March 9th, 2011 to ask where the database had gone.

this database I immediately eliminated science centres, natural history museums, and art galleries. Science museums and natural history galleries do sometimes display religious artefacts,[27] but the purpose of these museums is not to represent a community's heritage, history, or narrative. It was a more difficult decision to eliminate art galleries; however a large and comprehensive body of literature already exists on religious art and its display in galleries.

The next step in narrowing the list of museums was to plot a course to drive across Canada. The trip occurred in three steps. The first trip was to New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island in May of 2009 where I flew to Saint John, rented a car and drove or bussed around those two provinces. The second trip was by far the longest and involved the 'Classic Canadian Road Trip' from Toronto, through the Northern cities of the Prairie Provinces, up the Alaska Highway to the Yukon, south through British Columbia and back east along the southern cities of the prairies. On the third trip I drove from Ontario, through Quebec to Nova Scotia then home through Quebec. After plotting these routes I looked for museums in the major cities and the small towns I would be passing through. I was willing to drive a maximum of one hour off the main highways to get to a museum. I e-mailed museums from the CMA website along this route who claimed they displayed religious, liturgical, cultural, or Aboriginal artefacts with a description of the project and a request for an interview (see Appendix A: Recruitment Letter/E-mail). I could only e-mail museums that had active and accurate e-mail addresses listed on the CMA website.

[27] For example, I visited a science centre in Montreal that was displaying a travelling exhibit on bugs in various cultures and discussed the religious significance of some of the insects.

At this point museums began to self-select. A large number of e-mails bounced back, several museums responded saying they did not discuss religion, some museums said they would pass my information on to a relevant person who would subsequently contact me (very few of whom did). In several cases, I was told to contact a specific person who would or would not respond. Next, I would tell curators the dates I would be in their region, if the curator was available we arranged an interview time. If they were not available I attempted to arrange a phone interview. Of thirty-two interviews, only one was performed over the phone, the rest were in person.

Sample Description

The final sample included thirty-one museums interviewed and fifty-five visited.

Province/Territory	Museums Interviewed	Museums Visited
Alberta	2	4
British Columbia	5	5
Manitoba	4	5
New Brunswick	7	7
Newfoundland and Labrador	1	3
Northwest Territories	0	0
Nova Scotia	3	4
Nunavut Territory	0	0
Ontario	1	10
Prince Edward Island	0	3
Quebec	3	4
Saskatchewan	3	5
Yukon	2	5
Totals	31	55

Table 1: Provincial Distributions of Museum Sample

Upon viewing the sample it became apparent that some distinct categories were emerging. Table 2 illustrates the seven categories that helped sort and organize the data. The goal of these categories was not to create typologies. However, were someone

to take this research further, most relevant museums would fit into one of these seven categories. These categories are somewhat fluid and overlapping. For example, many community museums will also have a war museum within them, Jewish museums will often have a holocaust remembrance exhibit though not being a specifically holocaust oriented museum (see Appendix B: Museum Descriptions, for more detailed descriptions of the museums).

Category (#)	Description	Example (s)	#
Aboriginal (1)	Museums dedicated specifically to the presentation of Aboriginal heritage	Ksan Historical Village	2
Denominational (2)	Museums that deal with the specific story of a denomination (e.g. Pentecostal) in Canada. Or a particular historical figure or point in time that is important to that denominations history	Marguerite Bourgeoys Museum	3
General interest museums (3)	Museums that examine both science and culture (Usually large museums)	ROM	6
Heritage Centres (4)	Museums that are responsible for telling the story of a particular group for whom religion and ethnicity/culture are intertwined (Mennonite, Doukhobor, Jewish)	Mennonite heritage village, Ukrainian museum of Saskatchewan	10
Historic Reconstructions/Living History Sites (5)	Sites that (re-)create a specific place important to the history of a group or sites of religious importance that have become museums	Saint Marie among the Hurons	5
Local History (6)	Museums that discuss the history of a place, in these museums religion is discussed because the religious institutions of the locale were involved in the creation of the community and the history of the area	Collingwood Museum	11
Memorial Museums (7)	Museums dedicated to remembering (a) specific event(s) in history. These museums may focus specifically on an event that happened to a religious/ethnic group.	Holocaust memorial museums, War museum	3

Table 2: Museum Categories

Measurement

For the measurement aspect of this research I decided to use semi-structured interviews as this method provided two advantages. First, the freedom that comes with a semi-structured interview allows for the pursuit of interesting relevant statements made by the interviewee. Second, they allow the researcher to adapt the interview style

to the cultural expectations of the interviewee if necessary.[28] The disadvantages of this style were that it was sometimes difficult to keep the interview on topic, and data analysis was more difficult because sometimes interviewees would (unintentionally) answer more than one question at once or not answer the question at all. Also, because I performed the interviews, there was always the possibility of my presence as a researcher biasing the answers given by the curators, either because of social desirability or because of differences in my personality that caused either tension or relaxation for the interviewee.

The surveys themselves included approximately thirty questions each with slight alterations based on the category of museum. There were five types of questions in the survey. The first were warm up questions designed to provide context about the curator and the museum, while getting them used to the interview and the presence of a tape recorder. The second category of questions was designed to help me be aware of how each individual curator understood religion in their museum. The remainder of the questions were designed to draw out information about the three themes of this thesis: space, power, and identity. Because the themes of the questions overlap so much, it was to be expected that curators answered would often answer more than one question at a time. The interviews were designed to take approximately one hour, however I did not adequately account for how much some curators enjoy talking about their museum. As such, there were times when I could not complete an entire interview or ask all the questions because of the curator's tight schedule. At those times, I tried to cut questions

[28] This was a concern because several of the interviewees were Aboriginal people, and two of those were Elders

that seemed less relevant and attempted to stay militantly on topic for the remainder of the interview.

Data Collection and Analysis

To collect the data for my research, I conducted site visits to various museums across Canada where I observed firsthand the representation of a range of religious and ethnic groups. As the scope of this project was already quite broad, I decided not to perform visitor surveys or interviews. Wherever possible, these site visits were complemented by semi-structured interviews with curators or museum workers, all of whom were given consent forms to sign (see Appendix C: Consent Form). The questionnaire consisted of a series of questions that allowed me to see how the curator views their own museum, how and if they discuss religion, and if the themes I have identified as pertinent to the representation of religion in museums—space, power, and identity—are conscious factors that the curators address directly, or if they are simply inherent to the process of displaying religion, but do not enter the curators conscious thought process (see Appendix D: Interview Questions). The questionnaire was designed collaboratively with my supervisor. I chose to interview curators as they are effective human representations of museums and add an informative dimension that fills a gap left by other possible sources. Curators play a pivotal role by acting as mediators between the expectations of visitors, the wishes of the group being represented, and the policy makers who regulate and often fund museums.

Results

To interpret the results, all the interviews were coded. The questions were designed to fit into five specific categories warm-up questions, religion questions, space, power, and identity. However, if the majority of answers from the curators fit into a category other than the one intended, the answers were listed in the category most relevant to the answers, not the initial intent of the question. Coding was done by carefully reading and re-reading all the data and repeatedly looking for both major and minor themes in the answers. The answers are summarized below, in table form when needed. The answers and themes are related here but are not discussed in greater detail until chapters three to six. It is also important to realize that while these interviews make up the majority of the data, they are not the only source of data used in this thesis.

Warm up Questions

The first question I asked was "[p]lease describe your exhibit or museum, your position and responsibilities for me." This question was designed to get the curator comfortable and to provide a context of the museum and the surrounding community, also interesting was hearing the various responsibilities of the curators. It is obvious that all curators do more than just curate, other duties included: grant applications, community fundraising, building maintenance, custodial services, editing journals, publishing articles, accounting, giving tours, conservation, media relations, running educational programs, maintaining libraries and archives, community relations, and

human resources. Of the curators interviewed three were unpaid volunteers, and two were university students being paid by government grants.

The second warm up question, "[d]o you ever get the opportunity to adjust or change your displays? What usually prompts a change?" was also designed to find out more about the exhibits, how recent they were, and more about how design process worked. Most permanent galleries are constantly undergoing small revisions as new information comes in, better artefacts are found or mistakes are corrected. However, creating new exhibits or overhauling old exhibits is an expensive, time and resource consuming process. Lack of funds, time, or personnel were all given as reasons why exhibits that needed to be changed often were not. This was also an attempt to see if curators would say, without prompting, whether or not community criticisms and requests would cause them to change their displays. The major themes concerning why exhibits are changed are discussed in Table 3.

Category	Artefact conservation	To keep repeat visitors interested	To create a better narrative	New information	Staff get bored	Community request	Increasing comprehensibility
(1)	1				1		
(2)	1					1	
(3)	2	3	1	3	1	1	1
(4)	2	2		3	1	1	
(5)	1			2	1		
(6)	3	4	2	4	3	2	2
(7)	1	1					

Table 3: Why exhibits are changed

The final warm up question was, "[w]hat is the primary message you try to communicate with your exhibit/museum?" Four curators were asked this question, one

claimed his museum did not really have a main message but that there were many smaller messages about the importance of history and living in tune with nature. Two museums were trying to communicate the complexity of the Jewish identity and the contribution they made to the community. Another curator was trying to communicate a similar message about Catholics in her community.

Religion Questions

The second set of questions were designed to help me understand how curators understood religion, if this definition was different from Geertz's, if curators thought they were discussing religion, and why they thought this. As such, the first question directly asked: "[d]o you think that your exhibit or museum addresses religion? Directly, indirectly or not at all?" In cases where the curator said they discuss both directly and indirectly, I counted them as directly. Two curators took this question to mean I was inquiring if the staff regularly discussed religion with visitors or proselytised (both were discouraged). Two curators said their discussion of religion was indirect, because what they did discuss about religion was simply a recounting of the facts about the local churches. One curator was difficult to pin down as he stated that his museum discussed religion indirectly but made the following statement:

> It talks about many religions ... the buildings themselves, such as the church with the unique stained glass windows, such as the tower of God which is dedicated to the three great world religions of Judaism, Islam and Christianity. And within that tower there are four walls, three dedicated to the three different religions, and one is a wall of great affirmations, where great leaders from years ago, up to the present time, including President Gerald Ford of the United States who came to visit have made statements in their own words asserting a higher power than that of the human being.

In this case, I wonder if the curator assumed I was asking if the staff gets in discussions about religion with visitors or proselytise. One regional museum did not discuss religion at all, but it was being included in the plans for new exhibits in the permanent galleries

Category	Yes		No	Spirituality, not religion
	Directly	Indirectly		
(1)		1		1
(2)	2	1		
(3)	3	1		2
(4)	6	3	1	
(5)	4		1	
(6)	5	5		3
(7)	1	2		1

Table 4: Does your museum discuss religion

The second question, "[d]o you communicate the overlap between religion and culture" was designed to see if museums were collapsing religion into culture or if they were making an attempt to communicate the two as distinct topics. For regional museums, I altered the question to ask if understanding religious institutions was critical to understanding social history. In four cases, language was also brought up by the curator as critical to understanding a culture. One museum was worried about frustrating people by bringing up the overlap too much. One museum claimed that one was impossible to communicate without the other even if that is never explicitly stated in the museum. Two curators argued for the separability of the two because in North American English culture religion is something that can actually change quite easily (especially among protestants), likewise for an exhibit on Islam the curators were examining a faith community that crossed several cultures. The ability to separate the

two was also evidenced by how religion is formative to a sense of self fluctuates with historical context. With Jewish museums this was interesting because some people describe themselves as Jewish even if they are not religious, and Jewishness can be seen as a religion, an ethnicity, a nationality, and/or a culture. One of the curators at a museum that discussed Jewish culture said they did not want to get into that discussion so they avoided the topic. Likewise, one curator reminded me how both categories were the construct of Anthropologists, not necessarily naturally occurring categories and a product of colonial discourse.

Category	Inseparable	Overlapping but Separable	Religious Institutions are Critical to Understanding History.	Did Not Answer
(1)	2			
(2)	2			
(3)	4	1		
(4)	5	2		
(5)	1	1		
(6)	5	2	3	1
(7)	1			1

Table 5: Religion and culture

The third question, "[d]o you use the term religion at all or do you use any other term, like spirituality, when discussing traditional beliefs and practices?" was only asked in Aboriginal museums to try and respect the unique relationship Aboriginal people have with the term "religion". One curator said he preferred the term spirituality because it was distinctly different from his Catholic upbringing; specifically that Native Spirituality was not dogmatic. One curator said he tended to use the term tradition more than spirituality or religion. The final curator prefers the term spirituality

because religion is the institution, whereas spirituality is embedded in everything her day to day life.

The fourth question, "[d]o you think your museum is or could be a tool for religious or cultural diversity?" was only asked at three museums and then removed from the survey as it caused some tension with the curators and made the rest of the interview more adversarial than I was comfortable with, especially considering that I wanted a conversational interview rather than a debate. While one curator of a Jewish museum wholeheartedly agreed that the museum could encourage diversity, the other three were less impressed with the question. One curator found cultural diversity too loose a term to really discuss with any usefulness. Two curators were offended by the use of the word 'tool' and did not like the implication that the museum could have ulterior motives or be used by some other organization, even if they did agree with the goals of diversity.

The fifth question, "[h]ave you witnessed any visitors performing what you might define as rituals or acts of devotion in your museum (praying, meditating etc)? Do you encourage these rituals either directly or indirectly?" was inspired by a plethora of literature about rituals in museums. It also alluded to the power dynamics of a museum (what if visitors were performing rituals regardless of the wishes of the curators). Most curators did not mind rituals; so long as the objects were not harmed. Two curators cited the specific examples of organic materials (such as milk or tobacco) near objects susceptible to such decay. Formal rituals are community events authorised by the museum whereas informal rituals are performed by individual visitors. The

formal rituals encouraged by museums included smudging, the creation of a Mandela by Buddhist monks, blessing ceremony of religious sculptures, temples, and shrines, feasting for objects in an Aboriginal gallery, sweet grass ceremonies, drumming and dancing, and Remembrance Day ceremonies. The informal rituals seen by curators included mediation, chanting, leaving offerings in front of a Buddhist statue, tobacco offerings in Aboriginal galleries, crossing themselves, venerating icons, leaving personal artefacts, and prayer.

Category	Have Seen				Have not Seen	
	Encourage	Discouraged	Informal	Formal	Encourage	Discouraged
(1)	2			2		
(2)	3		2			
(3)	1		1	1	1	1
(4)	2	1	5	4	4	
(5)	1	1	1	2	2	
(6)	2		2	1		1
(7)	2		1	1	1	

Table 6: Rituals in Museums

The seventh question, "[i]f one of the primary goals of your museum is to remember or memorialise, do you incorporate religion into your acts of remembrance in any way?" was to see if memorial museums were participating in religious rituals. Only two museums of three answered, both in the affirmative. The holocaust museum participated in Yom Ha Shoa and the Kristalnacht commemoration, both of which included Jewish ritual, the war museum participated in Remembrance Day ceremonies at local churches and always tried to incorporate poems and prayers from the First World War.

The eighth question, "[d]o you display objects in your museum that might be deemed "sacred" to the group being represented? Do you do anything different with these objects from others in your museum?" was an attempt to broaden the definition of sacred to how it is often used in the public sphere as something set aside or special. The responses are summarised in Table 7. Curators who said these sacred objects were treated no differently usually referred to the fact that they treated all their artefacts as special. One example that came up three times was Aboriginal pipes, these were often not on display and never stored with the stem and the bowl connected, as per the wishes of the community. A two memorial museums discussed how their museum had to deal with two levels of "sacrality." On the first level, everything in the museum was considered sacred because of the event it was associated with, but then it had the second level of religious objects, such as kosher Torah scrolls, which have their own storage or display requirements. One curator stated that while she would not do anything disrespectful such as put a statue of Shiva on the ground, she does not treat the objects any differently.

Category	Yes		Don't Know
	Treated differently	Treated the same	
(1)			1
(2)			
(3)	1	1	
(4)	2	3	1
(5)	1	2	
(6)	3	3	1
(7)	2	1	

Table 7: Sacred Objects

Question nine was closely related to the final question pertaining directly to religion, "[d]o you display any religious, ceremonial or liturgical objects? Are these treated any differently?" This category was also particularly interesting because it was used to explain what kind of artefacts were in a museum's collection on the CMA website. Only one curator said they treated these objects differently. Five curators expressed sentiments similar to those above, stating that all artefacts are special and treated carefully.

The tenth question, "[w]as there a particular religious institution or ethnic community that was influential in the founding and development of this city? Do you discuss this group in your museum?" was intended as an identity question, but upon reading the responses it made more sense to place this among the religion questions. Of the twelve curators who responded, only four said they displayed those institutions in their museums, either through programming, temporary exhibits or old exhibits that needed to be improved. In one interesting case in Vancouver the curator made the point that the Canada Pacific Railway (CPR) was really the founding institution, but the people associated with the CPR were mostly Presbyterian.

From the responses to these questions we can conclude that the understanding of religion in museums is subjective and fluid. While most museums in the sample did indeed discuss religion or spirituality, how they define those terms changes based on the curator and the community. Likewise, terms affiliated with religion such as 'sacred' and 'ritual' have multiple meanings. Only two museums were concerned about their museum being viewed as proselytizing, both of which were museums of mainline

Protestant denominations. Ultimately, relying both on Geertz's and the curator's understanding of religion, it becomes obvious that religion is a present and active factor in museums, but there is no consensus on how it should be defined, understood, practiced, or displayed.

Space Questions

The next set of questions investigated the understandings of space in the museum. The first question, "[h]ow would you define sacred space? Do you consider your museum to be a sacred space?" was designed to see if people thought in terms of sacred space. The first part of the question gave curators the opportunity to explore how they thought about sacred space. The responses generally fell into three categories; the first category involved curators who responded by describing aspects of sacred space without addressing whether or not sacred space was created or pre-existing. The second two assumed that sacred space was either created or inherent (pre-existing) and curators gave justifications or explanations of why they felt this way.

The first group of curators described sacred space in five different ways. First, one curator said spaces that were like cathedrals (dark, vast, and quiet) were conducive to sacred experiences, but did not explicitly say that all such spaces were sacred. Second, one curator said simply that sacred space is a place that cannot change, and that we have to keep it safe. Third, three curators stated that sacred spaces were associated solely with religion, none of these curators saw their museum as a sacred space. Fourth, two curators described sacred space using the language of taboo, describing sacred space as unapproachable, untouchable or taken apart. Finally, the

most common description of sacred space, given by four curators, was that it was a place that evoked emotions of nostalgia, depth, reflection, freedom, and calm.

The second set of curators assumed sacred space was intrinsic. Three curators argued that nature and the landscape were sacred; as such a museum could only try to be a sacred space, because it could never truly replicate nature inside the museum walls. Four curators argued that everywhere was sacred, but three different reasons were given: first, one curator believed everything has a sprit therefore everywhere is sacred. Second, one curator said you never know what is underneath a location therefore everywhere must be treated as sacred; this was in reference to burial plots. The last two curators said a sacred space is where you communicate with the divine, and since that can happen anywhere, everywhere is sacred. Finally, nine curators believed that some particular places were inherently sacred. Two curators argued that burial grounds were inherently sacred before people were buried there and that people (in this case Aboriginal people) picked places because they were sacred and buried them there, instead of reversing the causality. One Catholic curator that some spaces were sacred because a saint had dwelled there or a martyr had died there, and after that, they were always sacred places. Six curators argued that churches were sacred spaces, regardless of whether or not they were active and rituals were being performed there at the time. There is obviously some overlap as churches and places where martyrs or saints resided were created at one point in time, but there is an aspect of permanence and history as well.

The aspect of created sacred space that separates it from the permanent and inherent sacred space in the previous paragraph is also an issue of temporality. For example, two curators argued that churches were sacred spaces when they were consecrated, but once a church was de-consecrated it was no longer a sacred space, as was the case for the de-consecrated churches in their museums. Even though both churches may have had rituals performed in them, they were no longer sacred spaces. Ten curators took a slightly different understanding of this statement, arguing that the churches in their museums, or a more traditional museum space became sacred through the actions of people, including ritual actions, creating sacred time, performing a sacred act such as worship, or as one curator argued, interacting with other people in the community created sacred space. Three curators referred to the role that objects play in creating sacred spaces, arguing that while a museum may not be an inherently sacred space, the area around sacred objects may become so. Finally, eleven curators focused on meaning, history and memory as integral to sacred space, arguing that spaces became sacred when you ascribed a meaning to them; they told an important story or kept an important memory alive. All the memorial and war museums fell into this category.

I have already begun to address the second part of the question, "[d]o you consider your museum to be a sacred space?" Here again the answers can be grouped into three sections, curators who gave an unequivocal yes or no, and curators who were more unsure or did not directly answer the question. Fifteen curators believed their museums were sacred spaces, mostly because they believed their museum fell into one

of definitions of sacred space listed above, but some new reasons were also given. One museum is housed in a church that is still consecrated and therefore the curator saw it as a sacred space. All three memorial and war museum curators believed their museums were sacred spaces because of their affiliation with memory. Two curators claimed their museums were sacred spaces because they see visitors performing rituals, and they create spaces that encourage these behaviours. Four curators mentioned how the museum was sacred because of its affiliation with and representation of their particular communities. Two curators believed museums were sacred spaces because of a certain etiquette attached to museums. People behave as though museums are churches (walking slowly and talking quietly) and this made the museum a sacred space. One curator wanted her museum to be a sacred space but the odd architecture looked too funny for visitors to take seriously. Another curator argued their space was sacred is a secular way, without their elaboration I can only assume they mean special, but not necessarily affiliated with any sort of religious or spiritual idea of the sacred. Finally, one curator believed her museum was a sacred space for her because she experienced its calm and quiet every day, but did not think visitors spent enough time in it to appreciate these aspects of the space.

Aside from one curator who did not elaborate, the thirteen curators who did not believe their museums were sacred spaces had some very interesting discussion points. Similar to the understandings of sacred space described above, four curators argued that churches were sacred spaces, not museums. Three curators did not want their

museums to be sacred spaces because they saw it as exclusionary, and this conflicted with the belief that a museum was for everyone.

If one religious group considered the museum a sacred space, then it took away from the museums role as a place for the entire community, not just one sub-group. In a similarly denominational vein, two churches claimed that even though they had churches in their villages, their museums did not have sacred spaces. One because the church had been de-consecrated and one because the denomination being represented did not have a belief in permanent sacred spaces. Three curators said that visitors treated their museums like sacred spaces even though it was discouraged by the museum. Finally, Nancy made a point I found particularly interesting, she argued: "[o]ur sacredness is in our ability to reflect a society to itself, and reflect other societies to it, so our strength, our sacredness is in our ability, it's not in our physical space, it's not in our collections ... it's actually in our people."

Ten curators explained that while their museum contained sacred objects or spaces, the museum itself was not necessarily a sacred space. In each of these cases the sacred object or space was treated with respect or reverence, but still did not change the nature of the museum as a whole. On a similar note, one curator considered education a sacred task of the museum, but again did not argue that it made the museum a sacred space. Three curators discussed how understandings of sacred space could change over time. The most interesting example of this was a sweat lodge that a previous generation of elders approved to be in the museum display that the younger generation is now very uncomfortable with. The most interesting discussion was

whether or not the museum being a sacred space was a good thing. Three curators expressed reservations about sacred space in museums. The first worried that children might not want to come to museums and learn if they had to be quiet and act like they were in a church. Other two curators both worried that treating the museum as a sacred space led museums to be treated more as temples than as forums and discouraged independent critical thinking. Neither curator wanted visitors to accept their museums narratives as fact but wanted visitors to question and dialogue with the museum. On the other hand, one curator told of arguments he had heard about war museums, where many curators believed they needed to be treated more as sacred spaces. The curators worried that overly loud and interactive museums would end up teaching children that war was fun and a game.

The next question about space, "[d]oes this site have any significance to the event you are commemorating? Museums such as yours around the world are generally built on or near the sites they are commemorating, or near another relevant site. Has anyone ever discussed how we can remember an event 'over here' that happened 'over there'?" was only asked at memorial museums and war museums. In regards to the first part of the question, all three museums in this category said the sites they chose for remembrance in Canada were significant to the communities being represented. One curator said that the site of his museum, "reflect[ed] the cultural reality of the Jewish experience." A statement that was relevant for the holocaust memorial museum as well. In the case of the war museum, the legion in which it was located made sense because it

was a space already dedicated "to preserving the memory of the veterans and the veteran's way of life and current day military personnel."

The second part of the question had obviously been given a lot of thought by the curators. In the case of holocaust remembrance, two themes arose. First, one curator was very concerned with authenticity, which is a common theme in holocaust museums. To help create authentic experiences the museum organises trips to various holocaust related sites in Europe, maintains close relationships with survivors, and connects events of the present, in particular human rights violations, with the events of the past to make the holocaust more relevant. The other curator thought more about the meaningfulness of the site. While significant to the community, the museum was not located where the holocaust took place. At the various sites in Europe, a museum located on a former concentration camp was meaningful because of its very location. In Canada, location is meaningless so they bring in meaning thorough the story and the physical objects they display. He alluded to this first by talking about the memorial room in his museum which included a pillar from a synagogue in Warsaw and human ashes from Auschwitz. For the curators of the war museum, location was less important for finding meaning, but more important for communicating the story of the veterans. Artefacts from away were used to try and communicate the stories of veterans, and special exhibits are always created to commemorate special events such as D-Day.

On a related note I asked "[d]oes your museum or exhibit participate in acts of remembrance or memorialisation outside of the museum, or encourage events here in the museum space?" A holocaust museum and a war museum curator pre-emptively

answered this in other questions saying yes. However, a curator at a Jewish museum with a holocaust remembrance hall answered no because "[w]e are less involved in interpreting the ritualistic elements of the Jewish community or the religious celebrations. We deal more with the history of the local experiences."

I only asked the next question, "[h]ave you actively tried to create or discourage sacred space in your museum?" in one interview as it overlapped with other questions and I was adjusting the interviews to shorten how long they were taking. In this case the curator was happy to have people perform rituals in her museum as long as it did not interfere with the experiences of other visitors. The next question "[i]s there a building onsite that might once have been used for religious purposes (e.g. a church building)? Do people behave any differently in this building?" was only answered by two curators at heritage villages. Both villages had churches on site though neither was considered a sacred space. As well, neither of these received special treatment from the museum, though neither curator could comment on whether or not visitors treated the churches differently.

I asked the final question on space, "[d]o visitors to your museum ever leave personal effects? If so what do you do with the objects once the visitor has left?" at the war and memorial museums. Two curators responded, the curator at the holocaust museum could not comment on whether or not visitors left artefacts since he was rarely on site, but he speculated that this did not happen often as it was not a particularly Jewish form of remembrance, and people who survived the holocaust were unlikely to want to give up photos of family because they are quite rare from before the

holocaust era. The curators at the war museum said that it was quite common for people to leave anonymous donations and occasionally people might leave a photo near an exhibit or picture on the wall, but it did not happen often. She speculated that the infrequency of this is because it is a local museum and most of the items came locally, so the community has paid tribute already.

From these space questions it becomes obvious that museums are capable of being sacred spaces for both visitors and curators. However, the relationship between the secular museum and sacred space is still complex and being negotiated by curators. While some museums use a particular understanding of the transcendent or numinous to explain sacred space in their museum, the most interesting explanation was the connection between sacred space and memory. In many of these museums it is the memory of an event, or the memories of the community that make the museum a sacred space.

Power Questions

Power questions were designed to see whose voices were present in the museum and what other factors affected who got a say in the museum's narrative. The questions look at the relative power of three different groups: academics and experts, communities and visitors, and sponsors or funding groups.

Academics/Experts

Museums are sometimes accused of being elitist or overly academic, as such; I wanted to test how much say academics actually had in the museum. I asked two questions to investigate this. The first question, "[i]ncluding yourself, have you ever

consulted an academic professional about your exhibit?" Table 8 shows that the majority of curators do indeed consult academics, or are academics themselves.

Category	Yes	No	Would like to	Don't know
(1)				1
(2)	3		1	
(3)	5			
(4)	7			
(5)	2			
(6)	15	1		
(7)	4	1		

Table 8: Consulting Academics

Curators are often highly educated with twelve curators stating they had a master's degree in a related subject area and five stated they had doctoral degrees. The academics most commonly consulted included: historians, scientists (particularly archaeologists and geologists), museums scholars or curatorial consultants, and religious or ethnic scholars. Curators also gained access to academic expertise by building relationships with universities and other museums; this was closely related to the responses of several curators who said they used academics as a way to network with other experts when necessary. Three museums had academics on their board of directors. One curator in the Yukon expressed a desire to have more contact with academics but found it difficult because of her location. Three admitted to consulting academics but expressed some hesitations about doing so. One curator believed that having too much academic consultation could skew the viewpoint of an exhibit, another argued that academics often have trouble communicating their information to the general population and finally one stated that academics often had too narrow a field of knowledge to be of use in a museum. Finally, five curators stated that although they

were not academics, they had either so much experience or had taken enough courses that they now felt they were experts in their topics.

The second question "[h]ow do you decide if an object is sacred or an object of cultural patrimony?" was designed to see who (communities or experts) had the power to decide what objects were special or sacred in a museum. Eleven curators responded to this question, two of whom had a formalised process they followed, involving either following international protocols or doing their own research. Seven curators used informal consultations with community members or Elders. Two curators relied on their own expertise or the advice of other experts on the community. One curator described a ceremony she would perform to make certain objects sacred. One curator, claiming he might be influenced by his own religious affiliation, stated that any object associated with his church was sacred. Two curators said this was not really a problem for them, the first because as an archaeologist it tended to be the responsibility of the ethnologist in his museum. He and another curator also said that although some of their artefacts had sacred affiliations, they might not be sacred in and of themselves. This question also prompted curators to talk about how their museum treated sacred objects. One curator said they treat all objects, even sacred ones in the same way. Three curators stated that when asked, they would follow cultural rules about displaying sacred objects, such as storing pipes in separate pieces, keeping some things off display or covered. Two curators discussed repatriation, one mentioning that all the Aboriginal remains in her museum had been returned and re-buried, the other discussing how repatriation was not always necessary, particularly when objects had been given as

gifts. One curator decided not to display any sacred objects, and another said depending on the object he would either make a replica for display, or explain the sacred nature of the object in the exhibit.

The final question about experts, "[d]o you use actors or interpreters in your museum? How much leeway is given to them to explain the history and the museum in their own words? Are they members of the group being represented?"examined an area where some curators could have a large amount of power and choose to retain it or give it up and allow the individual docents to create their own narratives. I asked this question at three heritage villages where they are the most likely to use interpreters. All three made use of interpreters and none used memorised scripts. At the Acadian Heritage Village, interpreters were given a story to learn, and then could tell it in their own words. At the Ukrainian village the interpreters were not given a script, but they were not given very much leeway by the curator as he was very concerned about maintaining accuracy. At the Mennonite Heritage Village (MHV) the interpreters were mostly Mennonite with Thomas explaining:

> [i]t would be a difficult thing for me to even ask that question "how much leeway do I give them." Because I don't feel like I have the right to have authority over them, that may be a Mennonite thing because a lot of these people are older than me and have lived it themselves at some point and are allowed to have their opinions, but we have volunteer meetings once a year where I stress every year that this is about historical interpretation, not your individual religious beliefs about that tradition. So if somebody asks, I encourage them to talk about it if somebody asks them specifically. Say it's your opinion, and talk about it openly, about your feelings, if they ask you specifically about that. But that is different than any sort of official thing we have going on.

The next set of questions explored how much the community being represented and visitors influenced the museums displays and content. The first question I asked, "[h]ave you collaborated with (other) members of the community being represented in your museum during the process exhibit creation?" was designed to see what role members of the community being represented play in creating a museum's narrative. Table 9 summarises the larger themes of the data but within both the yes and the no categories there are some other themes that are interesting to discuss.

Category	Yes		No	Sometimes	Don't know
	Formally	Informally			
(1)	4	1	2		1
(2)			1		
(3)	4	1	1	1	
(4)	5	2	1		
(5)	2	1	1		
(6)	14	4	1	1	
(7)	3				

Table 9: Community Collaboration

Among the curators who answered that they did indeed collaborate with the community, these relationships were either formalised or informal. Formal relationships consisted of having community members as permanent staff within the museum, ensuring that community members were a part of advisory boards, having a governing body look over all exhibit plans, interviewing members of the community for specific exhibits, having formal relationships with other community institutions (for example, the Ukrainian Heritage Association), consulting local community groups (one museum was in a community where the Masons were very influential), and working with design firms. Specific members of communities were mentioned including Elders,

older members of communities, and one curator mentioned that she planned to have youth representatives on her board. Three curators were still in the planning stages for some of their exhibits and planned to strike formal committees in the future. Finally, three curators answered another question and said that they had formal relationships with academics, universities or other experts.

Curators who informally collaborated with the community seemed to assume that community collaboration was a foregone conclusion and did not need to be formalised. Informal collaboration included having different members of the community help out with projects by donating artefacts, or volunteering their time or skills (carpentry was mentioned explicitly), and communicating informally with experts and community members, asking members of the community if displays were accurate. In three cases, informal collaboration involved the curator gathering oral histories. One curator who claimed their relation with the community was informal stated that she wanted more collaboration than a consultation as she wanted the museum to be a place where the community told their own story, not where she told the community's stories.

Among the curators who answered no, there were five reasons given for not seeking community involvement. The first two curators said they already knew the community so well they did not really need to consult with them, the third curator said he had more expertise about the topic than anyone else so there was no need to consult, the fourth curator had the community tell them that they trusted his expertise so they did not need to consult. The fifth curator said her community was just too big to consult

everyone, so it was just best to critically tell a few of the major stories and be up front that the narrative in her exhibit was curatorial.

The second question, "[w]hat expectations do you think visitors have when entering your museum?" was also designed to see how much sway visitor expectations would have in the museum, especially considering visitors are rarely formally involved with the museums they visit. Seven curators admitted they did not know what visitors were expecting, or that their information as only anecdotal as they had never done a study or survey on visitor expectations. When museums focused on a specific ethnic group or region, nine curators believed that the visitors who belonged the group being represented had different expectations than those who were outsiders. For example, Nancy talked about how at her museum in the Yukon, locals wanted to see anything but exhibits about the gold rush, but that was all tourists tended to be interested in. Four curators mentioned that visitors probably wanted to see who was being represented in the museum or learn about the local community. Two curators mentioned how their buildings affected visitor expectation. One curator whose museum was in a church said that people would sometimes avoid the museum because they thought they needed to be religious to come in. Another said that because her museum was housed in a military barracks, people always expected a war museum instead of a local history museum. Other reasons curators suspected people visited their museums included: to see objects, see vistas, because they were curious, or to have a good time. One curator mentioned that she was aware of visitor expectations but found them difficult to meet because of a lack of resources. Six curators talked about stereotypes in their museums,

four curators said that visitors expected stereotypical representations of the community, one of whom said that because of negative media portrayals of his community people expected only what they knew from negative publicity. One curator said that she purposely did not listen to visitor expectations because they mostly consisted of stereotypes and narratives about the community that she was trying to challenge.

A similar question, "[h]ave you ever been asked by members of the public to change your display methods? Did you make the requested changes? What were their requests?" looked at active roles visitors had taken in trying to influence museum display. Responses to the first two parts of the question are easily summarised in Table 10 and Table 11.

Category	Yes	No	Don't Know
(1)	1		1
(2)	3		
(3)	3	1	
(4)	2	1	
(5)	5		
(6)	3	1	
(7)	1		

Table 10: Have you been asked to change anything in your museum?

Category	Yes	No	Rarely	I Don't Know if I Would Change Anything	I Will Make Changes When I Have the Resources Necessary
(1)					
(2)		2			1
(3)	2				1
(4)	1	1			
(5)		2	1	1	
(6)	1				2
(7)		1			

Table 11: Did you make the requested changes?

Answers to the next part of the question require a little more discussion. All but one curator had experienced critiques and suggestions from visitors covering a variety of topics. Twelve curators reported receiving critiques about the physical aspects of their displays which included requests to make labels bigger, have better lighting, label more objects, fix a translation issue, use more technology, get a newer display case, update the exhibit, or spread out the displays. In most cases, when space or funds permitted it the curators were amenable to the changes. The exception to this was technology, three curators expressed hesitation about increased technology either because their primary audience was older, or they were concerned about their own ability to maintain the technology after it had been installed. Ten curators also received content critiques which included requests to change a map, go into more depth on a topic, change the wording on a panel so it was more precise, and to question a source. All curators were willing to investigate changes and correct any mistakes if they had the resources. The only exception was maps. The difficulty with maps is best illustrated in a quote from Thomas:

> ... [S]o we have a map up front that shows ... the different migration routes until 1972, and that is a very complex, migration routes are very complex things, and they went all over the planet, and at different times, but what we tried to in 72, was simplify it so that a non-Mennonite would understand within a minute what the main routes were. And people get very upset by that and say "No, my grandfather came in 1926 not 1927" so we know Mennonites were there in 1926, not 1927, but the bulk of the Mennonites went in 1927, so that is why they chose that number, but people get very fixated on those kind of issues, on details. That's OK, because to me, that is just a way to talk more about it and to interpret it more and what about a museum does.

Seven curators reported people personally wanting something more out of an exhibit. Five curators had experienced visitors who wanted an item they had donated or felt connected to be either on display at all times, or displayed more prominently. One curator whose museum was attached to a very old church said some people in her community wanted more plaques dedicated to their ancestors or family who were important to the church and one curator said people often came into her church museum asking for displays about specific bishops or church members who were important to the community. A quote from Gregory illustrates this issue:

> ... people were offended if they didn't see their own reflection, so for example we had a lot of people from Lódz that live in Montreal, so we were given the ability to create 6 text panels of time lines around the museum, short staccato just to build the process because you know in 90 words you can't build that much. So one of them is invasion of Poland/ghetto timeline, so what is the first thing you want to list, the first ghetto right? What's the other thing you list? The biggest Ghetto, Warsaw, there were 400 ghettos, did you want me to list every one? It can't happen, so people were upset, why wasn't' Lódz there? It wasn't the first or the biggest. There is a whole case on Lódz and the calendars and the newspapers and all of this. Just one the one little timeline panel that talks about the creation of the ghettos. It's not mentioned. We got flak for that.

Finally, ten curators brought up visitor suggestions that were less personal but more controversial for groups. Two museums that displayed Aboriginal artefacts had been asked in the past to either remove some Aboriginal items from display or to change how they were displayed. In both cases the museum made the requested changes. Another curator at an Aboriginal museum had been asked on several occasions by particular groups to discuss God rather than spirituality. Both Ukrainian museums said they often dealt with concerns about why their interpretation of history

was different than soviet interpretations, or why some artefacts displayed at their museum were Russian instead of Ukrainian. Timothy dealt with this by saying "People confront history and say 'there is no way this could be there because it is Catholic.' If the icon was there historically, we restore it regardless, of if it is unpleasant." He also tried to educate visitors about how much denominations really do change over time. In the same vein of difficult history, one curator was asked by a member of the Chinese community to change a plaque that said "[m]any Chinese people used opium [in the 1800s]" but she did not change the display as she felt it was historically accurate. As a response to visitors, one curator decided to put up warnings when there was nudity in art displayed in his museum. Finally, two curators in smaller towns received push back from the communities and boards when they suggested it was time to update the museum as professional members of the community had made the previous display.

The question "[a]re there objects you don't have on display because they are too controversial? Are there any events of your community's history that are a delicate or even negative topic? Do you address them in your museum?" was inspired by some early museum visits before interviews began. After visiting several museums that discussed Aboriginal contact with Europeans, it became apparent that narratives often shied away from any real discussions of the negative aspects of contact including colonialism, residential schools, the spread of diseases, and other issues. I did not think these were necessarily intentional gaps, but perhaps oversights, or a result of curators either having insufficient resources or knowledge to deal with such delicate topics. This

question was designed to delve deeper into historical omissions beyond those I knew about in Aboriginal history.

The question divides into three parts, the first part, "[a]re there objects you don't have on display because they are too controversial?" I would change the wording if I could go back and do it again, because it seems that many times it was not controversy but respect that kept objects from being displayed, as well, controversial objects were still often on display. Most museums had some objects that were controversial including sacred Aboriginal artefacts, human remains (Aboriginal or European), objects about Aboriginal history that the local Aboriginal community was in dispute over, and artefacts that were acceptable at the time they were created but were now considered racist. One museum had documents affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan, and documents about the last hanging in New Brunswick that were not controversial in and of themselves, but the documents had the names of prominent community members on them, some of whom still had descendents living in the local area. Three museums mentioned artefacts they had on display that often caused controversy, one was a Blackmore statue that someone had changed the signage on because members of the community found the name offensive. Another museum had a vial of ashes from Hiroshima on display. Finally one museum had an autographed picture of Adolph Hitler that some people found so offensive that they would not even listen to the story affiliated with the photo.

The next part of the question, "[a]re there any events of your community's history that are a delicate or even negative topic?" was also fairly straightforward.

Topics included, the Japanese internment, religious tensions in the community (intermarriage, schisms, joining other congregations, abuse, and excommunications), the stories of businesses that closed and put large numbers of people out of work, tensions between labour unions and management, class tensions within different communities, and Masons getting special treatment in a community. Among museums that displayed Aboriginal artefacts, there were mentions of residential schools, disease epidemics, colonialism, the controversy surrounding the story of Louis Riel, stories about times Aboriginals had been aggressive against white settlers, and the story of the Beothuk. Both Ukrainian museums mentioned that sometimes discussing the soviet occupation of Ukraine was difficult and the Jewish museums all mentioned problems of anti-Semitism and divisions in the community over Zionism.

The final part of the question, "[d]o you address them [the controversial topics] in your museum?" led to some interesting results. Three museums said that when discussing controversial topics they tried to be neutral, factual and not treat it as a controversy, merely as history and view all the different perspectives. One curator who mentioned abuse in his community during his interview did not believe the museum was the right forum to discuss such a topic, as it was a public space and a very personal and painful experience, also there were a number of other groups in the community already dealing with the problem. Another curator voiced a similar concern about tuberculosis epidemics among Aboriginal people saying she would only address it if the community asked for it because it was such a painful and personal topic. One curator said she was waiting to create her exhibit on the Anglican Church's role in residential

schools until the results of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were released as she did not want to display history that was not yet complete. Another curator decided to look at colonialism in a historical context, as the early settlers thought they were doing a good thing by bringing Christianity to the Aboriginal people, she also stressed the agency of Aboriginal people, talking about First Nations women who were nuns and brought Christianity to their own people. One curator was planning to talk about the Japanese internment but wanted to emphasise storytelling, so visitors could have a more meaningful and personal understanding of the internment experience. Finally, one result that surprised me was an Aboriginal museum decided not to talk about the residential schools; instead she wanted to keep everything positive for her community because they already spent enough time thinking about bad things. Her museum was meant to be a place the community could enjoy and be proud of.

The next question, "[a]re there any sub-groups in the group you are representing? How do you talk about these groups?" was in response to research that shows first, that certain groups (such as women, children, lower socioeconomic classes, homosexuals, the disabled, and the elderly) are usually under-represented in museums, and second, in response to the observation that museums displaying the story of one particular group were sometimes surprisingly unified in their narrative. Seven curators responded to this question, all of whom were aware of the existence of sub groups. A curator of a museum of Gaelic heritage explained that the only Gaels who might have trouble connecting with his museum were 'neo-Gaels' "who have created their own kind of personal mythology based on kilts and some of the more prosaic things which

would be considered iconically [sic] representative of Scotland on the whole." He argued that language was the most important factor in his museum and if you could not speak the language, you would miss out on the cultural subtleties. At two Jewish museums the obvious sub-group were Sephardic Jews, both displayed or had some artefacts relating to Sephardic Jewry, but because their populations were overwhelmingly Ashkenazi, the majority of their artefacts available for display were from Ashkenazi families. The smaller of the two Jewish museums did not really discuss the holocaust as there was only one known survivor in town who did not wish to discuss her experience. The smaller museum also attempted to communicate the different denominational affiliations. In the larger of the two Jewish museums the curator was aware of the national differences in his community where Jews were from a variety of countries including Argentina, Israel, and the majority were from Eastern Europe (Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian), but did not always discuss it. He also mentioned that topics such as gender, and class, although class differences were slowly disappearing. At an Aboriginal museum in British Columbia, the curator said that while there were differences in the community (focusing on First Nations people who had converted to Christianity) she believed there was enough in common between the two groups, mainly that even Christian Aboriginals still held on to some of the ancient traditions, that they would feel welcome in the museum.

The curator at an Acadian museum mentioned a sub group called the Brayons who were represented and discussed in his museum. He also emphasised that it was very important to Acadians for their identity to be acknowledged as more than just

French, as not all French people in Quebec were Acadian, and some members of the community are very protective of the identity distinguishing it from Quebecers, Brayons, French New Brunswickers, and Cajuns. At the Ukrainian museum in Manitoba, the curator acknowledged that there were all kinds of sub groups and that Ukrainian Canadians were anything but monolithic. She discussed how Ukrainians were known for having many competing political and cultural organizations; there were differences between the Ukrainians from the different waves of immigration, and between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches that were more prominent in Canada than in Ukraine. Finally, the curator at a Black community centre acknowledged that there were groups that felt under represented mostly with respect to region, gender, and age, stating that while the centre tried, it was not always possible to include everybody.

The next question, "[w]as there a First Nations community here before the current town? Is their history included in the museum? Were they consulted in creating this portion of the museum?" was asked at regional museums and museums where a particular ethnic or religious group had migrated. The first part of the question was designed to see if the curators were aware of First Nations people in the area, and the second part was an attempt to see how much say a group would have in their own representation. In all nine cases the curators knew of the local Aboriginal communities, whether or not the communities were represented or consulted is summarised in Table 12.

	Yes we represent them				
	Consulted		Did not consult	Not Represented	Plan to represent them in future exhibits
Category	Formally	Informally			

(1)					
(2)			1		
(3)					
(4)				1	1
(5)				1	1
(6)	2	2	1		1
(7)					

Table 12: Representing Local Aboriginal Groups

This question yielded some unexpected results and comments. The two most unexpected results were first, one curator who had tried in the past to include Aboriginal representations in his historical village but had to ask them to leave as the two Aboriginal interpreters did not follow the museum's health and safety rules and did not dress in period clothing like the rest of the interpreters. That particular museum now has white interpreters who dress as Aboriginals. The second most unexpected result was a curator who expressed hesitancy about formal consultation as he was concerned about having the museum's artefacts repatriated. Most curators' experiences were more positive with one curator expressing a desire for Aboriginal members on her board and another saying how he knew the community so well they told him he no longer needed to consult them about exhibits. In two museums, First Nations people were involved in donating artefacts or creating programming but expressed little interest in exhibit creation or governance of the museum. In one case, the curator had inherited a museum with an antiquated, and he thought possibly completely inaccurate, history of the local First Nations people, so until he could sort out the real story, he would not display the First Nations artefacts.

The final question about community "[w]hat would you say is the role of survivors /veterans in this museum?" was partially inspired by the Dresden bombing

controversy at the CWM, where veterans were a primary force in getting the perceivedly offending panel changed. This question was only applicable for four curators two of museums with a holocaust memorial, one at a war museum, and one of a museum with two large exhibits on WW1 and War Brides. None of the curators interpreted this question with the intended underlying theme. In both holocaust museums the role of survivors included acting as witnesses who could tell the stories first hand, preserve memory so the story of the holocaust did not disappear, perform outreach to youth, and act as activists against current human rights violations. In the war museum veterans roles were decreasing as they aged, but they were still a primary source of information. In the museum with a WW1 exhibit survivors donated a lot of the artefacts, provided oral histories for the exhibits, and they helped create a replica of a WW1 trench.

The question, "[h]ave you ever had to choose between historical accuracy and telling the story in a way that is meaningful to either visitors or the group you represent in your museum? If yes, what did you choose and how did you come to that decision?" was intended as a question about identity, but the answers fell much more easily into the power section. The answers are summarised in Table 13.

Category	Yes	No	Not Yet	Chose Historical Accuracy	Chose the Meaningful Story
(1)	2				2
(2)		2	1	2	
(3)	2	1	1	2	1
(4)	2	3		4	1
(5)	3	1		4	
(6)	4	2		2	1
(7)	2			1	1

Table 13: Choosing between meaningful stories and historical accuracy

The curators had obviously grappled with this topic and their responses varied between hard lines and flexible positions. Four curators said they would always choose historical accuracy no matter what, with one curator explaining that historical accuracy was always meaningful. Three curators asserted that they were historically accurate, but that they would sometimes play down or up an aspect of a story, and three others said that you often had to make a story simpler than it actually was to communicate it in a museum. One curator said that while he tried to focus on the positive, the story of his group was difficult, so it needed to be told even if it did make some people uncomfortable. One curator admitted that a lot of his stories had come to him orally, so he was not always sure about their accuracy. In five cases where curators had changed or altered stories three said that ultimately, they sometimes had to tell the story the community wanted to tell. At the small war museum, when there was a conflict between the history and the family's story about an artefact, the curator told both. In another museum, the curator decided to blank out names on a document that listed some members of the community who were still alive or whose ancestors were still alive in order to protect them and their families from undue scrutiny.

Sponsors or Funding groups

The final power question, "[a]s much as you feel comfortable telling me, where does the funding for your museum come from? Do you think this affects your displays/exhibits?" was the one I expected curators to decline to answer. However, every curator answered it and discussed their answer at length, and some seemed slightly amused I was approaching the question so delicately. The first part of the

question, where funding comes from is answered in Table 14 and Table 15. As funding for any one museum usually comes from a variety of sources there is significant of overlap in the table. Admissions include set admission prices as well as admission by donation. Retail includes gifts shops, food services, a hotel, and facilities rentals. Fundraising includes raffles, event cards (e.g. birthdays, weddings) that include a donation to the museum, activities such as concerts or event days and programs. Donations included both private and corporate. Community funds include community organizations, endowments, foundations and auxiliaries. Organization funds include the CMA the head office of a branch museum, the Alberta Museum Association, and archive councils or associations (New Brunswick and Saskatchewan).

Category	Admissions	Membership	Community	Retail	Fundraising	Donations	Organizations
(1)	1			1		1	
(2)	1		2			1	2
(3)	2		3	1	3	2	
(4)	1	2	4	1	2	2	2
(5)	3		2	6	3	4	2
(6)	3	1		4	4	4	1
(7)					2	2	

Table 14: Non-government Funding

Governmental sources of funding were mostly in the form of grants that each museum needed to apply to on a regular basis (yearly or every five years). The Museums Assistance Program (MAP) or the Community Museum Assistance Program (CMAP) is a common source of funding run by the DCH. Despite several museums who I found were associated with CHIN only one museum mentioned them specifically as a source of funds.

Category	Un-specified	Federal	Provincial /	County	Municipal	MAP	CHIN	Canada Works	Project Specific

	Grants		Territorial					Student Grants	Funding
(1)	1				1	1			
(2)	2	1	1			1		2	
(3)		3	4		1	1			
(4)	1		2		1				2
(5)	2		4	1	2	1		1	2
(6)	1	4	5	1	5	2		1	1
(7)		1	1		1		1	1	

Table 15: Governmental Sources of Funding

The second part of the question, "[d]o you think this affects your displays/exhibits" was intended to see if the funding for exhibits had ever been tied to content restriction by the benefactor. However, the majority of curators answered this in a much more practical way than I had intended the question. Four curators stated explicitly, and several alluded to the fact that they felt their museums were grossly underfunded for what they were expected to do. Lack of funding for the day to day operation of a museum was a common theme amongst the curators with six curators saying lack of funds restricted them from reaching their museum's goals, two saying they could not afford something as basic to the museum as environmental controls, and another stating that lack of funds resulted in being under-staffed. As well, one curator pointed out that it was very difficult to find grants for operations as most grants require you to be creating a new project. In regards to specific projects one curator said that while a temporary exhibit could be done inexpensively, good permanent exhibits required a lot more money to ensure good research and display. One museums grant required them to hire a local artist which the museum was fine with and another museum's grant stipulated that they try to hire an Aboriginal student.

In terms of content and interpretation two museums said they have never had their funding tied to any sort of interpretive control by the donor, and they did not think they would accept such funding. One curator said if this did happen he would try to promote the neutrality of his displays, arguing that he would factually tell all sides of the story. Another curator felt his community values intellectual honesty too much to want a project that created a sanitised view of history, regardless of the funding. Three museums admitted that though they had never faced the dilemma, if someone presented them with a large donation to make an exhibit they might do a lot to try and make the donor happy and two museums said they stayed away from too many controversial exhibits in order not to jeopardise their funding. In some cases it seemed like there was a tension between the curator and the governing board. In one case the museum was given a chunk of money and the donor organization encouraged a sanitised view of history and the curator went along with it because the board wanted him too. Another curator said that it seemed like her museum chose exhibits more often because of their ability to draw tourists rather than their academic rigour. The same curator also had a very prominent example of an exhibit that never would have been created had it not been for a private donor who made a substantial contribution to the museum on the condition they do an exhibit on his culture. One curator mentioned that although his museum was about a specific denomination, grants were rarely given for specific religious institutions so he made sure his projects focused on history more than religion. Finally, two museums found a catch-22 in being funded by the government. At the one museum, people often complained about the three dollar admission. Since the

museum was in a government building they thought admission should be free. The other museum said that they almost never got donations because the community saw them as a government organization and did not want to give their own money back to the government.

The power questions rarely independently yielded any information specifically about religion in the museum. I had hoped that by being vague there would be unprompted admissions of good, neutral or bad relationships with local religious communities. However, there is still interesting information to be gleaned from these questions. There are definitely a variety of stakeholders who participate in the power struggles embedded in museums. And while curators have a lot of control over museums, they are not omnipotent in their own universes. Instead they must balance the desires of all the affiliated stakeholders while making exhibits that still attract the public. Finally, the hypothesis that museums are aware of power dynamics and trying to redistribute them while groups are searching for more avenues for participation proved to be correct. Listening to curators talk about their planned exhibits showed that curators are trying to involve communities more and create more sophisticated and meaningful representations of communities.

Identity Questions

The last series of questions were designed to examine how the museum dealt with the identities of the groups and communities they represented. The first question, "[d]o you ever consciously think of identity when creating a display/exhibit? Do you think museums can change public perception of a group?" was designed to specifically

inquire if the museums thought about identity. The results to the first part of the question are summarised in Table 16.

Category	Yes (consciously)	Yes (unconsciously)	No	Don't Know
(1)	2			
(2)	1		1	1
(3)	5			
(4)	4	1		
(5)	5			
(6)	2	2		
(7)	2			

Table 16: Do you ever consciously think about identity?

Two curators discussed how their museum often dealt with the issue of who belonged to the group. As Thomas said about his museum "[w]e don't necessarily suggest a way to be a Mennonite, but they at least open up in a simple enough form a complex history of what it is to be a Mennonite." Another two curators talked about the difficulty faced displaying identities of the past as opposed to present identities. Mark nicely summarises "I see myself as representing either an ancient identity or an historic identity through material culture, but the more contemporary I get with the material, the more I have to sort of negotiate and dialogue what kind of identity is going to be presented." Two curators talked about the difficulties associated with displaying different generations who see their identity differently. Five curators discussed how their respective groups negotiated Canadian identities with other identities. Other issues included class and women's identity, how to communicate ethnic identity, genetic identity, and the curator's responsibility to communicate and represent their own identity.

The second part of the question, can museums change public perception about a group, prompted discussions about exactly how museums could change public perceptions. For the most part, the educational role of the museum was emphasised with curators stating that museums could critique negative media portrayals of groups, show a group's heterogeneity, correct misinformation and stereotypes, show the dynamic, living, and active nature of a group, show the richness and breadth of a culture, or help show that a particular group considers themselves Canadian.

The question, "[a]re you a member of the community being represented in your museum/exhibit? Do you think this affects the way you create your displays?" examines the role that the curators' identity plays in creating museum displays. Table 17summarises the answers to the first part of the question. The curators who answered 'partially' were bi cultural (for example, half Cree, half South Asian).

Category	Yes	No	Partially
(1)	2		
(2)	2	1	
(3)	2	2	1
(4)	3	1	
(5)	4		1
(6)	3	5	1
(7)			

Table 17: Are you a member of the community being represented?

The answers to the second part of the question are summarised in Table 18.

Category	Yes	No	Yes and No	Never Thought About It
(1)	1	1		
(2)	1	1		1
(3)	3			
(4)	1		1	
(5)	4	3		
(6)	2	2		

(7)				

Table 18: Does it affect your displays?

Of the sixteen curators who answered that they were members of the community they represented, nine admitted that it did affect the way they present the community. Among the ways they thought their being members of the community might affect the displays included making them more sympathetic to the story, knowing the people in the community allowed them to make better exhibits, they had better access to the community, allows them to incorporate personal stories into the narrative, gives them more care and understanding, their background gives them a different context, they work very hard not to be biased, and they have to remind themselves that not everyone starts with the same base of knowledge. One curator said that being an academic probably had a bigger effect than his being a member of the community. Another curator did not think that a non-member of the community could contribute anything to the interpretation in the museum. Most interesting to me were the three curators that talked about the role their faith played in the museum. A Catholic curator admitted that she was often more interested in the religious aspects of history than others might be, and another working with the Japanese community also admitted that she found religion more interesting than the community seemed to. Two curators said that being Christian affected them more, one explaining that it gave her a sense of vocation. Finally, most interesting was Thomas who said:

> Another point is that my background is also in anthropology, so I have a wariness about missionaries, this is something that is carried through anthropology, they are like oil and water in some ways, and so the whole issue of proselytisation of being an advocate for the faith is something that I'm worried about and

> suspicious about. However, I am a Mennonite and as a Christian and I feel that those are good things, and I don't feel ashamed about those things either, but this is a public context and historical museum, so I feel like I'm always being careful that we are not proselytizing, but at the same time, I also feel that the museum is a witness, not a mission, but a witness to our history and to a certain aspect of the Christian faith.

Of the eleven curators who were not members of the community, nine admitted that it did affect their displays with two saying it made them double check everything with someone in the community, another two saying it made them work harder to develop relationships with the community and one stating that not being a member of the community gave them objectivity.

Three curators from a holocaust museum and a war museum require a separate analysis. The holocaust museum curator was neither a survivor nor a descendent of survivors but said that being Jewish definitely affected the way he created museum displays, mostly because he was susceptible to particular cultural biases and felt a deep connection to the story. However, he also talked about how not being a descendent of survivors might allow him to be more non-biased when creating displays as he did not have the same emotional attachment. The two curators I interviewed at the war museum were both descendents of veterans who said their relationship with veterans was probably what motivated them to work in the museum.

The question, "[d]oes your museum address the relationship of the group being represented with Canada or their place in Canadian history? How do you tell this story?" was designed to see if the groups being represented saw Canadian identity as a part of the groups' identity.

Category	Yes	No	Sometimes
(1)	1		
(2)	1		
(3)	1	2	1
(4)	5		
(5)	3	2	
(6)	5	1	
(7)	1	1	

Table 19: Canadian History

Of the five curators who did not talk about the groups' relationship with Canadian identity four said they did not discuss it because their collections actually pre-date the creation of Canada, two stated that their group was not really central in the creation of Canada, one said she did not have an object on which she could create that discussion.

The question, "[d]o you ever think of yourself as a story teller? Whose voice do you think tells the story in your exhibit?" was a result of research into how people create and communicate their identities through stories. The second part overlaps with questions from the power section asking whose voice gets to communicate those stories. The answers are summarised in Table 20 and Table 21.

Category	Yes	No	Don't Know
(1)	2		
(2)	1	1	1
(3)	5		
(4)	4		
(5)	3	1	
(6)	6		
(7)	2		

Table 20: Do you think of yourself as a storyteller?

Category	Community	Interpreters	Curators	Variety	Elders /Ancestors	Veterans	Neutral Voice	Community and Curator
(1)				1	1			
(2)	1		1					

(3)			2	2			1	
(4)	2			1	1			
(5)	3	2						
(6)	1	1	1	2				
(7)						1	1	

Table 21: Whose voice tells the story?

The question "[h]ow do you try to avoid essentialism or exoticism in your displays?" was interesting as I found that several curators were not familiar with these terms despite their prevalence in museum literature. It was obvious however that some curators had really grappled with this question. Of the nine curators who answered this question, four mentioned the ability of the museum to confront stereotypes; two mentioned how the museum is a place of education where people can actually be faced with other cultures. Two curators said they used exoticism as a way to draw people into the museum, and then challenge the stereotypes once the visitor was inside. Another curator said he did not try to avoid exoticism or essentialism; instead he used it as a chance to show the contrast between how the group was viewed in the past and how they view themselves now. Two strategies to avoid the problem mentioned by curators were putting out modern objects and being very accurate with their representations. Scott had the most interesting response to this as he had participated in a panel on a similar topic several years before. He said:

> We talked about should there even be ethnic museums or should ethnic identity be integrated within the so called mainstream? The reality of course is that ethnic museums came up during a time when mainstream museums were doing a poor job of depicting their histories. I remember when I was going to the museum there was very little that was written about other ethnic groups and what was there was exotisized. They were conceived as 'others' and strangers people who were antithetical to who we were. So ethnic museums in large part arose as a result of ethnic

> communities defining their own terms and to define their own histories and space within Canadian society, and ensuring their history was told because mainstream society on the other hand wasn't telling them. On the other hand I've also seen some lousy ethnic museums where they have segregated themselves to the point where their history is told in a vacuum. They have monolithic concepts of their own community and their own identity ... If they are going to be there just to romanticise their past and to look at their past in a very acritical and ahistorical way which a lot of them do some times to be honest with you then what is the purpose? What they are doing is their own identity by not assuming that because their ethnic identity is dynamic, contrasting, a dialectic of sorts. To paint it in a very non-dialectical fashion does a grave injustice to that identity.

With the question "[h]as globalization affected your museum?" I was hoping for a discussion about how local identities are being affected now that they have to interact on a global scale. However, I did not want to lead the interviewee on, so I let them discuss globalization however they understood it. Of the twenty-five curators who responded, five said that globalization was an economic phenomenon, and as such, had not really affected the day to day procedures of their museum. Eight said that the internet changed their museum and eight said that an increase in international tourism was the biggest effect. Four curators said that globalization has always existed and their groups participated in it, so their museums had not really changed. Three curators said a big change was the fact that people did not have to visit a museum anymore to research an artefact, and two said it gave their smaller museums an opportunity to interact on a world scale. Three curators said they only discuss globalization in as much as it affected the community or region they represented. One curator, Rachel, who worked in a Ukrainian museum, had an different example of globalization and how it impacted the identity of her group.

> Our institution was created as a kind of foil what would happen during WW2 in the territory of Ukraine, while the destruction of cultural property during WW2 in Ukraine was horrendous, and Ukrainians living abroad, but specifically Canada and the United States were very concerned about that ... Now that the borders are open, the community is discovering and creating a rich dialogue with people in Ukraine, we are different than Ukrainians in Ukraine, and they are also discovering the treasures that we have been able to preserve ... Researchers from Ukraine, from state archives and universities have discovered our archival collection and the chair of an archival committee in the state archives spent almost two weeks here with her digital camera. The other thing that is sort of interesting in this configuration, is that soviet society is of course changing, they are trying to discover their own identity, they are trying to understand their soviet past and they are trying to figure out a way how they are going to go forward, that is not a process that happens overnight.

The next question "[t]here is some research that says many First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people do not identify with the concept of multiculturalism. Is this true in your museum and could you explain why? Does this affect the way you create your exhibits?" was originally designed for the power section but the answers made more sense in the identity section. Two of the First Nations curators disagreed with this statement with one pointing out all the people of different cultures who worked in his museum and the other saying that multiculturalism was a chance for her community to learn about other communities and for other communities to learn about hers. Robert, a curator from the Cree First Nation mentioned how a lot of government programs seem to separate Aboriginal programs from multicultural programs, which he found odd especially considering the diverse communities that fall under the rubric of First Nations.

The final question, "[w]hat do you think the museum means for yourself, the group it represents and the larger community?" was designed to see if the people saw the museum as a resource for their community, a place that displayed their story. This question was only asked at twelve museums, but the responses were indicative of how important communities find museums. Three curators said it was a place to tell histories that had been lost or underrepresented, either because of residential schools or the government not really wanting to talk about the persecution of a group. Two of those same curators said it allowed their communities to feel pride about their heritage. The curators of a Ukrainian and a Japanese museum said their museums were places to celebrate their Canadian heritage. Three curators said their museum was the community's museum. Three curators said the museum is a place for dialogue and debate between different groups of people. The war museum curators said "[t]he museum is a silent tribute to all those memories that will disappear if we do not honour our past, and if we do not learn from our past." Finally, Linda said: "it was a chance to narrate the history of South Asian art in a different way; to make an intervention both in scholarship (the academic community) and in popular knowledge (the public)."

As with the power questions, religion did not often come up as an independent topic. That being said, there was significant overlap between the religion questions and the identity questions, as discussing religion sometimes made people reflect on their own identity. Most curators are consciously aware of the role the museum plays in shaping and communicating a group's identity. Most also recognise that religion is often an important part of an identity. These questions, like the other categories also

demonstrate a spectrum of understanding within the curators, some of whom have very complex academic understandings of identity, and some of whom contemplate identity on a very practical level (for example, how the museum can challenge stereotypes). Finally, most curators think of themselves as story tellers and recognise that they are telling the group's stories in their museums. Some are completely comfortable using a curatorial voice while others hope their own voice is silent and it is only the community that speaks.

Conclusion

This chapter is an overview of the research methods and the results of data collection. Based on interviews alone, it can be argued that museums, for the most part, are increasing the role of the public in exhibit creation and that curators, communities and visitors are creating more reciprocal relationships. In regards to space, some curators are indeed embracing new ideas about sacred space in museums, some have been doing so for a long time, and some are not. Groups are demanding more power in their representation in museums, but curators are toeing a fine line where they must represent the wishes of the community, but also adhere to the museum's principles of education and accuracy. While research and exhibit design is becoming collaborative, the museum and the curator still hold a lot of authority over the representation of the community. Finally, groups and museums are very aware of the museum's ability to shape and critique identity, particularly religious identity, while groups are more willing to make use of museums to communicate the identities they want, curators are usually not willing to create an uncritical presentation.

Chapter Three: Space

Introduction

All aspects of human life occur within spaces and places. We take corporeal places such as buildings and plots of land, and we live out our daily lives with these areas as our backdrops. We then take these places and create symbolic meanings for them. The building we sleep in becomes home, the area we live in becomes a neighbourhood. Hospitals, libraries, schools, government buildings, monuments, and of course, museums, are all places that have been imbued with significance. As a society, we have developed certain expectations around spaces. We implicitly trust that we will receive medical care when we enter a hospital; we expect that a library will house books, that a shopping mall will contain goods for purchase. Likewise, when we enter a museum it is with a set of expectations surrounding what will be found in there and what experiences we can expect. We expect to see objects, artefacts, be told stories, and ultimately, to gain knowledge. We have an implicit trust in the museum as an institution of knowledge, that it will tell us things that are true.

The first two chapters of this thesis explore the historical, philosophical, and methodological context for this thesis. This chapter explores the modern museum, an institution that is rooted in modernity and therefore emphasises rationality, science, nationalism, and neutrality and is struggling with the challenges of postcolonialism, postmodernity, and globalization. Within the context of these challenges, we can begin to explore the themes of space, power, and identity. Concerning space I hypothesised that curators are grappling with changing and conflicted public and institutional understandings of the nature of space in museums. This is especially pertinent in

regards to how curators have either resisted or become more comfortable blurring the lines between sacred and secular space. As discussed below, research both in the interviews and the literature confirmed this hypothesis, but also found that the museum space, both physical and theoretical, creates a context of authority allowing the museum to become a place where power struggles can be acted out and identities of religious groups can be created and defined. I argue that the institutional and sacred natures of museum space work in tandem to create an embedded atmosphere of authority where power relations are played out. This power allows the museum to make authoritative statements about the role of religious groups in Canadian history. This research also indicates that the museum can become a location of religion. This chapter begins with an examination of the differences between place and space. It then examines the more specific ideas of sacred space arguing that the institutional and sacred qualities of the museum are central to the museums position in society as a place capable of making authoritative statements about communities. This chapter spends significantly more time examining sacred space in the museum drawing on frameworks from Lane and Knott to analyse sacred space in the museums that formed the sample for this research. As well, this chapter uses Knott to show how the museum can become a location for religion. An understanding of the spatial structures of authority will set the context for the next chapter's discussions of power. The museum as a location of religion will arise periodically in the chapters on identity and alternative discourses.

Theories of Space

Urry (2001) provides a useful introduction to how space has historically been theorised. Early sociological analyses of space tended to focus on cities and industrial spaces. It is in these spaces where the issues important to sociologists, such as class, labour, power, education, and human interaction in general occur. Urry begins his history with a description of Durkheim's ([1915]1965) theorisations about space. For Durkheim, space has two elements. The first is that everyone in a society will represent space in the same way, implying that the creation of public understandings of space is essentially social. Durkheim's second premise is that in some cases a society's spatial representations will literally mirror its dominant patterns of social organisation. He believed the impetus for categorization is due to the collective nature of human society where we categorise, because we live in groups. To some extent this occurs in museums where the self and the other, at least traditionally, were clearly defined depending on which side of the glass case you stood.

Space and place are not synonymous but neither are they mutually exclusive. Instead, they are two symbiotic concepts that influence and define each other. Within the context of this thesis, place is geographic, material, and physical whereas spaces are places imbued with meaning.[29] For de Certeau (1984, 117), place cannot be transformed into space without human activity. For him, spaces are "practised" places where humans create space by acting and functioning within a pre-existing place.

[29] When defining the two, Gieryn (2000, 466) states that "Space is what place becomes when the unique gathering of things, meanings, and values are sucked out. Put positively, place is space filled up by people, practices, objects, and representations." Gieryn's interpretation seems to run counter to others in the literature, I have included it here to make the reader aware that not everyone agrees on the definitions of place and space.

Lefebvre's (1991, 26) musings about space are also particularly relevant to this thesis. He argues that "([s]ocial) space is a (social) product ... the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action ... in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power." Lefebvre's understanding of power is somewhat Foucauldian and as such, he outlines three struggles that occur in spaces, all of which are relevant to the representation of religion in museums. First, there are "spatial practices" which include everything from the routines of individuals to systematic creation of zones and regions in the built environment and in the landscape. As humans use these spaces, their meaning becomes concretised over time. One interviewee, Stephanie, made a similar observation about how people feel they are supposed to act in a museum:

> Well it suggests that there is a kind of etiquette you are supposed to follow when you are in a museum, I know that I have a book we used in art history, *Ways of Seeing* by Berger, and he put in that section from the Bordieu study of the French working class, what do you think a museum is and what do you think a museum is most like, and a the largest number of people say a museum is most like a church or a Cathedral. I don't think it is quite as bad as that now, but it is still there, that people think that it's this place where you are supposed to act a certain way, you go there and I guess for some people it is always a bit overwhelming to be surrounded by so much from so many places.

Museums often look similar to churches, and people treat them in a similar way. Visitors adhere to certain protocols, to the point where if a person visits a museum, and behaves in a way that does not fit within the confines of traditional etiquette, other guests, museum workers, and even sometimes security guards will quickly either shun or shame the offending person to elicit the desired behaviour from them.

The second element of the struggles that occur in spaces concerns the representations of space. Lefebvre argues that there are forms of knowledge and practices that allow people to organise and represent space. Lefebvre pays particular attention to the role of the state and how their planning creates particular representations of spaces. The previous chapter discussed how countries such as France used museums to create a national identity, or how museums in England were used to create clear separations between the coloniser and the colonised. In both cases, the museum used categorical forms of knowledge while imbuing the museum with an institutional authority in order to reach a desired goal. In the case of France, this was defining a national identity and in the case of England it was justifying colonial enterprises.

The final element of the struggles outlined by Lefebvre occurs in spaces of representation. Within spaces of representation, groups experience variations in the collective experiences of a space or in the collective fantasies surrounding a space. In short, diverse groups and individuals will experience and interpret the same space differently, a phenomenon Lefebvre refers to as "symbolic representations." These symbolic representations are most salient in museums when a group's collective experience of the space conflicts with the dominant practices and understandings of the museum. One such example of this is when a colonised group disagrees with, or is offended by a representation of their culture within the museum, which has traditionally been the stronghold of colonial representations. For example, many members of the African community in Toronto were strongly offended by the *Into the*

Heart of Africa exhibit, even though the curator's intentions were to critique the colonial collecting practices of the museum. The African community's collective experience of the museum was one of an oppressive institution, rather than as a forum where the conflicted groups could engage in dialogue and the museum was open to self-critique.

With a more theoretical understanding of space, Urry re-grounds the importance of space within physical structures—dwellings, public buildings, shelters. The physical manifestations of space are important to analyse because, like all things, the way people think about buildings changes over time, and reflects changes occurring in society. Sennet (1992) argues that in contemporary cities, the moral functions of buildings have changed such that the most significant spaces are now those that encourage consumption and tourism instead of those reflecting the power of the Church or the government. As Mathur (2005) argued, museums are struggling with this shift as often they see themselves ideolgocially as places of education but out of necessity or pressure feel the need to also become places of consumption.

As structures, museums also house objects, but objects are not passive recipients of the space around them. Urry (2001), along with Grimes (1992) and Sullivan and Edwards (2004), argues that objects are significant players in the construction of space. First, the presence of particular objects helps people identify what symbolic space they are in. The presence of artefacts, glass cases, and art is usually a significant clue that a person has entered a museum. Second, objects are

displaced from their original contexts, and as such, often come with a certain baggage or aura that transforms the space around them. As respondent Linda said:

> The gallery that has an image of Shiva, it's sacred because it's an image of Shiva, and it once was in a temple, so in some ways wherever Shiva is, the temple is around him. And there are certainly instances in other galleries that I know of from my colleagues who will walk through the gallery find some type of some coins at the base of a statue of a god or goddess, so obviously someone has seen this object not simply as an aesthetic object but as a religious object so suddenly a sacred space is created.

A sacred object can transform the space around it into a sacred space. Third, objects in a museum often serve as the "imagined presence" of a community. When an object is placed in a museum, it becomes a representative of an entire community. An object as simple as a portrait of a saint will represent an entire community of nuns, while a large monument can represents the story of the Doukhobors in Canada. Both these objects, and others like them, carry the imagined presence of a community to all who visit the object.

Finally, one cannot discuss theories of space without addressing Foucault's (1984) concept of heterotopias. Foucault's begins by arguing that spaces, and understandings of them change over time, citing Galileo's discovery that the earth revolved around the sun as a precursor to a paradigmatic shift in understandings of space, it was the first time western civilization realised they were not anchored, but constantly moving through spaces. He then states that "[o]ur epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites." This relational quality to space informs much of this thesis. Foucault argues that the continued presence of the sacred

in understandings of space has defined these relations and thus created dichotomies in space that we now regard as givens, such as those between private and public space, family and social space, cultural and useful space, and the space of leisure and that of work. In this framework of relational spaces, Foucault is most interested in spaces "that have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralise, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect" (1984, 23). One of these spaces he calls heterotopias. In contrast to utopias, which have no real place and an image of society in a perfected form, heterotopias are real places "that are formed in the very founding of society - which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted." Foucault himself makes the argument for museums as heterotopias

> From a general standpoint, in a society like ours heterotopias and heterochronies[30] are structured and distributed in a relatively complex fashion. First of all, there are heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time, for example museums and libraries, Museums and libraries have become heterotopias in which time never stops building up and topping its own summit, whereas in the 17th century, even at the end of the century, museums and libraries were the expression of an individual choice. By contrast, the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity. The museum and the library are

[30] Places that sit outside of time.

> heterotopias that are proper to western culture of the 19th century.

Other scholars have taken up analysing museums as heterotopias. Mitchell (1992) says that heterotopias are constructed in museums through the mix of objects, labels, images, mannequins, and recreated scenes. Their purpose is the imposition of a sense of order, coherence, and truth. This sense of order is imposed by the museum on to the objects, the categorizations and groupings used within the museum would never be used in real life. Meaning is created through intentionally designed artificial contexts based on imposed logic. One object can be required to represent an entire culture, "[e]verything is arranged before an observer into a system of signification declaring itself to be a signifier of something further" (Mitchell 1992).

Heterotopias do have some inherent power on their own to create a representation of the world that is condensed and ordered, but their real power comes from their affiliation with institutions. It is the institutional nature of the museum that is partially responsible for its authoritative place in society. Berger (1963, 87) provides a useful definition of an institution as a place that "provides procedures through which human conduct is patterned, compelled to go, in grooves deemed desirable by society. And this trick is performed by making these grooves appear to the individual as the only possible ones." He also coined the term "institutional imperatives," to describe the ideas institutions communicate which eventually become viewed as the only viable way of doing things by providing scripts for how to act in everyday life, keeping other options out of our consciousness, providing formulas for living, and teaching us to behave according to typologies. For example, if we analyse the museum as an

institution, the imperative to categorise cultures by ethnicity becomes an ingrained script, rather than categorizing all people by age or hair colour. To picture these modes of categorization seems ludicrous because the scripts of culture, language, ethnicity, and religion are so ingrained in our psyches.

For Berger (1963), an institution is a normative system that operates in five basic areas of life, sometimes designated as the primary institutions. First are institutions that help determine kinship, such as the institution of family or marriage. Second are the institutions that provide for the legitimate use of power such as legal institutions and governments. Third are institutions that regulate the distribution of goods and services such as the economy. Fourth, institutions that transmit knowledge from one generation to the next such as schools (educational institutions). Finally, are institutions that regulate our relationship to the supernatural such as religious institutions? Institutions manifest themselves as official organizations such as the Catholic Church, and as informal arrangements of social order that reflect cultural habits and customs such as etiquette and behavioural expectations. There is obviously a significant amount of overlap between the institutions. For example, education is regulated in Canada by the government; however the presence of private schools, separate schools, and home schooling indicates that education is also subject to the whims of the economy, the church and the family. This thesis tends to locate museums within the institution of education. However, their goals also overlap with political and economic institutions. As political institutions, museums can be used as tools of the state to legitimise the values desired by the ruling parties. As economic institutions

museums serve as tourist attractions to draw people to locations and encourage them to spend money. The ambiguity of where museums should fit as institutions within a community has caused frustration to many of the curators I interviewed. One of the most tongue-in-cheek examples came from Michael who said:

> ... part of the difficulty is within city structure, the province is wonderful because they have what they call the history branch and they know what they are doing, the city ... we are under the tourism branch ... especially since tourism has one sense of what we should be, if they thought that having female mud wrestlers in our main room would bring in more visitors they would advise us to have female mud wrestlers; it's that sort of attitude.

Lamont and Fournier (1992, 205) draw the connection between the institutional imperatives of how people should behave according categories such as gender, class, and ethnicity, and consumption of culture, specifically art museums, by examining how power can create boundaries and shape everyday lives. For example, as scientific institutions, museums are often considered unbiased and not subject to political phenomenon. However, in a collection of essays about science and technology exhibits, Macdonald (1998) shows that museums are in fact entangled with politics by how they communicate narratives of progress as beneficial to humanity, citizenship, and religion as monolithic, and racial and national differences as inherent.

Sacred Space

The focus of this thesis is on the presentation of religion in Canadian museums. Considering the intrinsic relationship between religion and the sacred, the theoretical and practical implications of sacred space in the museum are some of the first issues that arise when displaying religion in museums. The logical starting point for a study of

sacred space is to understand how the word sacred has been used by scholars. Evans (2003, 33) provides a useful summary of the three ways the term sacred is used in academic literature. First, the term is used "as a dressed-up synonym for 'religion' or 'religious'" The problem with using the term sacred in this way, as pointed out by Stark (2001, 102), is "having equated religion with the sacred, too many scholars have proceeded to discover the sacred (hence religion) virtually everywhere, thus depriving the term of analytical power." Second, the sacred is understood as anything that is transcendent or alludes to a transcendent reality. This view of the sacred excludes any sacred experience that does not involve the supernatural, as such many forms of Buddhism would be said to have no concept of sacred and likewise 'secular' modes of religious belief or practises such as civil religion are left without an idea of sacredness. Evans (2003) draws on Durkheim ([1915]1965)for his third definition of the sacred as a reference to things are set apart with special meaning. The advantage of this understanding is that it can be used both in reference to individuals and social groups, and it can include both natural and supernatural associations. It is this understanding of the sacred that is most often applied to analyses of space. In her review of the historical examinations of religion and space, Knott (2005, 94) divides previous work in the field into four separate but interrelated categories: space and the sacred, geography of religion, religions and globalization, and religion and locality.

Knott's first category, space and the sacred, begins with Durkheim who was probably the first to problematize the term sacred in conjunction with space with his discussion of totems in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. He was followed closely

by Van der Leeuw (Van Der Leeuw 1933 [1963]) who folded the concept of space into the study of religion by examining the physical structures (homologies) in which religion occurred such as homes, temples, settlements, pilgrimage sites and human bodies in conjunction with the sites of religious practise (synecdoches) such as hearths, altars, sanctuaries, shrines and heart, to explore the links between place and practice. However, Eliade's (1961) theorisations of space are where most scholars begin their engagement with the concept (Knott 2005). Eliade spent more time theorizing the meanings, characteristics, and functions of sacred space. His definition saw sacred spaces "as other or set apart from ordinary, profane space, as the 'centre' or axis mundi through which communication between different domains is possible, and as the manifestation of the 'real' (or hierophany)." In this view, religion is always mediated by place. Later work focusing on the connections between space and sacred includes Smith's (1987) assertions that sacred space is created through human actions and scholars such as Knott (2000), who examines the role bodies play in creating sacred space.

The geography of religion is a significantly less theoretical field relying on both quantitative and qualitative research. Knott's summary of Kong (2001) introduces several ideas relevant to this thesis. Kong's emphasis on identity and communities influences her call to create new geographies of religion that take into account the conditions of modernity and reflect non-traditional inquiries into the study of religion. First, Kong recommends looking at different sites of religious practise beyond the officially sacred, such as the routes of a pilgrimage or domestic shrines. Second, she

recommends we examine different sensuous geographies through a shift away from an emphasis on the visual to an engagement with other senses such as hearing or touch. Third, Kong asks scholars to apply a greater degree of context sensitivity. Fourth, her call to make use of different geographical scales of analysis encourages scholars to think about religion on various levels and locations such as places, bodies, things, events, communities, localities and institutions. Fifth, by examining different constitutions of population, Kong seeks more work on the way different groups within a community such as the elderly, adolescents, women, and persons with disabilities perceive religious experiences. Sixth, Kong encourages the use of different dialectics such as public/private, poetic/political, social/spatial, secular/sacred and same/different. Finally, Kong asks scholars to examine different moralities.

Knott's (2005, 110) third category of research on sacred space concerns globalization and religion, particularly how late modernity has complicated our understandings of significant places such as homes, communities, and nations. Globalization does not only alter our conceptions of space, but also causes us to question the ability of existing theories of space to explain those perceptions. Knott's final category of religion and locality encourages scholars to examine the interrelationship between religious groups and their activities, and their immediate environs. The previous work in this category of study emphasises examining the reciprocal relations of the religious, social, cultural, political, and economic. This is largely Knott's own approach and one I hope to draw upon. This approach calls into question the colonial practises of both museums and religious studies by moving away

from a regime of collecting, classifying, comparing, and typologizing data towards seeing religion and museums as dynamic and engaged parts of a complex social environment or habitat, which itself is embedded within wider communications and power relations.

With an understanding of the theories and previous work on sacred space, this section uses Lane's (2001) categorizations of the approaches to theorizing sacred space: the ontological, the cultural and the phenomenological to explore three ways museums function as, or become, sacred spaces: through the numen-seeking experiences of visitors; through the presence of conflict; and finally, through the human actions that create sacred space. Each of these approaches examines the question of sacred space from different philosophical and methodological starting points, and each is applied to the museum using data from visits and interviews and the work of other scholars.

Ontological

The first approach, the ontological, was formulated by Eliade and sees a sacred space as one that is radically set apart from everything profane, or as Lane (2001, 43) says "a site recognised as manifesting its own inherent, chthonic power and numinosity. A place of hierophany, where supernatural forces have invaded the ordinary." This assumes all other space is amorphous and sacred space marks a break. Within the space is something called the centre, which serves to act both as a break between the cosmic levels of the sacred and the mundane, and as a place that allows communication between the two realms (Shiner 1972, 426). The advantage of the

ontological approach is that it begins from inside the sacred space and assumes and inherent power within the space itself. It also emphasises the experience of believers, those who participate in the mystery of the sacred space. The disadvantage of this approach is its dichotomous nature, its inability to recognise that sacred and profane, and religion and culture are overlapping categories and dimensions of human experience. Within this approach, sacred space is also created with the explicit goal of seeking a numinous experience.

Museums can, and often are expected to be, places where visitors can have these experiences. In an exploratory survey concerning what Americans want from their visits to museums, Cameron and Gatewood (2003, 55) discovered that many tourists are motivated to visit museums and heritage sites for reasons beyond having educational or tourist experiences. Often, visitors indicated they were seeking deeper experiences at heritage sites and wanted to make a personal connection with the people and spirit of earlier times. This impulse, termed "numen-seeking," is a strong motivation for many visitors to historical sites. One of Cameron and Gatewood's (2003, 57) important findings is that forays into the past have a strong affective component that has not been well documented in the heritage-tourism literature. This begs the question: how do visitors find numinous experiences in museums? There are different ways people can have these experiences in museums, including: gaining a connection to a historical or community narrative, finding a place for remembrance, and seeing sacred or numinous objects.

Evidence is everywhere that people long to feel as though they belong to something larger than themselves. Even a quick glance around my own house shows evidence of need to belong, cards and photos show I am part of a family, the Canadian flag in my drawer shows my connection to a nation and books on Scottish and French Canadian history on my shelf show I am searching for my own place in a historical narrative. However these are my objects and familiarity with them breeds complacency. I also seek outside evidence of my place in a larger historical or community narrative through new experiences, and new affirmations of my own belonging. I seek out spaces where I can have these experiences.

Growing up in Collingwood, a small town in Ontario on Georgian Bay, the museum played an important role in my own family history as my father, grandfather and great-grandfather all worked at the shipyards, the main employer in Collingwood until 1986. The museum focuses on the history of shipping in Collingwood and how it shaped the town. The museum is housed in a building called The Station, a reconstruction of the 1873 Collingwood Railway Station that hearkens back to the days when Collingwood was referred to as "the Chicago of the North" for its access to shipping routes. The museum became a place where I could learn what my family did when they came over from Scotland, and have access to a part of my ancestors' lives that I am far too young to remember, but shaped my childhood with their love of all things nautical. I could go to the museum to see pictures of the men that I knew, or even was related to. The museum held a special place in the town, managing to stay open through recessions, and ran educational programs involving every school in

Collingwood and the surrounding area. The museum became where the people of Collingwood would go to find connections to their own families and histories.

Lest this sentiment be taken as my own nostalgia, it was echoed both by the interviewees and in the literature. For example, seven curators explicitly stated not only that they either displayed or stored objects from members of the local community, but that the descendents of the people who either donated or were affiliated with the object continued to come in and 'check up' on the artefact periodically. In the Acadian Heritage Village, Daniel said the same woman would come back every year and examine the house donated by her family. In these cases the museums had become storehouses for meaningful objects. The people would come here seeking a connection with their own family. However, a museum does not need to have artefacts from a particular family to create a connection with an individual visitor. Numinous objects or experiences can be both individual and communal (Maines and Glynn 1993, 12). People will sometimes go to museums to see how their ancestors lived, looking for a connection through time and space to what things might have been like for their family. Tolia-Kelly (2004, 87) argues "the valency of social memory as inscribed within the materials of culture as signifiers of 'home', 'tradition' and 'history', together forming a collage of 'textures of identification'." She relies on a concept called re-memory which she defines as:

> memory that is encountered in the everyday, but is not always a recall or reflection of actual experience. It is separate to memories that are stored as site-specific signs linked to experienced events. Re-memory can be the memories of others as told to you by parents, friends, and absorbed through day-to-day living that are about a sense of self beyond a linear narrative

> of events, encounters and biographical experiences. It is an inscription of time in place, which is touched, accessed or mediated through sensory stimuli. A scent, sound or sight can metonymically transport you to a place where you have never been, but which is recalled through the inscription left in the imagination, lodged there by others' narratives.

While these re-memories can come in the form of the domestic tasks our grandmothers performed or seeing how our grandfathers may have farmed, religion plays a role in constructing family identity, particularly religion within the home. In her study of British South Asian women and their home shrines Tolia-Kelly (2004, 321) talked about how religious learning is often part of the socializing experience that occurs in the home. "The shrine activates a connection biographically and spiritually. The intensely personal spheres are shot through with religious moral codes and practices, which are also inscribed onto the shrine." The shrines are also important for diasporic communities as they allude to other places and times, rather than solely to religious ideology. Rachel provided me with an example of this exact phenomenon in her own home.

> And there is other aspect, the non-institutional religious aspect of sacred objects if you will. In Ukrainian folklore tradition, bread is a sacred thing. I remember as a child if bread fell on the ground my mother would tell me to pick it up, do the sign of the cross and kiss it because it is the stuff of life, and every rite of passage in Ukrainian is accompanied by a special bread, there is bread for every rite of passage. Those are very important symbols and the bread becomes kind of a sacred object. So you you'll have a special kind of bread, the Kolach, at Christmas Eve, you will have a special wedding bread, marriage bread has all kind of symbols and that becomes very important, so even in our collection with that, we collected ritual breads..

Visitors to these museum exhibits create re-memories seeing themselves and their ancestors practicing household religion in the museum's exhibits. Diasporic

communities also use these religious objects and representations to create connections with family members in the homeland. Second and third generation decedents of immigrants can use museum exhibits to re-learn about their own cultures.

Museums create a second opportunity for numinous experiences when they serve as memorials. The overlap between museums and places of remembrance and memory has been noted by scholars such as Linenthal (2001) and Crane (2000). Throughout this research, it became obvious there were certain museums that consistently doubled as places of remembrance. These tended to be museums of either a group that had been through a difficult time in their history or community museums with a section dedicated to their communities' contributions during the war. Psychoanalysts Laub and Podell (1995) suggest that trauma is best understood by the metaphor of an empty space, a hole in the psyche and that it is the recognition of that space that assists healing rather than attempts to fill the empty space. In recent years Western Europe and the United States have witnessed a surge in the construction of holocaust memorials that utilise empty spaces, voids, and disorientation, all motifs that reflect Laub and Podell's understanding of trauma. One such example is the holocaust memorial in Berlin. The memorial consists of a 19 000 square metre site covered with 2711 concrete stelae that are arranged in a grid pattern on a sloping field. The stelae vary in size and are designed to produce an uneasy, confusing feeling. The sculpture tries to represent order that has turned to chaos, but does not attempt any sort of healing.

Memorial museums and museums with memorial spaces focus on acknowledging tragedy rather than attempting to fill in a psychological hole. Museums and memorials instead recognise a hole exists, and allude to the continuation of life after tragedy. The Montreal Memorial Holocaust Museum (MMHM) has created a space that make use of these motifs, large mostly empty spaces stand as memorials alongside cluttered and sometimes chaotic multi-media representations about the holocaust. The memorial room at the MMHM is a space that encourages a numen seeking experience. In an interview with Gregory, a former worker at that museum, he told stories of how both secular and religious Jews use the space to remember. Visitors often cry, sit quietly and say the *Kaddish* (Jewish prayers for the dead). Entering the empty space whose sole occupant is the pillar from a synagogue destroyed by the Nazis in Poland, the emptiness and blankness of the space draws people in to its quietude. I visited the museum before my interview with some friends who are both decidedly 'not religious' and the memorial space brought a hush over our entire group.

People often treat museums as private memorial spaces. It is not unusual for curators to find small mementos quietly left in their museums near certain artefacts or in certain buildings. For example at the Mennonite Historical Village (MHV) in Western Canada, Thomas found flowers in the school with no explanation as to why they were there showing that memorials can be public as well as personal. Museums with memorials will also attempt to remind visitors that despite what the group has endured, they are not permanent victims but instead play an active role in Canadian society and around the world. For example, the Doukhobor Discovery Centre (DDC) in

British Columbia, acknowledges the difficulties and displacements faced by Doukhobors in Canada. However, the narrative of the museum focuses more on the way of life that survived and the triumphs of the communities, such as the building of a suspension bridge nearby, rather than portraying themselves as victims. A similar theme runs through the MHV in Manitoba. There are four separate memorial spaces in the museum[31] that commemorate tragedies and specific individuals. However, these do not constitute the primary narrative in the museum, instead they are one part of the greater story about Mennonite life in Canada and the contributions of the Mennonite community.

Why do community museums create spaces to talk about these tragedies? According to Linenthal (2002), in a discussion of memorials in America, a particular language of healing is usually affiliated with memorials where people attempt to find "closure" in tragedy by making statements such as "yes, it was horrible, but ..." However, closure and healing are rarely found. Instead the creation of public memorials and memorials in museums is a chance for recognition. Knowing that other people experienced the same tragedy, and that society acknowledges that the tragedy occurred, validates the history of the tragedy by 'officially' recognizing in, which gives solace to survivors. Both the act of receiving solace and membership in the "imagined bereaved community" fulfil the need to connect to something greater, thus fulfilling the desire for a numinous experience.

[31] The Great Trek Memorial, the Women's Memorial, the Johann Bartsch Memorial, and the Jacob Hoeppner Memorial.

The various war museums across Canada also are explicitly designed to act as memorials. Although I was able to interview only two relevant curators, Canada has 105 self-identified war museums, including the CWM in Ottawa. The CWM uses a design similar to newer holocaust museums in order to evoke the same feelings of emptiness, chaos, and disorientation. The sections of the museum that actually discuss war are packed with information, artefacts, photos and text panels, all of which allude to the chaos undergone by individuals who experienced the war. This pandemonium is interspersed with quieter empty spaces that focus less on the experiential and more on the greater themes of war, why nations fight, and the sacrifices made by Canadian soldiers in the various conflicts. The spaces here are specifically designed to cause numen seeking experiences of reflection and in some cases, remembrance.

Smaller war museums are less able to use space to induce these feelings, however, the connection to community in smaller war museums is equally potent in creating numinous experiences for visitors, and the curators who work there. At a small war museum on the east coast housed in the upper part of a Royal Canadian Legion, the plethora of artefacts in such a small space caused a feeling of chaotic order when I visited. Education and remembrance were the goals of the museum and the curators took their job seriously, even though they were volunteers. During the interview I got the feeling that curating this museum was almost a calling, more so than either a job or any of the other motivations usually attributed to volunteers. Both curators had stories about groups and individuals who had been moved deeply by the artefacts. Likewise, respondent Amy mentioned sometimes finding a photo of a soldier near a particular

artefact, or of families who were deeply concerned about artefacts they had donated on behalf of a veteran in their family. Similar to community museums, the fact that this was a war museum dedicated only to one community seemed to give visitors the same sense of connection to something bigger. In this case, instead of just learning family history, there was the additional potent narrative of the sacrifice of ancestors during the war. People who had lost someone during the war could use it as a place of shared remembrance, seeking numinous experiences by connecting to something greater and connecting to community and family.

The third way people use museums to seek out experiences with the numinous is through the acts of seeing and interacting with sacred objects. The ontological approach to sacred space would indicate that objects have some inherent spatial power in and of themselves, and they play an important role in helping people encounter the numinous. This section concludes section by discussing how sacred objects affect the space in a museum through their inherently sacred nature and their participation in rituals to create sacred spaces. Sacred or numinous objects do not always need to be religious or liturgical. According to Maines and Glynn (1993, 11):

> Numinous objects are examples of material culture that have acquired sufficient perceived significance by association to merit preservation the public trust. They are the objects we collect and preserve not for what they may reveal to us as material documents, or for any visible aesthetic quality, but for their association, real or imagined, with some person place, or event endowed with special sociocultural magic.

Every curator interviewed was asked if there was a particular object that was exceptionally sought out by visitors or seemed almost sacred. While not every museum

answered in the affirmative, the variety of objects that seemed to hold significance for particular communities was astounding. These included a needlepoint sampler, a teapot shaped like a camel, uniforms, a giant frog, and everyday objects from particular figures in history.

Many museums, both those affiliated with religious communities and those that had decidedly secular missions displayed and housed sacred objects. All objects in a museum, unless that museum is housed in a religious space, will display sacred objects out of context. The first way that objects can help people obtain a numinous experience is by acting as a reminder of the visitor's connection to a larger imagined community, be that religious, cultural or both. According to Maines and Glynn (1993), in representations of diasporic communities objects come into the museum "charged with memories that activate common connections to pre-migratory landscapes and environments. These memories signify geographical nodes of connection." The connection indicated in this quote is not necessarily to an actual tangible space, but may actually be to a remembered or imagined homeland of the immigrant. In this case it is the object's connection to another time and place that inspires the numinous experience.

Second, in some religions, the act of seeing is a ritual in and of itself, in Hinduism *darshan* is a reciprocal act of seeing and being seen by a deity while the Eucharistic adoration of the Blessed Sacrament is a highly emotional event for many Catholics. In Eastern Orthodoxy the icons are said to serve as a channel of grace between the believer and the image. Likewise in Theravada Buddhism, a ceremony is performed on

the statues of the Buddha where the eyes are opened and the statue is instilled with the powers of the deity such as knowledge, virtue and the possibility of performing miracles. It is in understanding these events that the flaws in the ontological approach to sacred space become apparent. In all cases, the presence of people who either perform the rituals or believe in the power of the objects are critical. A non-Buddhist person who enters a museum and sees a Buddha that is still 'awake' will feel no different in the presence of that statue than while viewing another artefact in another gallery. However, for a believer, this could be a significant encounter with the divine, as is evidenced by occurrences in museums of visitors leaving coins at the base of Buddhas in museums. As Branham (1994/1995) says:

> An object's meaning does not, therefore, solely lie in its intrinsic aura heightened by uncanny lighting techniques. Nor does an object realise its significance in a facile recontextualization. Rather, the import of any art work is inextricably linked to an audience's reception and perception of it. Reader reception theories in literary criticism have proposed the dependency of textual meanings on readers' interpretative potentials. Likewise, the construed meaning of an art object is indivisibly cemented to the perceptions of those currently discerning it … A nuanced exhibit that prioritises the rapport between spectacle and spectator considers, therefore, the spatial and temporal situation of museum visitors, arriving with their own set of attitudes and prejudices. Moreover, it acknowledges the multiplicity of an object's meaning in the object-audience dialogue. Aura shifts, therefore, from the static and locative possession of the object itself, to the object in conjunction with its context, and finally to the critical custody and presence of the viewer.

The perceptions and beliefs of the visitor are not the only things capable of influencing the sacrality of an object. Sometimes rituals are performed using the sacred objects to recreate sacred space in the museum. To understand this process we can

draw on Smith's (1987) concept of "emplacement" which theoretically joins even a mechanically reproduced space with ritual in a dynamic relationship of reciprocal empowerment. In the example provided by Branham (1994/1995) if a Modern Greek Orthodox priest enacts a liturgical rite in the museum on a holy day, using authentic yet ancient ritual instruments, then the museum is theoretically transformed into a sacred space for the duration of that rite. Here, the authenticity of the sacred space created relies on its connection to the living religion of Greek Orthodoxy. Branham uses the metaphor of a bridge to describe how the present day spectator can use rituals to interact with the past and "enhance the meaning and understanding of Byzantine space and objects." As she points out, "[t]he notion of the "bridge," then, is the key element in acknowledging and affirming both the connections and the distances; spatially, temporally, and ideologically between the ancient participant and the modern one.

One such instance came from one interviewee's powerful story about an exhibit on Islam in British Columbia. According to the curator, some visitors and guides had numinous experiences through the rituals enacted or recounted in the museum. The first occurred at the opening of the exhibit when all the visitors were treated to a call to prayer. A small prayer space had been created within the museum and while only the Muslim visitors and staff participated in the actual prayer, the curators described the experience wistfully as "beautiful" and "peaceful." Likewise, a second potent story concerned a curtain of the Ka'bah. A Muslim tour guide recounted her experience of the hajj to visitors and was often able to communicate the emotional impact of the pilgrimage by telling her story in the presence of the Ka'bah curtain.

Cultural

The second approach to sacred space outlined by Lane (2001) is the cultural approach, put forward by Chidester and Linenthal (1995), who define sacred space as contested space. Seeing sacred space as conflicted space removes the locus of power from the place itself, or any connection to the numinous. Lane says that in this conception of sacred space, places in themselves are void of any intrinsic meaning, "open to unlimited claims and counter-claims on [their] significance." Space becomes sacred when humans interact and conflict over the meaning of the space. In this understanding, all spaces can hypothetically be sacred spaces. This conception of space also relies on a postmodern assumption that any narrative can be challenged with a counter-narrative. Thus, any space that either communicates a narrative or is the focus of a narrative becomes a sacred space. Cultural space is the space of representation. The emphasis on narrative and symbolic meaning pre-supposes a broader definition of sacred that is not tied to the divine. This allows places such as war memorials, nature, and heritage sites that may not have an inherent transcendent quality the potential to become sacred spaces.

Within the cultural framework, a museum will always be a sacred space. As Gaorian (2001) explains, at its most basic level, a museum will always have two competing narratives, the public narrative of the museum and the private narrative of the viewer. The museum, like religion, is an institution with its own ability to convey imperatives concerning particular types of belief and behaviour (P. L. Berger 1963). Supposedly, the museum should be able to make an authoritative statement about what

something is, but the fact that a museum must pick and choose its narrative yet still maintains an authority about the content. The dominant narrative communicated by the museum can be challenged by any number of groups who feel excluded or offended by the story. As such, conflict does not make the museum sacred, it is because the museums is considered a sacred space that conflict can occur.

The controversies that enact themselves in museums tend to fall into a pattern where a narrative is created about a group of people, an event, or an object, and then either a sub-group or another group critiques the narrative. Conflicts encountered in this research included those between the academic and popular voice, the colonial and the colonised voices, the voice of survivors or veterans and the voice of the dissident, and finally the voice of the majority and the voice of the minority. The conflict between the academic and the popular voice manifests itself in two ways. First, museums, according to modern thought, are supposedly scientific institutions, a classification that puts them directly at odds with the biased nature of narrative, and the communicative tool that takes precedence in museums. Therefore, a conflict arises in the museum between a postmodern way of thinking, where many narratives are deemed to have intrinsic value, and a scientific narrative that should hypothetically be 'correct.'

Second, when museums tell the stories of religious groups, an act that usually coincides with either the display of religious artefacts, co-existence with places of worship, or both, conflicts arise between the supposedly secular purposes of the museum institution and blatantly biased and sometimes non-scientific narratives of religion. One such example occurred at a museum on the East coast where despite

objects being divided up by rites of passage (a categorization often associated with religion) the objects themselves were interpreted only on their material make-up, where they were from and their age. When the curator was asked about this he was adamant about the scientific nature of the interpretation. Likewise, similar conflicts can arise around the treatment of sacred objects, where they are removed from a religious context and interpreted entirely for their historical and aesthetic value.

Third, the colonial voice and the voice of the colonised compete for precedence in the museum. With increased migration and globalization, the demographics of those visiting museums in Canada has changed. People formerly from colonised areas and countries could go to the museum and see their culture explained to them by the colonisers. Colonised groups now demand more say in how they are represented in museums. As well, some groups have begun to create their own museums. The Museum of Hindu Civilization, Canada's many Aboriginal-run museums, and the Black Heritage Museum in Nova Scotia are all examples of formerly colonised peoples taking control of their own representations by appropriating the museum's forms of representation and turning it into a vehicle for their own narrative.

A fourth kind of conflict arises when the voice of the survivor or the veteran in a war or memorial museum is challenged by those who do not remember the war or tragedy in the same way as the dominant voice in the museum. In both The CWM and smaller community war museums veterans, and the families of veterans, hold a large amount of power over what narratives are acceptable in the museum. War museums and memorials are prone to creating conflict (E. T. Linenthal 2002). One potent

example of the power of veterans' memory comes from Amy, at the war museum on the East coast:

> [d]efinitely, we have had family members bring in items with a story that you know is 100% false, but because it is their memory, you have to pay tribute to it. What we try to do is explain what we know of an artefact of how it could have been used, but we always relate what the family that brought it in told us. We're not in the position to call people liars, you brought this in, you say that it was used for this and we know that it wasn't. We know what they were told about the artefact by the person that left it to them or a family member or something along that line, but what I like to do if something is brought in with a story behind it is try to talk to the people while they are here, and if we can at all explain what we have seen of them before or if we have another one how it was used, then maybe we can display it in a different manner. So we try to be diplomatic and persuasive.

In the CWM there have been two notable examples of conflict between veterans and an academic historical voice. The first occurred when a plaque about Canadian soldiers' participation in the Dresden bombings implied that soldiers may have engaged in attacks on civilians that were both unnecessary and possibly criminal. Entitled S*trategic Bombing: An Enduring Controversy* the text of the plaque read:

> The value and morality of the strategic bomber offensive against Germany remains bitterly contested. Bomber Command's aim was to crush civilian morale and force Germany to surrender by destroying its cities and industrial installations. Although Bomber Command and American attacks left 600,000 Germans dead and more than 5 million homeless, the raids resulted in only small reductions in German war production until late in the war.

After a public outcry from veterans and other patriots, the wording of the plaque was eventually changed to take less of a moral stance. Likewise, the stories of conscientious objectors, and those who did not support the war effort are conspicuously underplayed or absent from the museum.

In the various holocaust museums across Canada there are similar conflicts about the narratives of survivors. Holocaust narratives in Canada are distinctly Jewish in nature, and so they should be as there is no argument against the fact that the Jewish people were the primary target of the Nazis. However, holocaust museums are sometimes critiqued for not adequately addressing the stories of other people who suffered during the holocaust such as homosexual people and people with disabilities. Despite this, I had an interesting experience at a recent conference where some academics were shocked to find that I considered holocaust museums to be synonymous with Jewish museums. Even though the museums were housed in Jewish community centres and run by a mostly Jewish staff, the people who worked at the museum disagreed with this assessment. As well, during the interview with Gregory he raised an issue that was not encountered in the literature review:

> We have this whole second generation; I really have a problem with that. I have no problem with you being a child of survivors, how are you a second generation survivor. You are not there, sorry, you weren't there. You may come from survivors, but you weren't there. You are a child of survivors; you are not a second generation survivor. Yes you survived growing up with parents who survived the holocaust, but that is a pretty awful statement "I survived my parents." I do think there is, how do I say this politely, there is an emphasis on being a direct descendent of survivors that I kind of find a bit incomprehensible personally. For example, commemoration, it is always survivor, child and grandchild of survivor who can light candles. I don't understand that. It has definitely developed a bit of a dynastic approach to holocaust survival ...

This is evidence of a preference for survivors and their narratives, to the point of dynasticism.

Most of these categories of conflict overlap in some way. Some conflicts can simply be boiled down to a conflict or difference between majority and minority groups. One excellent example of a minority group using museums to their own advantage is the Black Cultural Heritage Centre in Nova Scotia. This museum is attempting to change the internal narrative of Black people from one where they see themselves only as the descendents of slaves, to one where they also see themselves as both valued and contributing members of Canadian society, and as the descendents of respected Africans.

Phenomenological

The final approach outlined by Lane (2001) is the phenomenological approach, which attempts to make up for the shortcomings of the previous two approaches. Put forward by scholars such as Gibson (1950) and Casey (1996), the phenomenological allows places to participate in the creation of meaning. In this approach, intersubjectivity and reciprocity is assumed between the human and more-than-human world. Most importantly, the phenomenological approach stresses the importance of embodiment in the human experience of place. This perspective urges scholars to take into account the integrity of the place in interpreting the way any particular site is to be perceived as sacred. As well, it allows scholars to account for the fact that conceptions of the sacred change as the structure of society changes. However, according to Lane, this approach still has some shortcomings. First, it does not provide a full understanding of how the transcendent and the cultural come together in identifying the presence of the holy. Second, it fails to address theological and sociological

dimensions of transcendent realities. However, Lane's critiques are somewhat spurious, as any attempt to explain processes where the transcendent plays an active role risk reductionism.

Although he does not address her work, Knott's methodology for sacred space falls within Lane's category of a phenomenological approach that gives voice to space as well as the body. One important theme running through Knott's work is an emphasis on location and locality. Location is an important factor when analysing Canadian museums. As Jenkins (1999, 17), explains, when scholars use the term locality, they are drawing on the condition of that place or environment and its "local particularities" in terms of physical characteristics and social relations. An advantage of studying religion in its local, social, economic, political and geographical contexts is that we can observe the reciprocal relationship between a "specific place on religion and of religion on that same place (Knott 2009, 7). Scholars can benefit from using this approach because of the diverse nature of Canadian communities, and the regionalised expressive practices of many religious groups. The regional characteristics of different parts of Canada strongly influences the perceptions of the people living in those areas, and the museums they create to represent themselves.

As Knott points out, scholars often draw on antiquated ideas of a "world religion" as a united group with standardised beliefs traditions and practices. However, even casual observations across Canada give evidence to Knott's (2009) hypothesis that "some religious people and organisations forged in particular localities become more interconnected and akin to each other than they are to those at a distance with whom

they share a formal religious identity." A particularly fascinating local expression of religion was the use of an obscure incarnation of Mary as 'Our Lady of the Wheat' at a chapel attached to a Catholic chapel in rural Saskatchewan. Our Lady of the Wheat is an old Syrian incarnation of Mary, but she has found a place again in a Catholic Saskatchewan community where wheat is critical to the economy.

Another advantage of Knott's (2009, 20) approach is its unintentional though direct critique of the traditional collecting practises of museums. She draws on Fitzgerald (2007) to explain that:

> [s]tudying religion in locality also signals a move away from the modernist regime of collecting, classifying and comparing data towards seeing religion as a plural, dynamic and engaged part of a complex social environment or habitat that is globally interconnected and suffused with power. Re-engaging it with what has traditionally been seen as its 'context' helps us to reconnect 'religion' with those other categories – 'society', 'politics' and 'economics' – from which is has been separated for the purpose of classification and study .

Methodologically, what this means is that a study of religion based on these spatial elements requires the scholar to walk through a series of interpretive analyses where they must first think about the location of religion in a given place or object from the perspective of the body (Knott 2009, 12). For example, in a museum scholars must look at how people can interact with a religious object. Can they only see it? As mentioned above, the mere act of seeing some objects is in itself a form of religious practise. Can the object be touched or heard? Second scholars must look at the spatial dimensions of the space. Is the religious object set apart as something special, or is it cluttered in with many other similar objects taking away from its unique nature? In the war museum on

the East coast one of the prized objects was a small heart-shield Bible, however I would never have even known it was there if the curator had not pointed it out. It was small and easy to miss amongst the plethora of other objects in the space.

The final advantage of Knott's methodology is how it examines and takes into account the relationship between the sacred and the secular, which, as mentioned above, is critical in museums as are they are perceived as modern, scientific, and secular institutions that should have a clear division between sacred and secular space. In her work on locating religion in a medical centre, Knott realised that all her work on space was contingent on a modern perception of the sacred and secular which saw the two in a binary relationship, a modern dichotomy (Knott and Franks 2007). However more postmodern and late modern philosophy has shown that European Christianity (which critical to the history of museum in Canada) and secularity are historically enmeshed, and philosophically, legally and ethically intertwined (Asad 2003). According to Knott (2005) this distinction between the sacred and the secular in the museum is important as sacred and secular, along with a third post-secular position that uses the term spirituality rather than religion, creates a field for knowledge-power relations. Knott and Franks (2007) go on to say "[d]ebates and contests on this field are the means by which ideological positions are articulated, tested and authorised, boundaries between various positions are maintained and new positions and values begin to emerge." Thus, it is the sacred nature of the museum that gives these new values and positions authority.

A Spatial Methodology

Thus far this chapter has explored the different types of theories about space, particularly sacred space in religious studies. While the ontological, cultural, and phenomenological frameworks are all valuable, it is the latter that is the most useful for this thesis. The remainder of this chapter draws on Knott's spatial methodology to look for sacred space in the museum. Finding sacred space in the museum has two repercussions. First, if the museum is a sacred space then it is imbued with a power to make authoritative statements. Second, finding sacred space in the museum means that the museum itself can be a representation of religion in Canada.

Knott's understanding of sacred space provides a framework for understanding the ways that museums and religion interact to blur the sacred and secular together within museums spaces. Knott (2005) uses this background to create a "spatial methodology for locating religion, particularly in 'secular' places, things, communities and objects." Drawing also on Lefebvre (1991), and Foucault (1984) Knott developed five terms for analysing the location of religion including: (1) the body as the source of space, (2) the dimensions of space, (3) the properties of space, and (4) the aspects and the dynamics of space. These analytical terms are useful for this research, as they are easily applicable to the museum space and the objects within a museum while not discounting the role people play in defining museum spaces. These terms help answer Knott's questions concerning the location of religion, they provide methodological ways to analyse the data, to examine how religion is located in secular places, how it can be distinguished from its context, and finally it allows scholars to explore the nature of

locations, and how they can be understood both as a state and as a process (Knott 2009, 8). Knott's questions about the sacred in secular spaces can be modified to ask: does the museum have the potential to contain and express religion and can a museum produce and reproduce spaces with significance for religion (Knott 2005).

(1) The Body as the Source of Space

No museum can be experienced without making use of the human body. Even a cyber-museum is designed for human interaction through the visual aspect of the screen and the interactive aspect of clicking with a mouse. Knott's (2009, 14) methodology asks how the body is inscribed in the museum, what discourses are at work in the body and how bodies are used to maintain and reproduce the museum space? In answer to the first question, museums are specifically designed to cause people's bodies to move in a certain way. First, the location of museums across Canada is often either strategic or symbolic. For example, Cheryl, a curator in British Columbia said:

> [w]ell we have a great view and we place furniture in such a way that in certain galleries people can sit and look quietly at the view. I certainly see people doing that – possibly praying to nature, which would be a very Vancouverish form of worship. It is hard to know what they are doing there, but they are certainly taking time out of their ordinary life to pause."

Museums reflect what is important in a society, and many museums across Canada take advantage of landscapes as an opportunity to celebrate the natural heritage of Canada. If a sweeping vista was not available, museums (where space allowed it) would often be on exceptionally well landscaped lawns. In the case of the Japanese museum (also in

British Columbia) the lawn was part of the exhibit, heavily influenced by Japanese styles of gardening.

Museums can also have symbolic locations. The holocaust museum in Montreal sits in a historically Jewish neighbourhood. Although when asked about this, the curator said it was not an intentional move to put the museum there, instead it just happened to be a convenient place. A curator of another Jewish museum with a holocaust memorial was acutely aware of this problem however. He said:

> [i]t is one thing to learn about Auschwitz in Winnipeg it's another thing actually earn about it there. This community does organise a series of trips to the sites of the former concentration camps like Auschwitz and I've been told it's a totally different experience as opposed to learning about the holocaust here. Having said that, I think the real instrument for us in authenticity, notwithstanding the challenges associated with having this site so far removed from where the holocaust took place, are our survivors. The people who live in the city and had that experience, they are the ones that make this as authentic an experience, an educational experience, as possible by virtue of the fact that they discuss that experience and that they have that memory and they are living proof that tragedy transcend time and space. Perhaps even though you are removed geographically and historically you can still be close to it by virtue of the fact that there are people here who went through the experience.

The MMHC, while sharing similar goals with many of the internment camps in Europe that now serve as museums, cannot communicate the same sense of locality as visiting Auschwitz in person. A similar situation exists in Nova Scotia where a Black Community Museum is intentionally situated in a historically Black neighbourhood. As David notes:

> [i]ts location is strategic, we're in the Black community of the Preston area, and what happens, maybe people will come here, feeling or thinking from outside that there is a particular section of town or a certain area that is considered the Black community, and we try to explain to them, there is no so-called reserve status,

> much like the First Nations people would have, but we have been given jurisdictions from the earlier migration patterns based on land grants. It just so happened these land grants have been kept in communities and in families for 275 years, and so it's been relegated to becoming a Black community location.

Again the museum draws visitors to a part of town they might otherwise ignore. Causing visitors to visit the community location of the subject of the museum creates a more intense experience for the visitors. However, when visiting the Black community centre, the visitor sees many of the locations mentioned in the museum where the local history took place. Labelling a museum a community museum is also an important part of how bodies are inscribed on a museum space. Curators across Canada want to engage with the people in their local communities. While the community itself may not be a notably historic space, the involvement of community members in the function of the museum shows the importance of locality.

Designing a museum to encourage visitors to move in proscribed ways affects the experience of the museum, and can encourage feelings of sacred space. Galleries that are cramped with multiple medias, artefacts and text panels create a more rushed and urgent feeling to the museum. Whereas a museum with dimmed lighting and a sparser distribution of artefacts encourages a more contemplative visit. Curators will also create quiet spaces by putting benches in front of particular artefacts they deem worthy of special consideration such as a gallery in British Columbia where a 1960s "Hippie House" has a cushion in front of the altar where people can sit. The curator at a Jewish museum purposely placed a bench in front of the Torah, which is stored behind a lovely curtain, in a quiet area of the museum to encourage visitors to sit and

contemplate. The Marguerite Bourgeoys museum in Montreal has created a contemplative space in the true portrait room where people can sit and contemplate the image of the museum's namesake. This museum is also the site of an archaeological dig where people tend to talk in hushed tones and spend a lot of time reflecting. As the curator says "some people are very moved in the archaeological site, both by the ancient things that are there, the ruins of the first chapel, and the sense of history, this sense that a [first nations] person may have sat there and made his tools..." This ancient heritage narrative, combined with a quiet, crypt-like space causes people to act as though they are in a sacred space. Recognizing the power of this site, the curator has kept it dimly lit and avoided interpretation panels, instead allowing visitors to be moved by the story and the space.

The exterior design of a museum also affects how the space within is perceived, The physical resemblance between cathedrals and large museums such as the Louvre is obvious to even the untrained eye. Nelson (2006) says "the associations that allow architectural qualities to generate feelings of awe, mystery, ... and other emotional responses are culturally constructed. Therefore the sacred cannot be manifest in the material … without human agents who are burdened with culturally dependent beliefs and rituals that allow places and objects to be so interpreted."Karp and Lavine (1991) have also shown how the honoured place we give museums in society causes us to treat them as temples. Large museums in Canada such as the ROM, with its giant crystal, or the National Gallery in Ottawa, which resembles the parliament buildings, elicit similar feelings to visiting a large Cathedral or temple. In fact, a religious space can even be a

part of the museum. The curator can also design the museum so a visitor must, or is strongly encouraged to walk through a place of worship. Many heritage villages across Canada have churches on the premises that visitors are encouraged to walk through. Some museums are attached to places of worship such as the Marguerite Bourgeoys Museum which is attached to the historic Notre-dame-de-bon-secours Chapel and the Jewish Heritage centre in Saint John, New Brunswick where a tour of the museum takes the visitor through the synagogue sanctuary.

The second question we can extrapolate from Knott is: what discourses are present in the bodies of museum visitors? Every visitor who enters the museum has their own particular discourse in regards to religion. In his examination of monuments at Swayambhu, McCoy (2002, 271) says:

> Religion is not only present in these organisations but on the bodies and in the identities of residents and visitors: entangled with other aspects of culture and ethnicity, it is represented in dress and other outward symbols, as well as in hearts, minds and behaviour. We refocus on locality as embodied, and are reminded that the bodies that form and constitute it are themselves religiously and ethnically marked and self-identified. At the level of the life-blood of the locality religion is present, not sui generis, as an essential element, but as an important feature of identity and territorial marking.

The term 'multilocality' is an interesting one in regards to museums. Rodman, who coined the term, argues that "[i]t is time to recognise that places, like voices, are local and multiple" and that "[f]or each inhabitant, a place has a unique reality, one in which meaning is shared with other people and places," and that "[t]he links in these chains of experienced places are forged of culture and history"(1992, 643). One of the biggest changes in Canadian museums over the past century has been the changing

demographics of visitors. A museum that displays ancient Chinese artefacts is no longer displaying 'exotic' things from a distant land. Instead, in downtown Toronto a hypothetical visitor can walk to the ROM, see exhibits on China and India, then visit China town at Spadina and Dundas and Little India on Gerrard Street East with only two streetcar rides. People of Indian or Chinese descent can visit the ROM at any time and see their culture on display. Rodman's assertions become more potent when taken in the context of Berdoulay's (1989) observation that "a place comes explicitly into being in the discourse of its inhabitants, and particularly in the rhetoric it promotes." This research focused on curators rather than visitors, but curators were well aware of the role that visitors' personal experiences played in how they viewed the museum space. An example from Linda illustrates this in relation to the Tibetan community in Toronto:

> In our Tibetan display I do have some Tibetan paintings up that would have been used kind of for devotional purposes and meditational purposes. And they're displayed in the gallery in the way they would have been hung for people for that use. So, there's nothing stopping someone who might see that object in that way, from using it as a sacred object. But, that's not the only context or the only way to use it.

Another memorable story comes from the curator of the Black Cultural Centre in Nova Scotia who explained how Black people might experience the heritage centre differently than people of other backgrounds:

> [i]f you had a group of women come in here, and there was one Black woman in here and she saw a number of displays with Black women that accomplished great things, the feeling that she would get would be totally different than what your other colleagues would get as White women. She would say that these are the people I can look up too, and you would say still, isn't it nice seeing all these women there who accomplished great

> things, but for a Black woman to see other Black women it makes a whole different impact.

One curator was acutely aware of how his Catholic heritage affected how he acted in the museum as opposed to someone not from a Catholic background. When asked if he treated the crucifix in his museum differently than any other artefact Adam responded:

> [n]o. I treat the cross with the same reverence as I would any other artefact, it's special, it means as a Catholic it means a lot to me, but here it is not an object of worship, it is part of a setting that is historic for us, so it has in the sense a different purpose. I make the sign of the cross going into the church as Catholic, but I make the sign of the cross before I drive the car or before I start work. I grew up in Ireland and that's part of my inheritance as an Irish Catholic when growing up. You made the sign of the cross before you did anything, if it was dig in the bogs, you started with the sign of the cross, and the whole idea of it was that this was part of life, part of creation and that work became a prayer, so you started with the sign of a cross.

The final question from Knott's analysis asks how bodies maintain and reproduce space in the museum. As McCoy points out, scholars cannot rely on discourse to determine how a body moves through and interacts with a space. They must also examine behaviours. "Different kinds of places demand different kinds of behaviours, these behaviours depend upon the sociocultural orientation and identity (and particular inclinations) of the visitor. These behaviours also mark places as such, making them visible and distinctive in various ways to others" (McCoy 2002, 274). There are two behaviours museum visitors use to transform a space: convention and ritual. Convention, the behaviour expected of visitors in the museum is a strong social force that affects the atmosphere of the museum and how people experience the space. As Matthew observes:

> I like noisy museums. And it is really funny to watch some people downstairs, a lot of people whispering as though it were a library or a church and it's not. Now if it's that they are treating it as sort of a sacred space, that is one thing, but why does it have to be quiet like a library? When we used to have the fun days, I remember this and yes there would be lots of old museum folks turning over in their graves because we had a fine art exhibit on and we had kids playing games here in the middle of the gallery …

The expectation here is that traditional museums are quiet places where one does not play. What was particularly interesting about convention is where the enforcement came from. When visiting the Art Gallery of Ontario there are very few places in the gallery a person can stand where they cannot see a security guard, and they often take notes while observing visitors causing a very uncomfortable feeling of being watched, even by those who strictly follow the rules of the gallery. Also, the physical distance between the art and the visitor is highly regulated, as any visitor quickly learns if he or she steps too close to a painting to see a detail. One curator whose heritage village houses a consecrated church finds that just reminding his visitors they are entering an active place of worship is enough to cause them to modify their behaviour. In many cases visitors self regulate and annoyed stares greet people who violate social conventions of quiet and respect. On several occasions throughout this research, my habit of engaging strangers in conversation in museums caused other visitors to look at me askance and in one case, call a security guard to ask me not to talk in the museum. Not all museums have the same rules of etiquette. There are smaller but similar museums where running is ignored and the conversation is loud, and even large museums often have children's areas that encourage play. The regulated distance

between the artefact and the visitor changes from museum to museum as well. In Scotland I asked about an artefact in a museum and it was promptly removed from the case and I was invited to examine it and take pictures of it. In the same vein, some curators reject when people try to treat their museum as a sacred space. When asked if he thought if his museums was a sacred space, William responded:

> Some people try to push it on us, but I resist that too, we are a museum, people will come and they will walk in, they come here and they say "Oh it is so peaceful and tranquil." They go see the statue of Tolstoy, and for some people it is sacred space. I don't object to that, but we are not a church, we are a museum, and we are a piece of social history...

According to Smith (1987) rituals are the second behaviour that can transform the meaning of a space. Ritual is always intimately connected to the body. These can either be individual rituals that modify the space or they can be formalised rituals sanctioned by the museum. Many curators observed visitors performing small personal rituals such as crossing themselves, contemplating and sitting quietly. The most potent example of this is at the holocaust museum in Montreal where Gregory observed "... and you know the women standing there banging her hands on the pillar was a total secularist, I knew her very well, she was a Bundist, it's not just a mixture of secular and sacred space, it is also a mix of secular people engaging in sacred rituals, so it is a very complex." The same curator had numerous people ask when the memorial room would be finished so people could say their own *Kaddish* there. In each of these cases, the individual's actions and belief that a space could be sacred was a transformative act in the museum. The museum can also sanction and organise rituals. One museum in Alberta made sure that the churches on the heritage site were re-consecrated so that

they could be sacred space available for other ceremonies. Many museums now are inviting in religious specialists to perform rituals to maintain, de- or re-sacralise objects in the collections. As well, religious rituals now are a regular fixture of gallery openings when the gallery discusses a particular ethnic or cultural group that has a strong religious affiliation.

(2) The Dimensions of Space

Knott's second term for analysing space relies on the dimensions of space. At this point the keen reader will notice an overlap in Knott's various terms of analysis. An advantage of Knott's analysis is that without creating an arbitrary separation between the space and the body, a scholar can look both at the context of a space outside the body, and how the body interacts with the space. Knott encourages scholars to look at the physical, social and mental dimensions of a space in order to locate religion. She provides a description of how all three dimensions interact on her own street.

> Even if we restrict ourselves to a definition of religion based on self-identification, we see that religion inheres in all three dimensions of the street: physically in its religious buildings, socially in its religious organisations, networks and casual exchanges on religious matters, and mentally in its representations as both a multi-religious locality and one associated at different times with particular religious groups such as the Jews and the Sikhs. Although it is important methodologically to differentiate these dimensions in order to do justice to each, we must remember that, as a locality, the road is the sum of all three in tension (Knott 2009, 15) .

This is an advantage of the phenomenological approach in that it allows scholars to reunite previously separate disciplinary gazes: geographical, sociological, and discursive.

The physical presence of a religion in a museum occurs when a museum is located in or adjacent to a place of worship, and if a museum displays sacred objects. The Wetaskiwin museum in Alberta was not housed in a place of worship, but did display some religious and liturgical objects. The curator also made sure that the various churches in the community had a place in this museum with a very organised exhibit about their history and their functions in the community. As well, exhibits on some of the minority groups in the local area contributed to the religious presence in the museum. Socially the museum is a place in the small town where people can come together despite their different backgrounds. This is counterintuitive, in a small town it might be expected that everyone already knows each other and their business, but there is often a hesitance to visit other places of worship. Churches are often affiliated with families and the familiar. Likewise, this museum contained a small Hutterite exhibit, a traditionally insular community it is unlikely that any residents of Wetaskiwin not from a Hutterite background would approach that community on their own. These exchanges and meetings cause the form the social locus of religion in the museum. Finally, the Wetaskiwin museum has come to mentally represent a place of knowledge and interaction in the community. The curator was an impressive woman who made it her duty to fairly and accurately represent religious groups in the community and as such, the museum is now a trusted place for this information.

(3) The Properties of Space

The third methodological term put forward by Knott involves examining the properties of a space. This does not imply that the research should examine only the

physical parts of the space (configuration), but rather how the space serves to connect to other times (extension), create connections between sites (simultaneity), and act as a locus for power relations. Drawing on Massey (1993) Knott's research can be used to refer to the museum as a meeting place, both as a place where people gather, and as the centre of a network of global and diasporic interconnections (Knott 2009, 16). In discussing the research Knott performed in her own street we are given an example of how similar research can be applied to Canadian museums.

> As a part of space, like other places Chapeltown Road brings together…the network of relations at every scale from local to global…[It is] a moment in the intersection of configured social relations… It is not the 'slice through time' which should be the dominant thought but the (Knott 2009, 17) simultaneous coexistence of social relations that cannot be conceptualised as other than dynamic. Moreover…by its very nature [it is] full of power and symbolism, a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and co-operation (Massey 1993, 155-6). It is a site of configuration, simultaneity, extension and power. As we focus on each of these turn, we witness it as a place where history intersects with contemporary connections and movements. Religious as well as other cultural and political regimes are historically embedded within it as well as evident within its current face. And translocal and global relationships and processes link this road and its people with others elsewhere in Britain, in South Asia, the Caribbean, Africa, continental Europe and North America.

The configuration or physical make up of museums and their ramifications on space have been adequately discussed in this chapter. Likewise, the entire next chapter is dedicated to how power inhabits space either through its historical seams, simultaneous interconnections or the struggles that produce it or take place within. Instead, this section discusses extension and how the museum conveys the sense of time flowing through space, as well as the way in which places contain within them the

traces of earlier times and regimes. In some of the museums I visited, it was not just the ability to see special artefacts or sites that created a feeling of being in a sacred space. For many of the curators, the abstract connection to the past was more sacred than the artefacts or the museum itself. For example, at the Doukhobor museum, William said:

> Here to the Doukhobor community it is very important, this is their history, and their history was taken away, in a way. When the foreclosure came, their rights as Doukhobors were taken away. They were taken over by the government, so this is what's left, and we've had reunions, family reunions here, we've had weddings here, that sort of thing, because this is where they would gather to remember the Doukhobor way of life, so for the Doukhobors it's the only thing.

Doukhobor history in Canada is not often taught in schools, and as such, the Doukhobors used the museum to learn about and connect to their own past and traditions. A similar sentiment was expressed by Daniel at the Acadian Heritage Village. Unlike the Doukhobors, the museum was not necessarily an attempt to recover a partially lost or ignored history, but the curator felt it was history that made things sacred. The reproductions in the museum held no meaning for Daniel, instead it was the villages where his ancestors lived, the fields where they worked, and the cemeteries where they were buried that were sacred, because of their connection to history. The final example of a connection through time in a museum was a theological point of view where a nun who ran a museum in Montreal saw the place as holy (among other reasons) because it was also where a saint, the founder of her order, had lived and worked. Quoting T.S. Eliot, Judy said:

> … he is talking about Thomas à Becket first of all and the sacred space that has been created from the blood of martyrs, but wherever a saint has dwelled, wherever they are even if people

> come and even if armies march over it, even if tourists with guide books, there will always be something sacred there, it's more than a Cathedral, therefore everything.

Here, and in many other places, the connection through time to a saint or other important figure (whether religious or not) helps give the museum its importance and, in this case, a theologically sacred nature.

Equally important (and interrelated with) a museum's ability to connect people through time is the ability of a museum to transcend space and create synchronic interconnections with other sites. These connections can occur with sites that are similar, either through a replica such as the holy land experience in the United States where visitors can see a replica of Israel as it might have looked during the time of Jesus, or a physical connection through an object or stone that has been moved from one location to another as a reminder of the original place. For example, memorial sites often bring relics from the original site to the museum, a practise that is often the case in holocaust remembrance. Much research has been done on why the site of a trauma or tragedy becomes sacred. As Jacobs (2004, 315) explains, when communities and nations struggle to cope with the fear, loss, and tragedy of terrorism and massive death, the damaged landscapes caused by these acts of violence are fast becoming hallowed ground where a connection with the numinous is sought. His view implies the actual site allows for a connection through time to the past that connects survivors to victims, creating a shared terrain of suffering, grief, and mourning. As such, people who cannot visit these sites cannot have the connection to the past, therefore visiting memorials in other locations can serve as a proxy connection between survivors and victims. The

MMHM provides a striking example of this. Respondent Gregory explained that in the memorial room at the MMHM, ashes were collected from near a wall in Auschwitz and placed in an urn in the memorial room in Montreal.

> I say to people, "here we are 6000 miles away from anything that happened, we are not near Auschwitz, what's the point?" It is only in talking to them I realise we brought Auschwitz to us. We have the ashes there which makes the memorial room a whole different experience, you have the memory and the physical remnants of murdered people.

The connections between people are not only physical. The connections are often imagined, not in the sense that they are false, but in the sense that they are created by an increasingly international flow of people, capital, communications, and ideas. In talking to one curator in the Yukon, a place that, in the winter at least, can seem remarkably isolated, the museum would bring exhibits and information from around the world. Visitors wanted exhibits about more than just Klondike history. They wanted to see the diversity of their own community and learn about the rest of the world. As Nancy said:

> We're that safe place, where you can find out whatever you need to know, because none of it has, we're just representing the community. And, particularly here because one of the first things I had the board do was re-write our mission statement ... "To be a gathering place where people are inspired to explore the connection between the Klondike and their world." We are the facilitator, we are the gathering place, whatever you need us to be, and so by doing that, that really opens up a whole wealth of possibilities.

Even in non-remote communities, museums serve as connections. As has already been discussed, families, migrants, ethnic groups and diaspora groups all use museums to create connections to homelands, historical sites, and other members of the diaspora.

(4) The Aspects of Space, and the Dynamics of Space

Knott's final stage of a spatial methodology involves considering the dynamism of the object or place, first by means of its spatial aspects—the way in which it (the museum) is practised, represented and lived (Lefebvre 1991, 38-40); (Knott 2000, 35-58). Knott draws on Lefebvre's (1991, 38) idea of 'conceived space'; spaces that require human interaction to create different meanings and understandings. Museums are conceived spaces as evidenced by the variety of ways people seek to use and interpret them. Visitors seek out experiences; curators hope to educate; groups look for representation; and city councils want them to draw and entertain tourists. Like the street Knott analyses in her own work, the museum is constantly transformed. At the ROM there are often glitzy events such as weddings of famous people, movie premiers, and exclusive shows, as well as lectures, seminars, and demonstrations, all of which temporarily transform the meaning of the museum. Museums across Canada are subject to this phenomenon which Knott (2009, 18) refers to as "'lived space', one in which the dominant order is temporarily overturned by a groundswell of local activity and 'collective sentiment' (Farrar 2002)." The various demands on the museum space have caused some consternation for curators, particularly in terms of city councils who want to attract tourists for economic reasons. At times disagreement about the space can arise between visitors and the curator, as one curator mentioned when asked if she minded rituals being performed in her museum:

> No I wouldn't mind it all, as long as there's no harming of the objects quite frankly, unfortunately it's not a temple space, this is a museum and our job is to preserve objects for as long as we can ... it wouldn't work here because it's a different context, I think

> museums that try to re-create temple spaces run into a lot of problems because those sort of spaces get the division between the museum space and the religious space, gets really murky then. I think there are more problems there, again it's about acknowledging what we are and what our limitations and going forward from there.

Thomas demonstrated how theology could play both ways, while a Shiva may always be sacred regardless of if it is in a museum or not, a Mennonite church in and of itself may not be considered sacred, and therefore reinterpreting the space of the museum is less likely to cause conflict.

> Mennonite church buildings generally have not been considered a sacred space, the practise of worship has been considered sacred and therefore the logic of the worship time where you have a certain set of things that you do in a certain time period is considered sacred as well often, but the building itself has to my knowledge never been considered sacred, it's not like a Catholic church where you have a relic in the front there somewhere. And often the churches were used as other meeting spaces.

For Thomas, buildings themselves are not sacred because of their inherent qualities, but because of the rituals performed there.

Examining the dynamics of space reveals how museums produce space and are capable of producing new spaces (Knott 2009, 9). The museum is more than a passive container or backdrop in or against which religious activity takes place. Instead, as has been shown and will continue to be discussed, the museum cannot be separated from its contexts or from the events that occur within it. At an archaeological dig in one museum the curator describes how the space seems to speak for itself:

> The archaeologists, there was one of them especially who had no practising religious belief, but just generally as they worked on it, they said it was a holy place. You had the sense that they were somehow in a holy place, there was one point where Cardinal Turcott came in to and he got down on his knees for a first

> blessing. I don't think I have seen that for a long time. It was this sense. There is a sense in the chapel itself.

While a museum is something that can be reinterpreted and understood differently by individuals, what actually constitutes a museum also is a fluid concept. As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, the official definition of a museum in Canada is inclusive of a variety of settings. The flexibility of the museum is summed up nicely by Nancy who says:

> I think museums can be anywhere, any place in any situation, I think it's as valid for a museum to be a crate of artefacts that are carried from school to school, as being classic movie night in the winter as being, I think we have to constantly shift. Our sacredness is in our ability to reflect a society to itself, and reflect other societies to it, so our strength, our sacredness is in our ability, it's not in our physical space, it's not in our collections, it's actually in our people. Any museum can have a collection, any museum can have an incredible building, any museum can have a fabulous budget, but if you don't have people who are able to think outside the box to not only respond to what a community wants and needs, but can think ahead of what a community wants and needs, then you'll have something that's vibrant and living and will continue to exist.

Conclusion

This chapter has created a theoretical context for understanding space in Canadian museums. Particularly how sacred space can be created in the museum and how the museum can act as a location of religion. The hypothesis about space proved to be accurate as curators are definitely aware of sacred space and how it affects their museums, though they are not always comfortable with it. This chapter has also helped set a context for the discussion of power in the next chapter. Museums are sacred spaces, and the nature of the museum space means that it is special and a site for power

relations. Sacred spaces in Canadian society are personal and communal. Visitors trust sacred spaces to provide them with certain experiences, feelings, and in the case of museums, knowledge. The power of museums to communicate knowledge about groups and their identities is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Four: Power

Introduction

In his writings about cultural communities and museums Goa (n.d.) says:

> Who tells the story has power. Who hears the story has power. Who records the story has power. Who reads the story has power. Who remembers the story has power. Who re-tells the story has power. Who excludes or ignores the story has power. Who adds to the story, has power. And, like all power, the power of story can be misused. There are those who think it is desirable to exercise their power in order to ignore or erase or silence or trivialise or silence the story of others, and the reasons include fear, disdain, self-interest, thoughtlessness and disregard. There are those who want to build a pyramid of story, a pyramid where only one story can be on top. Is there room for the story of each individual? Is there room for the story of each cultural community? Is there world enough and time? Is memory strong enough? Is language large enough? One may as well ask whether there is air enough for all of us to breathe.

This quote just begins to scratch at the surface of power relations in the museum. As Chidester and Linenthal (1995) state, power is always at stake in the sacred. The previous chapter argued that museums can become sacred spaces, and their sacred nature makes them a place for power struggles. Largely, these power struggles come from the museum's ability to tell stories about groups of people and communicate their identities to visitors. The museum is an inherently trusted institution for many people, but there are those who have found their stories excluded from the museum or told from a colonial point of view.

This chapter explores the possible sites of power struggles in the museum that can affect or alter the stories told about a group. It begins by discussing Foucault and Bourdieu who create theories of power concerning language and knowledge, both of which are sites of power within the museum. These theorists explore how access to the

language of the museum, and a western conception of rational neutral knowledge can exclude certain groups from communicating their stories in the museum. The second section is divided into three parts and examines the sites of power in the museum. The first site of power is the power/knowledge relationship in the museum which enacts itself through particular modes of discourse in the museum, the ability of the museum to create definitions, and a claim to objectivity. The second site of power is embedded into the structure of the museum through the necessity of securing funding, and the presence of various stakeholders including experts, special interest groups, and management and staff all of whom sometimes have competing interests. The final section of this chapter discusses the role of power and knowledge in the politics of recognition, and how groups seek to have their stories told in and validated by the museum. The museum has the power to represent or not represent these groups, create a history for them, and display authentic and inauthentic versions of their identities. All of this is to test the hypothesis that some groups are challenging the museum's traditional place as an authority, causing a redistribution of power.

Theory

Power is a word that transcends all academic disciplines; from science to history, from mathematics to philosophy. Power is the ability either to get something done or to transform something. Obviously, power is too broad a topic to use without first narrowing it down. This paper uses a philosophical and social scientific understanding of power, drawing on two complimentary theorists: Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. Beginning with Foucault then adding analysis from Bourdieu, a

discussion of power and museums is interspersed throughout this theory section as Foucault and Bourdieu did much of their theorizing in the context of museums and other similar institutions. Michel Foucault is a French philosopher who proposed a new way for people in the social sciences and humanities to understand power. His writings on power are broad and other people's interpretations of those writings are even more so. This section begins by briefly explaining how Foucault views power then examines two factors he ties to power: language and knowledge. Foucault (1978) re-defined the way scholars think about power, not as a reified thing that can be held and dispersed, but as a quality inherent in all social relations. Power is exerted in social relationships through the formation of what Foucault calls discourse. Discourse, is the "systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak" (Lessa 2006) and is a critical aspect of Foucault's understanding of knowledge-power. For Foucault, discourse is a creative force because if we have control over what is said about a group, we can, in effect, create that group's identity.

Both power and knowledge are de-centralised, relativistic, ubiquitous, unstable, systemic, and reciprocal phenomena. Likewise, knowledge cannot ever be neutral as it is always produced within systems of power; this power defines social norms and encourages socially acceptable behaviour. Foucault (1984) realised the importance of the museum early on in his discussion of their roles as heterotopias, buildings that reflect a reality that does not actually exist outside of the museum. This non-reality is created when a museum tries to move history into the present. The role of the museum

as a heterotopia is contingent on its status as an institution of knowledge. For Foucault, knowledge about history and the ability to create discourse about history was closely tied the exertion of power. As he says:

> [h]istory is the discourse of power, the discourse of the obligations power uses to subjugate. It is also the dazzling discourse that power uses to fascinate, terrorise, and immobilise. In a word, power both binds and immobilises, and is both the founder and guarantor of order; and history is precisely the discourse that intensifies and makes more efficacious the twin functions that guarantee order (1997, 68).

Here we begin to see how important it is to Foucault's understanding of power it is to be able to participate in various discourses. For Foucault (1972), knowledge and power are two sides of the same coin. Those who create and define knowledge hold a significant amount of power in a museum. Foucault's understanding of power is central to this dissertation. Hirst (2004, 391) summarises Foucault's complex understanding of power.

> [I]n the modern era power and knowledge cannot be separated and counterposed…because knowledge is productive of power. This involves a new view of power and new types of power, of which the most important is 'disciplinary power'. Power is transformative of those subject to it and uses knowledge as a resource in doing so. Far from being merely prohibitive, its controls are *productive*. Power does not merely draw on existing social resources in the form of a levy, but acts to create and multiply resources. Knowledge is a necessary resource of power, power needs definite knowledges in order to be productive. And, vice versa, power is a crucial resource of certain knowledge's, this is because power constructs the 'surface emergence' which makes discourses and knowledge's able to function as such. Knowledge is thus implicated in institutions and definite power relations.

Power in Foucault's' perception is not entirely top down, instead it is has no simple centre but is diffused throughout the whole social body in complex networks and diverse relations (Hirst 2004, 392).

Creating a definition of knowledge involves drawing on both phenomenology as well as sociology. Berger, Berger and Kellner (1973, 15) argue that all knowledge is situated within a particular background, referred to by phenomenology as a horizon. All people who communicate within a particular knowledge system assume a common frame of reference. Also important to note is that institutions in society are considered carriers of knowledge. Using Foucault's analysis how would museums become sites of power? Hirst (2004, 392) argues that museums are sites of disciplinary power, this is not a punishment or repressive power but instead relies on the power of surveillance as "surveillance requires both knowledges and institutions ordered by knowledge for its functioning." Museums survey the behaviour, ideas and attitudes of the people they represent. Reflecting these representations back to the observers within the authority of the museum makes these representations seem normative, influencing both how individuals feel about themselves and how they feel about other groups being represented. The gaze of the museum towards society is a form of power/knowledge, this gaze is productive of 'observational knowledges.' Knowledge is not simply an amorphous thing that exists in the universe waiting to be discovered, instead what knowledge is, particularly how it is organised, defined and valued, is a result of cultural processes. The people who have the power to organise, define and valuate knowledge

are the ones who have access to the institutions and the discourse of knowledge. As Foucault (1977, 27) says:

> [k]nowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true. All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has effects, and in that sense at least, 'becomes true.' Knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practice. Thus, 'There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations."

Museums can be very limited in what they consider valuable forms of knowing and knowledge. According to Berlo, Phillips and Dun (1995, 7) all museums privilege the sense of sight over other modes of knowing and of learning. This means that if we cannot see it, we probably will not know it. However there is a problem with privileging sight as a method of learning about religion. Growing up in Collingwood we would often visit the Bygone Days Heritage Village with our school. In that village was a small church, one of the earliest from the Collingwood area. I have no memory of the church from school tours, but I do remember the week my Pentecostal Church rented and recreated a revival service at the heritage church. We sang revival hymns, the pastor gave a sermon from a famous travelling Evangelist, and we had a social after with recipes from the 1900s. I remember feeling the cold drafts of a chilly September day in a church with no heat and no insulation. The service was long and the pews were uncomfortable. After the service, my mother, sisters and I went to work in the kitchen for the church picnic (as was always expected of the women at the church). This experience gave me a very different understanding of what Evangelical church service

might have felt like in the early 1900s and was completely unlike the experience of my classmates who walked through the church once a year on our obligatory field trip. A second problem with privileging sight is that is denigrates other forms of learning traditional to other cultures. The inclusion of oral histories is becoming more common in museums. The ROM's First People's gallery hired Louis Bird, a famous Ojibwe storyteller as a consultant when they created the First People's Gallery. This research found several museums across Canada that had either recorded or written down an oral story and were either displaying it or playing recordings in their exhibit.

Foucault, in his discussion of power/knowledge examines some pertinent questions, applicable within the context of history and heritage, to explore the connection between language and power. The first question to ask about history is who is speaking? "Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language? Who is qualified to do so?" (1972, 56). Certain people are accorded the right to create authoritative discourses on history. As MacMillan argues (2008, 47) historians—who often have a prominent role in creating museum displays—because they spend most of their time studying history, are in a better position than amateurs to make reasoned judgements about history. However, there are always people who will dispute an expert's authority. Veterans have claimed that because MacMillan "was not there" she has no right to call herself an expert on WW2. It was even hinted by some of her critics that because she was a woman she could not possibly be an expert on military history. The preference for the stories of veterans and people who lived through things historic events persists, despite growing evidence that living

through an event does not necessarily give one an accurate memory about the event. She cites the experience of an American Statesman during the Cuban Missile Crisis who remembered being in the Oval Office during Pearl Harbour, despite there being no record of his presence there. She also mentions the testimony of holocaust survivors who claim to have memories of significant events at Nazi concentration camps despite records showing they were nowhere near the involved camps. All this is to say that history cannot ever be considered merely the recounting of facts and events, instead it is a struggle over who has authority recall, report and interpret these events.

Second, Foucault (1972, 57) encourages an examination of the institutional sites from which people make their discourses about history, as it is the institutions that legitimate and communicate discourse. There are certain institutions in society that are in the business of history such as schools, government heritage departments, and museums. Because historians and curators speak from within the confines of these institutions, they are considered more authoritative. While a person may speak about history independently of one of these institutions, they will have more difficultly being accepted as authoritative, especially if their version of events contradicts those from within the institution. The same can be said about religion, there are certain institutions accepted by society such as schools, churches, and governments who can define and regulate religion. Religious communities whose understanding of religion differs from the narrative created by these institutions find themselves facing constant challenges in society about the validity of their beliefs. Beaman cites two examples of this phenomenon; Aboriginal peoples (2002) and non-mainline Christian groups such as

Jehovah's Witnesses (2008). Museums, as educational institutions are in the business of knowledge. The people who work in museums have the power to 'define, organise and valuate knowledge.' When they let others into the museum they allow, the power to be shared, but the museum still regulates who can enter the museum and create a discourse. Foucault's understanding of power means that the discourse about religions communicated by museums becomes inherently true. If the museum ignores the religious aspects of culture, then it is making the argument that religious knowledge is not worth knowing or communicating, and this becomes *de rigueur*.

Bourdieu and Foucault overlap significantly in their theorization of power. Bourdieu (1991) uses the term symbolic power to discuss the power inherent in representative acts, particularly how people communicate visions of the world. Bourdieu, Darbel, and Scnapper (1997) examined art museums using Bourdieu's theories of discourse and power to conclude that within the institution of the museum there is an accepted way to speak, a language that has become dominant because of historical processes and is therefore considered a legitimate way to express knowledge. Those who speak the dominant language have *de facto* political power; if you have practical competence in the dominant language, then you also have the power to make yourself heard, believed and obeyed. Language is more than a means to communicate for Bourdieu, it is a means for enforcing power. This happens as different uses of language mark a person as a member of a particular social group or class. When people of different linguistic persuasions interact in social spaces of power, they reinforce the respective power positions and the structures of power existent in the social space. The

structures of the space and the ability to access the language of the space determine who has a right to speak, ask questions, interrupt and to be listened too.

Bourdieu (1991) explains it best, saying "the efficacy of a performative utterance is inseparable from the existence of an institution that defines the conditions such as place, time and agent, which must be fulfilled to for the utterance to be effective." Power here is based on access, those who do not have access to the defining institution will not be able to "utter" effective discourses according to Bourdieu. When institutions act out of self-interest to convince people that the arbitrariness of the social order is either natural or to be ignored, and thus that existing social powers are legitimate and justified, they are acting out what Bourdieu refers to as symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is an unconscious action by the dominant group that perpetuates their prevailing structures and actions. It is self-reinforcing as the dominant come to understand themselves as 'right' (Bourdieu 1991).

Prior (2005, 137) uses Bennett (1998) who draws on Bourdieu and Foucault to argue that a central component of modern forms of government is the use of this power to control the moral conduct of the population through the management of culture. Bennet refers to this as the exhibitionary complex which occurs when spectacle, discipline, and state power become interlinked with questions of entertainment, education, and control. Exhibitions of a society place the public on the other side of power, as both subject to it, and benefitting from it. The museum becomes "an apparatus of governance and behavioural control that functions in the public domain to constitute modern subjects who self-regulate."

> To identify with power, to see it as, if not directly theirs, then indirectly so, a force regulated and channelled by society's ruling groups but for the good of all; this was the rhetoric of power embedded in the exhibitionary complex – a power made manifest not in its ability to inflict pain but by its ability to organise and coordinate the order of things and to produce a place for people in relation to that order.

According to Bennett, 19th century expositions turned displays of the technology, science, art, and history of society into an argument for progress, progress that was a national collective achievement. In this sense, the public see themselves as part of this progress and therefore shares in the power. Organised by the rhetoric of imperialism this exhibitionary complex clearly delineated and "other" and "un-civilised peoples" who did not participate in the progress. Power in museums almost always boils down to one problem outlined by Bourdieu, Darbell and Scnapper (1997, 29) who argue that: "[e]ven in their smallest details ... museums reveal their real function, which is to reinforce among some people the feeling of belonging and among others the feeling of exclusion." Newman and McLean (2002) have drawn on Foucault and Bourdieu to show how the museum has the power to decide who is a valuable member of society by whom they decide to discuss, include, exclude and validate in society.

Prior (2005) summarises and critiques Bourdieu's *The Love of Art* (1997) which was central to Bourdieu's theorizing about culture-mediated power relations. According to Prior, art museums are particularly important to Bourdieu as they institutionalise two ideas. First, museums act as shrines to high culture, separating the elite from the popular to symbolically purify the values of civilised culture. Second, museums use the discourses of modernity to "proliferate" narratives of improvement

and universal access by placing themselves as locales for moral betterment. One example of this is the contemporary belief that, if used correctly, museums could be vehicles for popular education and citizenship to help combat intolerance, poverty and social exclusion, if they were made widely accessible to enough people. Prior also points out some useful critiques of Bourdieu. First, he demonstrates that Bourdieu operates with a vague and monolithic conception of the museum. Prior uses Fyfe and Macdonald (2004) to argue that museums have changed over the last century and that to study them as one-dimensional agents of social reproduction is over-simplifying their role in society. Second, although he provides an excellent class analysis, Bourdieu does not pay close attention to inequalities based on gender, sexuality, age and ethnicity. Furthermore, Karp and Lavine (1991) have identified the nationalist power of the museum in its ability to define citizenship; this is particularly important in war museums, where citizenship is often equated with participation in, or at least support of, a country's military activities.

Many other scholars have applied Foucault's ideas of power and knowledge to the museum. Lord (2006) draws on Foucault when she argues that museums can now be understood as centres where their inherent power could be dismantled by that same museum's ability to question the continuity of history. Bennett (1995, 47) examines this in the context of 19th century museums, arguing that museums were opened to the public as a part of larger government attempts to use culture to civilise populations. Prior to this, culture was a way to display the power of the elite; it came to be used as an instrument of "governmental power." Bennet also contrasts the museum to

Foucault's descriptions of the prison and the asylum. While both are meant to regulate behaviour, the prison and the asylum hide their populations from the public while the museum displays its power and knowledge to expose populations to ideals of orderly behaviour.

Lidchi (1997, 186) focuses on the science espoused within museums rather than on the institution itself. He demonstrates that the science used by museums is not necessarily an "enlightened science – a progressive view of the human condition," but particular forms of knowledge that emerge in a distinct historical moment. Human sciences, such as anthropology, are used to classify society into categories such as women, men, natives, other races, insane, sane, healthy or ill (Hall 1992). Anthropology, which relied heavily on these categories, emerged during the modern period and participated in power relationships. Anthropology was representative of the coloniser and the academic who had power to represent and classify. The colonised and the masses were classified and educated. Luke (2002) has further argued that, the museum has the power to shape social values by displaying what aspects of history the people who work in the museum think is important, and to shape a collective understanding of society by celebrating and critiquing certain aspects of culture.

Grimes (1990, 241) takes a less theoretical approach to power than Foucault in arguing that "[c]onceptualizations of power are secondary to specific embodiments and enactments of it. Power is always the "power to" and "power of." Within the museum, this research is concerned with the powers to create, to define and to represent. As heterotopic spaces museums create 'realities', or they create representations of reality,

as they understand it. Kahn (1995 , 326) quotes Mitchell (1988, 149) to argue that "[t]hrough endless historically constructed systems of ordering and reordering, arranging and rearranging, of essentially mute, inert objects, museums create a hyper-reality. In doing so, they simultaneously crystallise and muddle the distinction between 'a realm of things and one of meaning or truth.'" Kahn believes that these hyper-realities, in the form of imposed narratives and taxonomies create tension as they do not always match the reality of what they are trying to represent. The goal of the museum is not reality however, it is to bring in visitors and tell a story that various stakeholders who keep the museum going find agreeable and digestible.

One of the best examples of a shift in power relations concerns the representation of Aboriginal people in museums. For a long time, museums, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people had a somewhat antagonistic relationship, but since the 1980s there has been a move for inclusion of Aboriginal voices in the exhibits. Aboriginal people have learned to speak the language of museums and are now more active and effective players in the power relations that take place in the museum space. However, McLoughlin (1999) shows that the representation of First Nations, Inuit and Métis people in museums is by no means perfect. She explores some of the problematic exhibits that acted as catalysts for changing both Canadian policies concerning how Aboriginal objects were acquired and preconceived notions concerning their display representation in museums, by showing that despite increased inclusion in the process of representation there has not necessarily been an equalization of power. Peers (2007) performed an in-depth study of five historic reconstructions of Aboriginal sites to

examine the challenges Aboriginal people face when working in a Euro-centric institution to describe their own history, demonstrating that 'othering', essentialism, and exoticism are still issues, even in museums run by Aboriginal people. Mithlo (2004) has a very interesting take on how inclusion in the museum has created an unfair burden on Aboriginal people, as Aboriginal museum workers are now expected to be experts on all Aboriginal peoples and topics everywhere, as well as speak for them and represent them in the museum. As McLoughlin (1993) argues, Aboriginal people all over the world are beginning to resist the construction of their identity as 'Other.' She demonstrates how Aboriginal people draw on postcolonial theory and practice to impact both the philosophy and the exhibits of museums and recover the 'Other.' To do this, Aboriginal museums do not look for a pure or authentic historical voice, but for the "contemporary voices of the Other and the political, historical, and social contexts that have created their identities. Postcolonial theory suggests that museums can become sites of encounter where rather than relying on a false polarity of Other and Us, we can explore the ground that lies in between" (Bruner 2005).

These changes are not just occurring in Canada for Aboriginal peoples. The same critiques from postcolonialism are also closely related to critiques from postmodernism. Reflecting Bourdieu and Darbell, Hooper-Greenhill (1989, 63) makes the observation that since the French revolution, the museum has had two functions, "that of the elite temple of the arts, and that of a utilitarian instrument for democratic education." The first function shows a power imbalance of elitism which gives museums the power to define and communicate what counts as art, science, religion,

culture and the second is pedantic understanding of the museum as a place to educate ignorant masses about what should be important to a society. As Berlo et. al. (1995, 11) point out though,

> The dismantling of the imperialist legacy of collecting and display has only just begun, but it is already clear that the old illusion of ideal panoptical vision has been shattered. The partial views that replace it offer insights into the meanings of objects that more accurately reflect the multiple ways of knowing that are emerging in the late 20th century.

The conceptualization of a museum that reflects and informs society is (and has been for some time) slowly replacing the museum that shapes and informs society. In 1977, Hudson (1997, 11) already saw the changes occurring saying "The days of the museum as a self-contained institution, as a storehouse of wonders or as a temple of the arts are numbered. The museum of the future will be a means of helping people to become aware of the past, present and future of the area in which they live." As such, almost all museums are becoming more community oriented. Although focusing on Australia, Zubrzycki's (1992) argument that museums can and must become more community oriented is evidenced with the large number of community museums in Canada. He relays a quote by George Henri Riviere (1985) that says "[t]he museum is a didactic instrument designed to build heritage awareness, not for a *public* but for and by a *community."*[32] Communities can be both ethnic communities and groups of people who live in a specific geographical area.

Public reactions of rage against controversial exhibits demonstrate the increased role museums play as contested spaces, but why have they become such

[32] Emphasis his

potent battlegrounds? Dubin (1999, 9) posits several theories. First, he argues that the legacy of community empowerment and self-determination that arose in the 1960s from civil rights movements and poor people's movements in the United States have caused the middle classes and minority groups to seek a voice and representation in the museum. Second, he argues that the "new social history" which no longer focuses only on the rich, powerful and male in society has opened the spigot for a "history from below." While this has been a positive move for underrepresented groups in society, it also poses a challenge for museum curators who have inherited such collections and have few resources to add to their collections. Third, increased public awareness has led to more controversy. Media and the involvement of politicians' means that the debates of what once would have been only the elite who entered museums (and art galleries) now entered the public space. Public concerns over the values communicated by displays as well as who pays for such controversial exhibits are increasingly public debates.

In what was perhaps one of the best examinations of power in museums, Grimes (1990) performed an analysis of the CMC and the issues of power it was likely to encounter in its attempts to represent Canada and all the civilizations included in that nation. According to Grimes, The CMC is an attempt to re-imagine Canada by way of artefacts and enactments. He predicts power conflicts in four possible spots: the structure and definition of the building itself, sacred objects, and rites and performances. Any museum that attempts to show the story of any group will have to address these difficulties.

First, Grimes (251) argues that power conflicts come through the modes of display. How things are displayed in a museum will affect a visitor's perception of the museum. Glass cases and "do not touch" signs run the risk of making a culture othered, exotic and inaccessible. However, a museum that is too interactive and aims more for fun rather than education runs the risk of trivializing culture. Also, what is displayed and what is left out of displays sends messages to the visitor. Grimes compares museums to universities in that they have the opportunity to invent reality by de- and re-contextualizing objects. This happens less in the texts than in the creation of displays. One example of this can be found at the First People's Gallery at the ROM. In the centre of the gallery is a display of Paul Kane's portrait depictions of First Nations people. Paul Kane was white and is called an artist, there is another section of the gallery with contemporary Aboriginal art. Why are Paul Kane's works 'art' and the work of other similarly talented artists "Aboriginal art?' While some artists embrace the special title of being an Aboriginal artist, the fact that women's art, Aboriginal art, and Chinese art is rarely referred to just as art indicates a hegemonic power structure whereby all art falls into one category, and those artists whose identities do not fit within the pre-conceived notion of the white, male, European artist have a category that is separate, rather than their own intrinsic value.

The second power conflict is present in the shape or structure of the museum building. At the CMC, and at many other museums, the staff insist that Native history is important and should be discussed, but Aboriginal Galleries are often not organised according to traditional chronological or historical methods. As well, history floors are

often separated from Native galleries, which are also included under the rubric of anthropology, archaeology, and sometimes even natural history. In regards to the CMC, which, in 1990 was organised into three floors, Grimes (252) said:

> This division of labour institutionalises the white world's nature/culture dualism. Literally, bodily, visitors will ascend into history and descend into nature. What are we to think—that one ascends from nature and Indians through culture and immigrants to history ... and what? That is the question. And ... those with power to determine the structure? Who belongs on the folk floor? Italians, Vietnamese, Chinese, Irish? Jews? If this is the case, who are the makers and determiners of history on the top floor—English and French? Pressed with questions and criticism, the staff admitted that the division of labour among the three floors arose in part because of turf concerns among anthropologists (first floor), folklorists (second floor), and historians (third floor). This three-storied universe, this supposed microcosm of Canada, is really a microcosm of academic fiefdoms just at the point in our history when the rigid separation of these disciplines is being called into question.

This happens in many museums across Canada where the Aboriginal Gallery is separate from Canadian galleries and history galleries. At the CWM there is an interesting historical exhibit on First Nation and Métis warfare, particularly how this occurred with the white settlers. However, when we enter the Boer war, the two World wars, Korea and Peace Keeping, the visitor has to look to find the information about Aboriginal soldiers and Veterans, who again are often in their own displays and sections.

The third possible power conflict concerns sacred objects. As Grimes (252) says, "A museum is an odd place because it is unusually dense with once powerful objects rendered powerless. Yet, paradoxically, in museums objects become actors, whereas in life, in history, objects are usually the shadows of actors, the residue of events." In their religious contexts, sacred objects have power, not just the power to perform miracles,

but also to change behaviour and serve as signs, representations, and reminders of the numinous. In a museum these objects are stripped of that power. The Bernini Crucifix at the AGO is no longer the focus of devotion, but instead is analysed based on its artistic merit and historical significance. After an object is stripped of its sacred power, it is then invested with symbolic capital and given monetary or market value. A sacred object is valued on how well it can create a representation of a specific group. Objects that represent a group that is extinct are considered even more valuable (R. Grimes, 253).

Grimes (256) final site of power conflict is in the possibility of rites and performances in the museum. The communities who either donated or feel a connection to the sacred objects on display often want to perform the rituals associated with that object. This brings up a host of questions. First, since the museum is a public space does this mean that all rituals should be open to the public, even ones that either exclude women or are only permissible for initiates of a particular religion. Second, are all ceremonies permissible in a museum? What about ceremonies that might harm artefacts or violate health or fire codes such as feasting, smudging within the museum, placing organic materials on or around artefacts with offerings of food or tobacco. Third, what groups are welcome in the museum for rituals? Aboriginal people, Buddhist monks, and Voodoo priests have all been invited to museums to perform ceremonies. However, would the public or the staff be as comfortable with Evangelical pastors, Wiccan priests, or Chasidic Rabbis?

Sites of Power

Reading the literature on power in museums highlighted a number of possible sites of power that could have a impact on the display of religion in museums. The first section examines sites where the relationship between power and knowledge plays out. These include how museums uses discourse, museums' claims to objectivity, how museums hold the power of definition, and how museums use a narrative of progress. Next this section discusses issues of structural power, power that is imbedded in the very way the museum functions. Conflicts in sites of structural power can arise from balancing the necessity of funding the museum, the roles of staff and management, special interest groups, experts, and visitors with the values, and glass of the museum. The final site of power in the museum comes as a result of the politics of recognition. This final section discusses how power is at stake in the museum as it is a place that represents, a place that creates history, and a place where one can view authentic history. The analysis in this section occurs through a combination of the research gathered for this thesis and the work and observations of other scholars.

Power/Knowledge

Discourse

As a variant of power/knowledge, discourse is the opportunity and ability to create a way to talk about something, then communicate that something to society. Discourse however is more than just an ability to speak. As Smith (1994, 61) articulates, discourse signals the use of language as a set of social practices and involves extensive training, social integration, and a mastery of linguistic rules. The ability to

create discourse from within any institution in society requires the individual or group to have access to the social etiquette deemed acceptable by the gatekeepers of the institution, to have access to the same training as those gatekeepers, and to master the language of those in the institution. Groups that fail to do these things are denied the ability to become "full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining an identity through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression (C. Taylor 1991, 33)."[33] Van Dijk (1989, 22) brings this thinking further to argue that ultimately, the powerless have literally "nothing to say," nobody to talk to, or must remain silent when more powerful people are speaking, as is the case for children, prisoners, defendants, and (in some cultures, including sometimes our own) women.

A pragmatic example of this issue is demonstrated in Canada by the fact museums (generally) operate in English and/or French. Groups who wish to participate in museum discourse they must first have a mastery of either of these two languages. Some groups have begun to circumnavigate this by opening their own museums where preservation of a particular language is a goal of the museum. Such examples include Highland Village Museum in Nova Scotia, which preserves the Gaelic language and various Aboriginal museums such as the Abenaki museum, where guests are greeted in Abenaki and the staff work to teach the language to visitors who have the desire to learn.

A second barrier groups face when participating in museum discourse occurs because of what Smith (1994, 62) calls "paradigmatic cultural forms of discourse." More

[33] He goes on to explain that his definition of language is broad and covers everything from art, to gesture to love, similar to discourse.

colloquially, we could describe this as the language used to both create and critique exhibitions. Much of this is an overlap with the ability to discuss on the same level as academics using jargon. In museums this barrier is beginning to erode in two ways. First, curators are beginning to see it as a part of their responsibility to open up the museum to communities, serving in a sense as a translator between the community and the museum establishment. Second, people from more minority ethnic backgrounds are beginning to enter the museum professions. This is happening both as more people apply to museum studies programs and as more people organise at a grassroots level and educate themselves through museums courses.

Hirst (2004, 382) explained Foucault's conception of discourse "as forms of order and inclusion/exclusion of statement." For Foucault, a statement is more than a sentence or a phrase, statements are not free products of the mind; instead there are certain institutional and organizational conditions of knowledge where statements can appear. Foucault also argues that the institutional constraints mean only certain subjects (agents of discursive formation) are qualified to speak in certain ways. For example, Foucault argues that only doctors and psychiatrists can determine insanity, but within the context of the asylum. A similar argument might be made that a curator can determine what an artefact is, but only within the context of the museum.

Karim (1993, 194) adds to this by explaining that dominant discourses, due to their very nature, operate in ways which enable them to sustain their dominance in the face of competition from all other types of discourse. He argues that even while hegemonic interests do not always agree, they generally have broad consensuses about

major points in history. These agreements become the dominant discourses that create definitions, theoretical paradigms, agendas, and frameworks to then create meaning in a society. Hall (1979, 149) explains that society agrees on both the terminology used to discuss important matters and where and when these discussions can take place and that alternative terminologies and meanings are either disparaged or disregarded. An example of this is the use, or non-use of the term religion or spirituality to describe Aboriginal culture. Early missionaries and colonisers believed that Aboriginal people had no religion. However, even now, many Aboriginal people reject the word religion to describe their beliefs as it is more associated with institutional religion, particularly mainline Christianity. Likewise, some Aboriginal groups use the term spirituality to refer to their own teachings but forbid non-Aboriginal people to use the term spirituality, instead non-Aboriginal people may talk about religion, to avoid being seen as taking on the role of an Elder. First Nations, Inuit and Métis people have also fought for the right to be called by their proper groups' names (for example, Innu instead of Montaigne) and the right to challenge the dominant discourse of the museum with alternate understandings of history and knowledge.

Some scholars have looked at this specifically in the context of power within the museum. Artefacts and objects in a museum become "elements of discourse." Kahn (1995) argues that the creation of discourse occurs both through selection of an object, and the creation of display. Museums make certain these choices based on their institutional prerogatives research, collect, preserve, and display. A striking example comes from a tour at the ROM. While taking a guided tour at the ROM, our group passed

the totem poles that sit in the main stairway. After explaining to our group the meanings of the various images depicted on the pole, the tour guide made a statement that quite frankly, shocked me. She said something akin to "many visitors ask why we keep these poles here instead of returning them to the Natives who made them. If we returned them, the Natives would just let them rot outside; here we preserve them so everyone can see them." While I know this is by no means the official stance of the ROM, the other members of that tour group may have assumed this statement to be a legitimate explanation of the presence of the totem poles in the museum. However, the power embedded in this interaction occurs on several levels. First, the tour guide was given authority to speak to us, on behalf of the museum. Second, she assumed that the choice to preserve the poles was superior to the choice of leaving them in their original context to return to the earth. Third, she assumed that disseminating the knowledge of the totem poles was superior to keeping that knowledge within the culture of the people who created them. This is an example of an issue of a barrier to discourse based on differing value system. A person can be fluent in English or French, trained in museum discourse, but have a value system which conflicts with the goals and values of the museum. Displaying religious artefacts from groups who embrace the ideas of impermanence and decay of material objects as a natural part of the objects life conflicts with the museum whose goal is preservation and conservation of material artefacts.

Objectivity

A critical aspect of the relationship between knowledge and power is the idea of objectivity. While interviewing curators and talking to people about museums a belief in the objectivity of the museum permeated the many of the discussions. However, it has been shown repeatedly in museum literature that museums cannot be objective. Not because of a flaw of the people who work in museums, but because museums have limited space and funds, as such museum workers must make a value decision every time they decide to either acquire or display one artefact over another. As Rice (1995) argues,

> The individual art object, instead of being seen as a pleasing combination of formal elements, is treated as "as an element of discourse" within a variety of social, cultural, and political contexts. In contemporary critical thinking, the museum can no longer claim to be a neutral backdrop for the display of art, because it is understood instead to be a highly complex institution which participates in the legitimation of power, as Jan Vaessen points out in the passage cited above. The universality of the formal language of art, implied in Sherman Lee's suggestion that museums have merely to display objects to be educational, is now seen as a particular ideology which upholds the structuring of authority.

The curator must decide that one artefact will better assist in telling the desired narrative than another artefact. This decision may be at variance with the values, desires, beliefs or self-perception of the community in which the artefact originated (Zubrzycki 1992, 22).

Zubrzycki lists several ways to help balance the power in these situations. The first and most obvious is to involve the community being represented whenever possible in the entire process of exhibit creation, not just as a last minute examination

at the end. He suggests also getting as much social information about the object as possible, beyond the usual information about the materials used, the origin and the age of the artefact. Next, he encourages curators to accept that as soon as the object becomes an artefact and is placed in the collections or on display, accept that it is now a "rhetorical object … lacquered with layers of interpretation" (Bennett 1998, 12). Finally, he urges curators to avoid the temptation of a chronological placement but instead embed the object in its cultural context.

This method of interpretation was acted out in both small and large museums across Canada. For example, the Wetaskiwin Museum in Alberta had limited artefacts concerning Chinese, Aboriginal, and Hutterite culture as it existed in the region, but the exhibits managed to display the distinct groups as unique cultures who were still embedded and active in the communities without exoticizing them. Likewise, the First People's Gallery at the ROM included Aboriginal peoples at all levels of the exhibit creation process. Also interesting was their ability to take four particular objects and create a social history around them by having a First Nation's person perform an in-depth discussion of each object. Museums can never be completely free of their location in history or society, as such, they cannot be unbiased. Even the decision of museums to take it upon themselves to attempt to display other cultures in a way deemed fair by the culture being represented and the society, is a constraint of the social situation in Canada right now.

The artist Hans Haacke (1983, 9), is more cynical saying "[t]he art world as a whole, and museums in particular, belong to what has aptly been called the

consciousness industry." He believes the most basic function of a museum is to support the prevailing distributions of power and capital, and to convince the public that the status quo is the natural and best order of things. Haacke (1983, 11) further argues that "[e]very museum is perforce a political institution, no matter whether it is privately run or maintained and supervised by governmental agencies." Political considerations play an important role in the hiring and firing of curators, directors, and other personnel by boards of whom trustees made up almost invariably of corporate business executives for whom "the term culture camouflages the social and political consequences resulting from the industrial distribution of consciousness" (Haacke 1983, 11). Preziosi and Farago (2004, 364) quote Haacke's assertion that "museological claims to canons of impartial scholarship suffer from idealist delusions about the 'nonpartisan' or non-socially-constructed character of consciousness." Vogel (2004, 661) agrees and says the museum must let the public know that it is not a broad frame through which the world can be inspected, but a tightly focused lens showing the visitors a particular point of view."

Bourdieu (1984, 479) believes that the claim to objectivity by the museum is potentially harmful to groups saying: "[w]hat is at stake in the struggles about the meaning of the social world is power over the classificatory schemes and systems which are the basis of the representations of the groups and therefore of their mobilization and demobilization." Using the language of knowledge, the museum will argue that it is neutral and free of bias, and that the meaning of an object can be fixed and fully known (McLoughlin 1993). When this happens, knowledge about the object

becomes interchangeable with knowledge about the subject. The group or individual being represented becomes fixed in time and fully knowable.

Simpson (1996, 1) discusses the connection between the colonial mindset and objectivity. Aboriginal Australian writers have referred to scientific colonialism, or claims of objectivity, used by museums and anthropologists to control representations of Aboriginal art and culture. Their claim to objectivity allows them to create representations that are pleasing to them, but not necessarily to the people being represented. Museums are stuck in an academic world that conflates being authoritative with being objective and definitive (5). As well, museums fear being seen as political institutions. In the interviews, two curators admitted they avoided controversial topics so they would not risk their funding. However, according to Simpson (37) "[i]naction can be interpreted as a political stance; therefore museums which attempt to remain objective by refusing to address political issues might be seen to be condoning the very actions they seek to avoid addressing." This very thing happened with the exhibit T*he Spirit Sings* and the Lubicon Lake Cree. Although the museum took funding from the gas companies who were contesting the land claimed by the Lubicon, the museum claimed to have no political stance or bias. The uproar from both Aboriginal peoples and some academics shows that few people were convinced of the political neutrality of the museum in this case.

This same critique applies to denominational museums that decide not discuss their church's role in colonization. Judy, a curator in Montreal, attempts to tell a difficult

story of colonization without getting into a discussion of the negative or colonial aspects of her museums story.

> I try to look at it with a historical perspective, try to look at it from the point of view of people who are living now, not from the point of view of theories that people hold today. Look at the whole picture, we are remembering that people, you can't bring a historical perspective about one thing and then impose it on another period and expect that they are going to think the same way. If you think about the (sic), we had native sisters, even in the 17th century and they went and taught their own. Marguerite Bourgeoys is less difficult to deal with because our sisters, she didn't want a boarding school, and our sisters went out and taught in the Indian village, and lived among the village, and the girls stayed at home. … And just to try to be fairer and give a little more perspective on the way people, without whitewashing them, although it is not even whitewashing because they acted within what they could see and understand. It's one of the difficult things for us.

This also happens when non-Aboriginal museums attempt to discuss topics that are sensitive to Aboriginal peoples. For example, when discussing the role of the Anglican Church in Residential schools Mary says:

> It is not addressed in our current exhibit, although we will be addressing it in our new exhibit, and it is mentioned in our videos that we have upstairs that were made recently on the history of the Anglican Church. But we don't try to take sides in that issue because we are just kind of relating the history of it. We try to be as neutral as we can even though it is a very heavy issue.

A museum's political stance could indeed be that all sides of the story are important and thus all the facts need to be presented. In this way the museum can acknowledge that there are different biases to all the material but by displaying all the facts they avoid an institutional bias about the topic itself. While this works well for smaller

exhibits and institutions, it is difficult for museums who attempt to discuss broader complex topics.

If a museum decides to move away from an apolitical or objective stance it is still faced with difficulties. As Simpson (1996, 51) points out, one of the problems facing curatorial staff when embarking on collaborative experiences is negotiating the often difficult path through community relationships and politics to identify those who can speak for their communities. Leaders of community organizations are an obvious first point of contact, as are community workers who have wide contact with a large number of people. However, contacting leaders or community workers causes other issues of power within the community itself. An example of this occurred in the spirit of Islam exhibit at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology. The organisers had to try and get representatives from every single Muslim community represented in the greater Vancouver area, and as well, had to be aware that the people participating in the creation of the exhibit were probably already respected in their community and were gaining significant political capital because of their affiliation with a distinguished institution such as the museum. As well, some people see community committees, particularly Aboriginal Heritage Committees, where they do exist, are advisory committees adding further insult. Such advisory committees merely emphasise the fact that ownership and ultimate authority over our heritage rests in non-Aboriginal hands" (Fourmille 1989).

Curators were sometimes unsure about discussing controversies and difficult periods in history. For instance, in a Jewish museum on the East coast the curator said

the biggest controversy in her community' history was the separation then subsequent re-unification of the two synagogues, an act that was based more on class then on religious belief. It was a non-issue in the Jewish museum, but another museum might have been more hesitant to discuss that kind of topic, probably out of a fear of offending someone within the community. Another interesting experience came from talking to a curator at a First Nations museum who had decided not to discuss the history of residential schools in her community because she wanted a positive place for the community. Stories such as this one create an interesting double bind. A non-Aboriginal curator who did not discuss residential schools would be accused of avoiding a topic critical to the history of the community being represented. However, if a community decides to avoid a topic like this in their own museum it is considered an act of agency and control over representing their own history. As well, it is always important to remember that communities in museums are not monolithic and as such some members of a community might not enjoy hearing about a part of their history. For example, in a Ukrainian museum, the curator mentioned that some members of his community were often uncomfortable discussing some of the history of the Russo-Orthodox Church. In this case the curator saw it as his responsibility to tell these difficult stories, even if they made some people in the community uncomfortable.

The Power of Definition

The third site of knowledge/power is in the power of museums to create definitions. Most important for me in this chapter is how museums define religion, and culture and the relationship between the two. As Kahn (1995) states: "[a]ll museums

are exercises in classification," and it is precisely from their position as "classifying houses" that museums become institutions of knowledge and technologies of power.' In classifying some objects as art and some as utilitarian, In putting certain artefacts in since museums and others in Anthropology museums, in describing and naming them, in displaying them in one way as opposed to another, and in constructing contexts for them, museums establish their sense of authority to categorise.

Having shown that language and knowledge and language are critical power centres within the museum, it follows that the power to define is a major site for contention. The most debate in the literature seems to have occurred around the definitions of art and artefact. Museums initially believed that primitive societies were incapable of making art. Whether they justified this through a belief that the primitive mind could only focus on functionality or that societies other than European societies simply had no art. In her discussion of understandings of art and curators roles in defining what is art, Vogel (2004, 653) argues that in most other cultures, and prior to the 18th century in western culture, art was not made for the purpose of hanging in a museum or gallery to be contemplated, especially not by lay people. However, it is by these standards the value of all art in a gallery or museum is usually judged. "In some measure, we have attributed to the art or artefacts of all times the qualities of our own: that its purpose is to be contemplated, and that its main qualities can be apprehended visually." It is a distinct power imbalance for a western curator to decide which African objects are art and which are artefact, especially since the distinction does not reflect African sensibilities (Vogel 2004, 656). Particularly relevant to this thesis is the

interpretation of an object as liturgical or religious instead of as an object of art. As a curator, Vogel discusses African art as an example of art that is often created with a distinctly spiritual purpose that is often not communicated by the curator and rarely understood by the visiting public. Museums are still often considered nothing more than giant mausoleums, but what if instead of seeing a religious artefact as a relic from the past; we saw it as an expression of a living and dynamic religious belief (Preziosi and Farago 2004, 363). Clunas (1997, 418) has pointed out that, "'[a]rt' is not a category in the sense of a pre-existent container ... rather, it is a way of categorizing, a manner of making knowledge." To see Asian objects as anthropological meant understanding those cultures within the frameworks that were being developed primarily to understand non-Western and so-called primitive peoples. For those who classified Asian objects as art, who were dazzled by the achievements of Asian cultural production, Asian cultures could be understood in the same category as the great occidental civilizations such as Greece, Rome, and their descendents.

If a museum decides to represent religion, it must then decide how it is going to display and analyse religion. An interesting historical coincidence is that according to Preus (1987), until the 16th century, there was only the haziest notion of a general category of religion museums did not become popular in Europe until the 1700s when the idea of a separate category of religion had already entered into the European psyche. As the study of religion mostly arose out of a mix of theologians and anthropologists, it can be concluded that some of the dominant themes of how to understand and study a religion might also be reflected in the museum. Bell (2006)

outlines five key paradigms of religious scholarship. A museum that uses any of these paradigms to discuss religion is open to several problems of power.

The first paradigm sees Christianity as the prototypical religion. Early scholars assumed Christianity is what religion looked like and all forms of religion were made to fit into some sort of box that looked like Christianity. In the early Canadian collections gathered by the Jesuits, traditional First Nations spirituality did not look like Christianity, and as such, Aboriginal people were often explained as having no religion. This understanding is not prevalent in museums today, but when a museum makes comparisons to help explain they are employing this paradigm. For example, and I have never seen this in a museum, I have heard people say the Dalai Lama is like the Buddhist pope. Discourse here privileges Christianity as the norm, since it would be considered odd to have someone call the Pope the Catholic Dalai Lama. Bell warns us that in this paradigm, things that do not fit within the prototypical box are downplayed.

The second paradigm examines religion as the opposite of reason. Bell (2006, 34) explains that as the empirical sciences became more accepted people began to see the rational and irrational as contrasting and religion became what science was not. Rising out of modern thought, this can sometimes be seen in museums today. A museum may say something in a panel such as "long ago, people believed X, but now archaeology shows Y to be true." This paradigm runs the risk of alienating people who are religious from the museum by portraying them as irrational.

The third paradigm is the modern formulation of the idea of "world religions." The approach is popular as evidenced by the promulgation of museums of world

religions, notably one in Quebec City and one in Scotland. The discipline of religious studies uses this approach to solve pedagogical problems by boiling down religions into a series of comparable parts, myths, histories, founders, cosmologies and so on. However, these comparisons are artificial divisions and raise problems of power. Do religions that cannot be compared based on these qualities count as religions (Bell 2006, 35)? Second, the assumption of world religions is that they play out on a global stage. If a religion is not included does that mean we are making the argument that it is not influential enough in the world? Religions such as this are also usually discussed only in the context of the regions that spawned them, which does not allow for a discussion of how religions change and evolve in the face of transnationalism. This is an important point in Canadian museums when we try to display contemporary world religions. According to Bramadat and Seljak (2004) religions in Canada are practised differently than in their homelands. Curators have difficulty communicating this change over time. In the interviews curators were asked if they displayed their groups Canadian histories. Linda, curator of a South Asian community said she would, except it is very difficult to find artefacts related to that story. Brian echoed a similar sentiment saying he could only tell stories if he had artefacts, and did not want to risk stretching the meaning of an artefact.

The fourth paradigm sees religion as a cultural necessity (Bell 2006, 38). This paradigm sees religion as non-irrational and seeks to actively discredit it. This did not happen in any of the musems I visited or interviewed and is not present in the literature on religion in museums as a motivating factor. The fifth paradigm has religion

scholars use a self-critical analysis of the western construction of religion. Every graduate student is aware of this paradigm and Jonathan Z. Smith has become famous (at least among religious scholars) as saying "[r]eligion is solely the creation of the scholar's study." Bell (2006, 34) argues that scholars have accepted this uncritically and as of yet have not clearly analyzed or challenged this claim. Indeed, defining cultural practices as religion (or vice versa) has had the unexpected result in America of protecting them by putting them on an equalizing footing under the law alongside Christianity and other world religions. Two museum curators articulated this point acknowledging that both culture and religion were categories created at a particular time in history, and are neither completely separable nor inherent.

Progress

The final possibility of knowledge/power in the museum is the paradigm of progress. Progress causes people to assume that whatever is newer must be superior to that which is older. In the past, and to some extent today, museums assumed modernity was an inevitable step for all progressing cultures. However, as Berger, Berger and Kellner (1973, 5) point out, we can counteract this assumption with the "awareness that modernity is not inexorable or inevitable, that much in it may well be due to chance, and that its process may turn out to be reversible." Modernity did not inevitably arise in Europe because of European superiority; it arose because of a series of circumstances that allowed for the development of an intellectual class, because certain thinkers were born at the right time, because certain people invented machines and processes that allowed for the dissemination of knowledge. As Araeen (1987, 14)

argues, that the idea of progress was central to western scholarship since the time of the Renaissance. He argues that while the idea of a linear progression of history towards some sort of perfection is not necessarily unique to western scholarship, "[b]ut the theory of linear progress and freedom, based on an ideological framework in which all the different cultures and races of people are chained together in a hierarchical order, is specifically western, based on the idea of progress in western philosophy."

The belief that progress is a universally desirable circumstance falls apart with only a little analysis. Humanity's ability to cure diseases has increased along with our ability to create weapons that kill more people. Technology has raised the standard of living for most people in the western world but has contributed to rapid environmental degradation. Individualism helps ensure the rights of people, but is that at the cost of an emphasis on the good of the community over the individual. Democracy allows for people to participate in their government, but it also gives those same people the choice to elect popular but unqualified and possibly dangerous leaders. Often synonymous to progress is the idea of development. Berger, Berger and Kellner (1973) argue that development is not a scientifically neutral term, instead that it is a non-political term based on a value-oriented analysis.

Natural history museums are also feeling a pull away from a paradigm of progression. As an official at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington said the "paradigm of progress is rapidly shifting … No longer viewed as the vertical masters of a natural order over which we were given dominion, Western peoples increasingly see themselves as participants in a horizontally interconnected ecological system and an

interdependent, pluralistic cultural system" (Sullivan 1992, 41). The desire to prevent other peoples from undergoing change while you yourself evolve is a common Western characteristic. Others' cultural change is equated with cultural loss (Kahn 1995). "The non-Western world is always vanishing and modernizing-as in Walter Benjamin's (1997) allegory of modernity, the tribal world is conceived as a ruin" (Clifford 1988, 202). If they don't change they are frozen in time. If they change they are "gone forever." No matter which route they take, they vanish (Kahn 1995 , 330). The embarrassing fact that exhibits about some, but not all, people are placed in natural history museums is a confirmation of the strong grip that evolutionist paradigms have on anthropological thinking. In addition, the relations of power whereby one portion of humanity selects and collects the products of others need to be transformed. A shift must occur in the level of collaboration between people with knowledge about museum practicalities and those with knowledge about cultural matters. Museums might best serve their educational mission by becoming facilitators, providing the space and technical expertise for others to use for their own exhibitions where they choose the material, set the agenda, write the script, arrange the programs, and veto interference ... Such exhibits could intentionally display the false realities, the nested gazes, and the representations of representations. Examples of this type of exhibit, however, have not always been successful in communicating the subtlety of their messages.

Structural Power

An important site of power that should not be over looked in the museum are those affiliated with the day to day functioning of the museum. As Pettigrew (1973)

explains, there are dialogues with and within institutions or organizations that are forms of institutional interaction, and, therefore, also enact, display, signal, or legitimate a multitude of power relations. Vergo (1989, 2-3) further articulates

> Whether we like it or not, every acquisition (and indeed disposal), every juxtaposition or arrangement of an object or work of art, together with other objects or works of art, within the context of a temporary exhibition or museum display means placing a certain construction upon history ... Beyond the captions, the information panels, the accompanying catalogue, the press handout, there is a subtext comprising innumerable diverse, often contradictory strands, woven from the wishes and ambitions, the intellectual or political or social or educational aspirations and preconceptions of the museum director, the curator, the scholar, the designer, the sponsor to say nothing of the society, the political or social or educational system which nurtured all these people and in so doing left its stamp upon them.

To function, a museum must deal with these other institutions and organizations that provide funds (money), information (experts), and important affiliations (special interest groups). Also, a museum cannot function without both staff to run the museum. This section investigates some of the power relations that occur between these groups and the museum.

Money

Money is necessary for all museums to function. As governments continue to reduce funding for the arts and as more leisure activities become available to people in Canada, museums must compete for fewer and fewer dollars despite being expected to do more and more with their exhibits. As argued by Zucker (1987) museums have always been reliant on external benefactors, all of whom have some ulterior motive.

According to this research, museums have a variety of ways to get funding including from individuals, corporations, the government, and foundations.

Individuals sponsor galleries and exhibitions on a regular basis. Many of the Galleries at the ROM are named after benefactors (The Hilary and Galen Weston Wing, the Daphne Cockwell Gallery of First Peoples). Only one curator came up with an example where the funding from a philanthropist was tied to the creation of a specific exhibit. Linda mentioned a recent exhibit at the ROM that examined the pre-historic cultures of the Ukraine. She recalled:

> A lot of times decisions are made based on money, you can have fabulous project and then the project gets cut because they couldn't find the funding. On the other hand you could have a donor come to you and say "I … and we've had this instance not too long ago where a donor said I am going to give you $5 million to produce an exhibit about my culture." Things got snapping. They produced an exhibit which would have never happened without the funding.

The second way museums often get funding is from corporations. None of the museums in the sample specifically mentioned corporations as a source of funding. However, a historical example of a corporation funding an exhibit occurred for *The Spirit Sings* when several oil and gas companies funded the controversial exhibit. Corporations often fall under suspicion when they sponsor an exhibit. Dubin (2001, 7) says that corporations sponsor exhibits because "they may be seeking self-aggrandisement or trying to neutralise their reputation as heartless capitalists." Publicly sponsoring a museum is an attempt by a corporation to trade monetary capital for social capital. According to Alexander (1996, 801), corporations are interested

primarily in public relations and publicity value and tend to fund museums whose programs attract a large, appreciative, middle-class audience.

The third source of funding for museums is the government. In Canada the major sources of Government museum funding are the MAP or the CMAP all museums listed applied for these grants and there was no indication they were tied to subject matter. Instead, curators complained that the grants were designed more for the creation of new exhibits and museums than the maintenance of existing exhibits and museums. The final source of funding comes from community foundations. Both Ukrainian museums mentioned foundations as sources of funding. Other museums mentioned a variety of community groups including historical societies and auxiliaries.

Experts

The second site of structural power comes with the involvement of experts. Inherent to the institution of the museum are curators and experts, sometimes represented in the same person and sometimes not. While many of the curators did hold advanced degrees, with twelve curators stating they had a masters in a related subject area and five admitting to having doctoral degrees, several had no formal education beyond a Bachelor's and had learned on the job. This is most likely representative this research as it sought out smaller community museums on a regular basis. However, all the curators at smaller museums who did not necessarily consider themselves experts took advantage of courses for running their museums, such as conservation, curatorial, fundraising and curatorial seminars, whenever possible. Though they may not consider themselves experts, most curators said they drew on the

expertise of academics or museum experts whenever needed including: historians, scientists (particularly archaeologists and geologists), museums scholars or curatorial consultants, and religious or ethnic scholars.

Beth, a curator on the East coast talked about two precautions she had to take with academics. First, that it was necessary to balance the views of academics with the views of the community. Second, they tend to have very focused areas of knowledge whereas a museum often requires a broader base of knowledge. Some curators also mentioned the problem of museums being populist while academics tend to function within a world of expertise with its own language and perspectives. Robert, a curator in Manitoba said drawing on academic experts allowed him to create a more multifaceted story when he combined the work of scientists with the oral Aboriginal traditions.

Bourdieu (1984) has argued that a group of elites as journalists, writers, artists, directors, academics, and other groups that exercise power on the basis of "symbolic capital" have relative freedom, and hence relative power, in deciding about the discourse genres within their domain of power and determine topics, style, or presentation of discourse. These elites do not only create representations, but they can also influence what the public finds important and worthwhile. Bourdieu (1984, 23) calls these groups the manufacturers of public knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, norms, values, morals, and ideologies. Though individual curators may not feel this way, particularly if they have small museums, their participation in the greater institution of the museum makes them a part of this system. Thus curators, and the academics they consult, have the power to represent, and decide what is worth representing.

Special Interest Groups

While it was not discussed in the context of religion a particular problem unique to memorial and war museums are groups of people who hold special status within the museum. In the holocaust museums in Canada; survivors, and in war museums; veterans, often receive a certain amount of deference for their understandings of a narrative. In one museum that is not a war museum but does have a WWI exhibit, and a war brides exhibit. While the veterans for the WW1 exhibit have passed on, the subjects of the war brides exhibit felt very connected to the story, particularly as many of the artefacts came from living women. As the curator Jessica says: "[w]ell a lot of the artefacts in there are theirs. And they were very much a part of creating that exhibit and they all love to come in and look at it because they feel like it's a part of them.

At the war museum veterans were active in the creation of the museum however their participation has understandably decreased over the years. The ones that survive today are mostly called on to give information. As Amy says:

> They give us their aspect or slant on how they remember things, and their memories of those time periods are extremely accurate, if you stop any veteran on the street and ask them what their service number was and they can rattle it off, you ask them what their home phone number is and they might not know. So the information that we get from the veterans is extremely critical to us, we've also got diaries and written accounts of these veterans' stories, so we use those for reference materials as well. If it weren't for the veterans coming and assisting us when we first started, this museum would not exist.

In holocaust museums survivors play a similar role to veterans. They are drawn on as a source of knowledge but they often also play an additional role as a spokesperson as survivors are often asked to give public testimony about their

experiences. A great burden is placed on survivors to make the holocaust real for subsequent generations. As Stan relates about holocaust survivors in his Jewish museum:

> … they are here to preserve the history, to make sure that the memory of the holocaust doesn't disappear. They give it a sense of immediacy and relevance since they are involved in the educational programs. The kids can relate to them because they are not just information found in a book or a movie. These are flesh and blood people who are living within our midst, and that is where their importance lies, to preserve the memory of the holocaust.

The same sentiment is reflected in the holocaust memorial museum, where survivors make the stories of the holocaust both immediate and real through their testimony. However, holocaust museums are less likely to rely on survivors for information or take them at their word. In holocaust representation curators are always aware that they face anti-Semitic holocaust deniers, making historical accuracy critical.

Management and Staff

The management and staffing requirements of each museum I visited were unique; however most museums had (at a minimum) a curator, a volunteer and some sort of governing Board. In regards to religion, there is very little information in this area about the thoughts of various levels of management and staff. The thoughts of curators in regards to religion are thoroughly expounded in the rest of this thesis. One important question concerned how much leeway the curators were willing to give volunteers, especially in heritage villages where interpreters play such an important role. In most cases the interpreters were allowed to say what they wanted in their own

words as long as they were historically accurate. However, the interpreters were generally discouraged from getting into theological talks with visitors, especially in places such as the Doukhobor museums where Evangelical Christians sometimes had issues with the theological beliefs of the Doukhobor people. I did find the response of Thomas interesting:

> It would be a difficult thing for me to even ask that question "how much leeway do I give them." Because I don't feel like I have the right to have authority over them, that may be a Mennonite thing because a lot of these people are older than me and have lived it themselves at some point and are allowed to have their opinions, but we have volunteer meetings once a year where I stress every year that this is about historical interpretation, not your individual religious beliefs about that tradition. So if somebody asks, I encourage them to talk about it if somebody asks them specifically. Say it's your opinion, and talk about it openly, about your feelings, if they ask you specifically about that. But that is different than any sort of official thing we have going on.

According to Haake (1983) the boards of trustees in United States museums are traditionally made up of volunteers from the world of business and finance. The board is often legally responsible for the institution and therefore the ultimate authority. We can assume a similar situation exists in private Canadian museums, but I received no information on the onions of boards about religion, though several curators did say their Boards of directors generally discouraged controversial exhibits.

The Politics of Recognition

One of the most important areas where power and identity overlap are in the politics of recognition. With the onset of modernity and individualism, identity has become a thing that now has to be recognised and acknowledged both internally and externally. The power imbalance arises when we realise that sometimes society can

refuse to recognise a group or an individual's internally formed identity. Taylor (1991, 49-50) explains:

> On the social plane, the understanding that identities are formed in open dialogue, unshaped by a predefined social script has made the politics of equal recognition more central and more stressful. It has, in fact, considerably raised its stakes. Equal recognition is not just the appropriate mode for a healthy democratic society. Its refusal can inflict damage on those who are denied it, according to a widespread modern view. The projecting of an inferior or demeaning image on another can actually distort and oppress to the extent that it is interiorised. Not only contemporary feminism but also race relations and discussions of multiculturalism are undergirded by the premise that denied recognition can be a form of oppression.

At an individual level, ontological security is provided by the belief that the story (the discourse) being told is a good one, one that rests on solid ground. "Ontological security" and "existential anxiety" are essential ingredients in Giddens' theory of human existence. Ontological security refers to a "person's fundamental sense of safety in the world and includes a basic trust of other people. Obtaining such trust becomes necessary in order for a person to maintain a sense of psychological well-being and avoid existential anxiety" (Giddens 1991, 38-39). Stated in simple terms, ontological security is a security of being, a sense of confidence and trust that the world is what it appears to be (Kinnvall 2004, 744).

In Canada museums play a key role in the politics of recognition. Historically, this makes sense as the politics of recognition have changed alongside the development of the museum. When the museum was first created in Renaissance Europe, identities were bestowed by society and the recognition of those identities was built into the social fabric through title and class (Taylor 1991, , 48). As a place that reinforces the

structures of society, the museum was a tool used by the elite to encourage the strict class system. However with the dissolution of the class system and the creation of national identities the museum was used to reinforce the idea of a unified nation not divided by classes. McLoughlin (1993) quotes Macdonald and Alsford (1989, 3), to illustrate this point. "'In a sense, a national museum elevates culture by recognizing it..., [p]ublic exhibition then, is not simply an exchange of knowledge, but a recognition, a legitimation of objects and cultures which had, it is implied, descended into obscurity."

In a diverse society such as Canada there is a national identity, but individual groups who do not always feel included in that identity also seek to have their own-self conceptions recognised and validated by the larger society. Canada also has a Christian hegemony (Beaman 2003) and religious groups that are not a majority are increasingly using museums as one way to both validate their individual identity, and to argue for their inclusion as a part of the larger Canadian identity. For many immigrants, museums serve as a way for them to maintain a unique cultural identity in a new community (Simpson 1996, 81). "Museums are contested spaces, for while many people and communities want in, some want out. Most people want to be recognised for who they are and not for whom others think they are." (Goa n.d.)

Using museums in this way is neither easy nor unilaterally advantageous for minority groups. The very act of communicating an identity is a difficult process. When a minority group is displayed in a museum not run by that group there is a challenge of avoiding exoticism and essentialism. This is an issue of power because, as Granburn (1977) puts it, "the old, the conquered, the exotic made safe, the Gods made impotent,

the tribes made extinct are all there: captured, re-translated into 'understandable' modern form." When a museum exoticises a people and makes them another, it is a vestige of the colonial nature of the museum. It justifies unfair treatment as the people being represented somehow become different from us. They are somehow less because their gods, their culture, and their way of life was not as good as ours. It died out and now can be displayed in the museum. If a group being represented is statically placed in the past, then we no longer have to consider them in the now, and their voice in the museum, and therefore in other parts of society, becomes irrelevant.

The colonial museum also makes other ethnic groups safe by essentializing. I refer to this as 3-D diversity: dress, dance and dining. Focusing on how a group dresses, their interesting ceremonies, and their cuisine tells us very little about the people those things represent, where they came from, the spiritual beliefs of the people, the social situations of the people and how those people, the dress, the food and the ceremonies have changed since coming to Canada, in the case of immigrants, or since contact with European settlers in the case of Aboriginal people. Objects telling the stories of a group need to be contextualised by the social processes surrounding that object including when, from what part of the social spectrum the object came, was it used by an individual, the family or the community (Zubrzycki 1992, 15).

Again here museums are caught in a Catch-22. The costume, ceremonies and cuisine are easy to display in museums. Several curators mentioned how both visitors and management want more exciting, enjoyable, and interactive displays, which lend themselves to this boiled down type of diversity. However, as Anderson (1987, 109)

says, a celebration of multiculturalism tends to mask the continuing problems of ethnic minorities including: continuing prejudice; economic marginalism; and generational conflict, especially among first and second generation migrants.

One reason communities have sought to create their own museums is that Canadian museums have traditionally adhered to a dominant discourse of "reason," backed by science, to the exclusion of the very voices that should have been included in their telling of stories, presentation of materials, and suggestions about cultural importance and boundary making. (Gibbons 1997). However, some larger museums are attempting to change the exclusionary nature and incorporate the language, discourse and stories of the groups they are representing. Gibbons argues that the T.T. Tsui Galleries of Chinese Art at the ROM (opened in 1996). Whose was marked with a Chinese New Year celebration—including a Dragon dance, Chinese music, dancing, and a display that had clearly been planned in collaboration with members of the Chinese community in Toronto. The exhibition catalogue is written in both Chinese characters and English script. Small video displays in sections of the exhibition space also embrace language and visual texts that are inclusive and thus embrace the local non- English-speaking communities. In many ways this most recent exhibition addresses the voices of other communities and other cultures. It also weaves the connection between present and future in postcolonial terms, because the gallery donor, T. T. Tsui, is from Hong Kong. The museum galleries of Toronto link East and West in ancient and contemporary terms. The remainder of this section discusses three pertinent ways the politics of recognition are acted out in the museum.

Representation

Groups gain acceptance and recognition by portraying a version of themselves in the public eye, in other words, representing themselves. As Dubin (2001, 3) says "[m]useums are important venues in which a society can define itself and present itself publicly. Museums *solidify* culture, endow it with tangibility, in a way few other things do. Unflattering, embarrassing or dissonant viewpoints are typically unwanted." Representation of identities is challenging because, as Hall (1990) says in McLoughlin (1993) "identity is constituted both outside and within representation: it is a product of many imaginations and discourses." Preziosi and Farago's (2004, 622) assertion that "[t]he problem, in other words, is no longer one simply of 'adequate' representation, but of 'representation' itself imagined as being unproblematic" brings up three issues that arise when discussing representation in museums: who is represented; how are they represented; and who decides both these things.

The first question, who is represented in the museum, obviously varies from museum to museum. During the interviews curators were asked if they were representing any sub-groups. While most curators acknowledged that there was almost always a subgroup, they were often hard to represent because of a lack of objects. David, the curator at a Black community centre, acknowledged that there were groups that felt under represented mostly with respect to region, gender, and age, stating that while the centre tried, it was not always possible to include everybody. Scott, at the Jewish museum in Western Canada acknowledged differences in gender identity and class, stating that he attempted to represent these differences when he could.

The second question of how groups are represented has been theorised about at length in the literature. As outlined in chapter one, there has been a general shift away from colonial collecting practices towards more postcolonial and varied discourses. In the United States and Canada the majority of these changes took place within the last forty to fifty years. According to Simpson (2004, 628). "Over the past forty years or so, there has been a tremendous blossoming of cultural expression amongst indigenous peoples and other ethnic minority groups resulting from a growing awareness of the importance of cultural heritage and the desire for free expression and civil rights." Also, similar to the United States where controversial exhibits such as *Harlem on my Mind* and *The Irish One*, Canada had several controversial exhibits that caused communities to fight for a right to participate in their own representation such as the previously mentioned, *The Spirit Sings* and *Into the Heart of Africa*. However not everyone is comfortable with these changes, and the fact that things are changing does not mean that there are not still struggles and disagreements over representation. As Dubin (19992) demonstrates:

> More and more, symbolic politics is replacing realpolitik. People butt heads over representations and portrayals. They struggle for their interpretation of some historical moment to win out. They crusade to control what others know and feel about certain issues. For want of a better term, these are so-called culture wars of the late 1980s and the 1990s that have commanded so many column inches of newsprint, prompted endless commentary on television and radio shows, and exposed innumerable worn spots in our social fabric.

The most tangible critique that can be made about representation in the museum has to do with classification. Mcloughlin (1993, 23) frames the discussion in terms of boundaries.

> The boundaries created in these maps have served as the constituting frames of identity, fixed and essentialised within spatial and temporal constructs. They work as metonyms, like those historic and tourist maps that use visual images to orient the viewer, substituting a recognizable essence for the whole, conflating and absorbing internal difference. This essence then structures the museum within a primary dichotomy—"here" and "there"—which has been translated into the numerous dichotomies of the museum—"traditional" and "contemporary," "past" and "present," "authentic" and "inauthentic," and ultimately "us" and "them."

Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 8) argue that this "presumption that spaces are autonomous has enabled the power of topography to conceal successfully the topography of power." The use of dichotomies for classification in the museum means that all groups must fit into the "either/or" paradigm. Groups that do not neatly fit, or challenge these paradigms have a much more difficult time finding space in the museum. This may be one reason religion is so difficult to represent in the museum. It would be ideal if the world could be neatly divided up into the secular and the religious, but religion does not work that way. The messy reality of lived religion is that it touches every aspect of life cannot be neatly fit into the categories. Religion is both traditional, and contemporary, in the past, and in the present. It is both authentic and inauthentic, and it can blur the lines between us and them, as much as it can solidify them.

The final question of who makes these decisions has been outlined by Dubin (1999, 6)

> Power concerning representation in a museum involves several players, the museum itself, the people being represented and the people resisting the representation. Part of the reason that such conflicts of power can occur in museums is that they are no longer accountable to a single wealthy donor or a select group of patrons. Instead they are accountable to diverse constituencies.

Museums that are not run internally by the group being represented, even when collaborating or consulting, have the final say on how a group is represented in the museum. As Robert Macdonald, director of the museum of the city of New York says in Dubin (1999, 239): [w]e have to listen to as many voices as we can hear. But we have to select those voices that are going to be heard in our galleries, and that's the challenge. So you have to try to be as inclusive as you can in listening. But you have to have the intellectual courage to select what goes up on your walls. Then you have the responsibility to stand by it." Linda echoes this statement arguing for a curatorial voice that acknowledges its shortcomings, limitations, and what it has excluded from the museum, while being as inclusive as possible, confronting stereotypes and assumptions about South Asian culture.

Creating History

History feels like it should be a definitive almost binary discipline. Certain events did or did not happen, people existed or did not, made one choice or another. In some ways, history should be more reliable than science as history looks at things that did happen, whereas science examines the likelihood of an event within a certain statistical significance. However, a brief look at the controversies in museums in the past and today shows that history is not as cut and dried as some believe it to be. As I have mentioned before, and is confirmed by Alonso (1988, 36) "[i}n Western society, the

hegemony of 'value- free' science has led to the over-valuing of purportedly objective forms of knowledge: thus, the conditions of knowledge in the social sciences, in which man is both the knowing subject and the object of analysis, are often occluded or misrepresented." "The past, as historians constitute it, is the result of negotiation and debate. Final as it may seem once written down, however, the past frequently turns out not to be settled. In fact, some pasts never achieve a final historical form, but may be subjects for constantly renewed arguments" (Zolberg 1998).

Alonso (1988) has analysed the creation of history in authoritarian government regimes, and some of her insights can also be applied to Canadian museums. First, she points out that the very act of writing down history, or in the case of the museum, displaying it freezes the story of history, simplifies it, and reifies it. This helps the history created seem authoritative because it is now static, unchanging and in the public sphere, all of which contribute to the illusion of authority. Second, Alonso argues that putting history into text creates a monophonic rather than a polyphonic voice of history that suppresses other interpretations of the events. Third, she argues the adherence to a chronological narrative of history creates an illusion of a sequence of events that is unmediated by the happenings of the past or the anticipations of the future.

Alonso (1988, 38) sees the embededness of power in the creation of history

> Historical description, 'what really happened, is not the result of self-evidences which we gather and string together but instead, the product of a complex interpretive process which, like any practice, is inflected by broader social projects, by relations of domination which seep into the private sphere of even the most

> 'civil' of societies. It is to this intersection of power and knowledge that we now turn.

A recurring theme in this research is the incorporation of the narratives of religious groups into the story of Canadian history. As has already been mentioned and as the next chapter will address, Canada has a mainline Christian hegemony, where the churches have mostly worked very hard to focus on the positive aspects of their history. Likewise, the stories of the participation of other religious groups in history is either downplayed or simply not discussed. For example, I did not learn about the first Jewish, Muslim, Sikh or Hindu person in Canada until I was in University and decided to research these topics for myself. Alonso (1988, 48) outlines processes hegemonies use to protect history. First, through the process of departicularization historical discourses and practices are emptied of the meanings which tie them to concrete contexts, localities, and distinct groups. These discourses are then universalised and made the property of all and of no one, in other words, of the hegemonic group. Even the language used in this thesis that discusses the Catholic Church as an entity departicularises the regional variations of Catholicism in Canada. "Contradictory social projects are rendered equivalent in a bricolage in which the signs of subordinated and regional histories are appropriated and re-valued, invested with new meanings which reproduce a hegemonic national ideology and the relations of domination it configures and legitimates" (Alonso 1988, 48)

The second process is idealization, where the past is cleaned up, rendered palatable and made the embodiment of nationalist values. "Death and suffering are purged of terror and pain; fratricide is transformed into fraternity" (Alonso 1988, 48).

The discourse of Canada's participation in war is framed in this very way. Rather than framing war as our soldiers killing their soldiers, we use a discourse of honour and self sacrifice. Likewise, until recently, residential schools and missions were benevolent acts, and it is only as Aboriginal people have begun to participate more in the creation of history that a counter-discourse is being communicated and heard. The final two processes are privatization and particularization which consign recalcitrant histories to the margins of the 'national', where they are denied a fully 'public' voice. "Relegated to the realm of private tastes, counter histories which resist state cannibalism sometimes survive (Alonso 1988, 46)."

Authenticity

When making the argument that history is constructed or created, one often receives criticism and even hostility. We live in a society that, despite, or perhaps because of, the existence of widespread popular copies of famous art, antiques, even furniture built new to look like old furniture, values authentic. Authenticity has two meanings that are relevant to power relations within the museum. The first relates to the perceived genuineness and legitimacy of an artefact. Often, museums will leave out artefacts that are judged as somehow inauthentic. The exclusion of pieces of work from ethnic minorities that are inauthentic because they are forgeries is less interesting to me, however it does bear some discussion. When travelling around Canada in the summer of 2009 I constantly visited tourist shops and museum gift stores. Despite the fact that I rarely buy anything, I love kitsch and seeing what people deem worthy of bringing back as souvenirs from their own trips to Canada. Stores will put up signs

saying they carry "authentic" First Nations or Inuit art. The *Lonely Planet* had an entire page dedicated to figuring out how to verify and purchase authentic Inuit Sculpture so you would not either purchase a worthless forgery or perpetuate a black market that hurt real artists. Interestingly, museum gift shops are trusted by the L*onely Planet* and many visitors as a place to buy authentic art.[34] Museums are places we go to see real things. Despite the fact I have a poster of the girl with the Pearl Earring, I still aim to go and see the actual painting. This effect is not only prevalent in art museums, but in all museums. As Gable and Handler (1996, 569) argue, "Heritage museums become publicly recognised repositories of the physical remains and, in some senses, the "auras" of the really "real." As such, they are arbiters of a marketable authenticity.

As well, authenticity of an artefact is also an issue on museum display. There are several cases in Canada where First Nations people have denied the request of museums to display replicas of some of their sacred artefacts. In this case it is not the authenticity of the artefact that concerns the First Nations people, but the access to the sacred knowledge that accompanies that artefact. Holocaust museums are extremely concerned with authenticity as the narrative in holocaust museums is under attack from racist groups and anti-Semites on a regular basis. As such, holocaust museums adhere strictly to regulations for guaranteeing authenticity so they can be without fault when someone questions their narrative.

The second issue of authenticity is expressed through desire of people and groups to have an authentic version of their identity represented to and validated by

[34] For example, all my souvenirs including a blanket and earrings for my mother from British Columbia and a pair of beaded moccasins from the Yukon for myself were purchased from museum gift shops.

the public. Taylor (1991) discusses the issue of Authenticity within the politics of recognition. It is this authentic identity that groups wish to have recognised. Tylor argues that this idea of an authentic identity is peculiar to modern culture. Taylor closely relates this to the ideas of Herder (1877-1913) who argues that each of us has an original way of being human. According to Taylor the idea that there was some sort of moral significance that required us to acknowledge different ways of being human did not exist. The ethic of authenticity

> …accords crucial moral importance to a kind of contact with myself, with my own inner nature, which it sees as in danger of being lost, partly through the pressures towards outward conformity, but also because in taking an instrumental stance to myself, I may have lost the capacity to listen to this inner voice. And then it greatly increases the importance of this self-contact by introducing the principle of originality: each of our voices has something of its own to say. Not only should I fit my life to the demands of external conformity; I can't even find the model to live by outside of myself. I can Find it only within. Being true to myself means being true to my own originality, and that is something only I can articulate and discover. In articulating it, I am also defining myself. I am realizing a potentiality that is properly my own.

According to Taylor, we cannot display a truly authentic identity unless we are able to express all aspects of ourselves, including, I argue, our religious identities. Taylor argues that authenticity can only be defined against a horizon of things that truly matter such as history, nature, society or religion. Taylor refers to the idea of authenticity as a desire to be "true to myself and my own particular way of being." Taylor argues that only the individual can articulate and discover their true self, and that in articulating it, they also defining it. When the museum is used to communicate an authentic identity, this would mean that the only way an authentic identity can truly

be communicated, is if the group being represented participates in that representation. Herder, whom Taylor draws on, believed these ideals could be applied both at an individual level and at a cultural level, so that each culture was its own unique and original creation, should not mimic another culture but instead be true to itself. Thus, it is not difficult step to expand this idea to religious identity.

Taylor emphasises the role of dialogue in creating an authentic identity. While he uses the term dialogue to describe art and emotion, these are also discourse, and both are present in the museum. The language required to define an authentic self is not acquired on one's own but rather through interaction with others and dialogue. Seeking public recognition of an authentic identity is known by Taylor (1991) as the politics of recognition. The politics of recognition are not new as dependence on society for identity has always existed, it is just that the institutions humans relied on to recognise those identities has changed. Society has moved from being hierarchical and structured, the identity of any given person was taken for granted to a place where recognition of identity is dependent on exchange with other people. As such, the attempt at recognition is susceptible to failure. When society refuses to recognise someone's identity as authentic it can be a form of oppression. Likewise, there is a risk of misrepresentation when outsiders attempt to determine inner authenticity, the community can be broken apart by imposed divisions that did not exist previous to the impositions (may occur in Aboriginal cases when determining land rights or when scholars attempt to determine what is an authentic ritual) (Grim 1996, 361). Misrecognition occurs when a community is not permitted to speak for itself but finds

itself the subject of interpretation and presentation by those who are not members. In the case of Aboriginal Religions "progress" and "wilderness" (understood as something that is separate from developed land) have been used as concepts to measure authenticity by outsiders, however, neither word or concept exists in native religions.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the issue of power is an active and influential force in Canada's museums. Minority groups that find themselves displayed in museums are acutely aware of the power imbalances embedded in the institution and are challenging the museum's traditional place as an authority on their identities and cultures. Many scholars, museum workers and groups are calling for more equitable redistributions of power in the museum by calling for a more collaborative approach to representation, where curators and communities work in tandem to create exhibits that are meaningful for all parties. This will not take away the power of the museum to represent the identities of groups, but it will bring the museum closer to displaying authentic identities that can be acknowledged by society, creating a clearer understanding of who the stakeholders are, and allowing more people access to the language of the museum and to have a say in the understanding of knowledge presented by the museum.

Dubin (1999, 229) says:

> controversies over museum exhibitions vividly demonstrate that symbolic politics has displaced other political struggles over issues of race, representation, and inequality—struggles that could possibly alter the real conditions of people's lives.

Understanding the power of the museum to represent identity is crucial as museums are influential players in creating a society's understanding of other groups. This

chapter has outlined how the museum has this power, often as a result of its position as a sacred space. The next chapter will discuss how Canadian museums have used this power to create a picture of an ideal Canadian citizen and the role religion plays in creating this ideal Canadian identity.

Chapter Five: Identity

Introduction

In the book, *Luka and the Fire of Life*, the protagonist, Luka, finds himself in a world created entirely by the stories of his father. His father is dying because the antagonist is stealing his stories. When Luka expresses incredulity at the idea that stories could be so important that having them stolen could kill a man, the antagonist lectures Luka saying:

> [y]ou of all boys should know that man is the Storytelling Animal, and that in stories are his identity, his meaning, and his lifeblood. Do rats tell tales? Do porpoises have narrative purposes? Do elephants ele-phantasise? You know as well as I do that they do not. Man alone burns with books (Rushdie 2010, 32).

Rushdie is by no means the first author to stumble upon the connection between identities and stories, but perhaps he is one of the few to truly understand how crucial stories are. This chapter uses Paul Ricoeur's theories of narrative identity to examine the stories Canadians tell about themselves in their museums, and the stories that others tell about them. Ricoeur's seminal ideas on narrative identity argue that the reciprocal acts of telling and listening to stories are crucial in forming identities.

This chapter begins with a critical review of Ricoeur's theories of narrative identity. However identity is not a one-dimensional concept, as such this chapter also examines some research on some specific forms of group identity including ethnic, cultural, national and religious categories. These identities are interconnected their traditional understandings have all been complicated by the increased significance of globalization. This chapter then examines previous research concerning the creation and representation of identity in museums. Other scholars support the conclusion that

museums are places where identity is communicated. This identity can either be authentic and meaningful to the group being represented, or an inauthentic and not representative of their actual self-understanding. Either way, the display of an identity in a museum can influence whether or not society recognises the authentic identity of that group.

After the theoretical introduction, this chapter then draws a picture of the national identity created by museums in Canada, and the role museums allow religion to play in this identity. It examines the three founding nations of Canada (Aboriginals, French, and British) from the perspective of large general interest museums and museums dedicated to those denominations. The Canadian identity is also explored through military history and the role religion has played in creating or critiquing this critical aspect of Canadian identity. The final section examines how museums discuss the role of religion in everyday life as presented by smaller non-denominational museums. This examination produces two conclusions, first that there is a hegemonic view of Canadian religious identity that assumes most Canadians are members of a mainline Christian denomination. Second, while there once was a dominant way of showing Aboriginal identity in museums, the large National museums are beginning to change their ways of displaying Aboriginal identity. However, these displays are still not perfect and still raise many critical issues. This chapter provides a framework for chapter six to explore the narratives of Canadians who do not necessarily fit into this hegemonic identity.

Narrative Identity

The social sciences and philosophy have long concerned themselves with defining and understanding identity. Obviously the literature on identity is extensive, and there is a significant amount of overlap between the disciplines. This thesis focuses primarily on philosophical and sociological writings relevant to this research. Karp (1992, 6) defines identity as the "set of beliefs, assumptions, and feelings in terms of which people judge one another and which they sometimes use to guide their actions," organised into hierarchical pairs (good/bad, superior/inferior, etc.). Karp's definition describes the outcome of identity, while Paul Ricoeur's describes the process of creating identity through the use of narrative. In volume three of *Time and Narrative* (1988) and in *Oneself as Another* (1992), Ricoeur uses his analysis of narrative to develop a conception of self-identity. The self, he argues, is discovered in its own narrational acts. For Ricoeur, selfhood is ontologically distinct from identity.[35] Selfhood refers to an entity characterised by its ability to reflect upon itself. Identity, on the other hand, is a narrative construction that is the product of this reflective process. Narrative identity constructs a sense of self-sameness, continuity, and character in the plot of the story a person tells about him or herself. The story becomes that person's history (Ricoeur 1988, 247) (Ezzy 2005, 245).

As will be discussed later in this thesis with the politics of recognition, the creation of identity is a reciprocal process between the self and others. In contrast to Heidegger (1962), who underemphasised the importance of others for self-

[35] Ricoeur is influenced by Heidegger (1962) and his discussion of *Dasein* (the act of being).

understanding (Kemp 1995); Ricoeur develops the ideas of Emmanuel Levinas who argued that there is "no self without another who summons it to responsibility" (Ricoeur 1992, 187). This means that a person cannot have an identity unless there are others who can recognise "the Others as being the same I and the same person" (Pucci 1992, 193). This means there are three elements critical in creating an identity, a self, a story about that self, and someone who can hear that story.

An advantage of narrative identity is that it allows an individual's or group's identity to evolve. According to Ricoeur identities are neither unchangeable substances nor linguistic illusions. Although an understanding of identity may change, there is consistency about the identity because the individual creates narratives that illustrate the continuity. Narrating a life introduces a sense of connectedness and temporal unity to a person's life (Dunne 1995, 149). Narratives use the events of the past, present, and future to create a complete story. While narratives can and do change, this does not mean that they cannot provide a sense of selfsameness that is substantial enough to justify talking about character as "a persistent unity of preferences, inclinations and motivations" (Pucci 1992, 193). In the case of Canada, this means that although the understanding of what Canada is as a nation and what it means to be Canadian has changed, the underlying assumption is that an entity called Canada has existed and will continue to exist, though public understandings of it may change. For Giddens (1991), self-identity consists of the development of a consistent feeling of biographical continuity where the individual is able to sustain a narrative about the self and answer questions about doing, acting, and being (Kinnvall 2004, 746). As argued by Hall (1992,

227), "[i]f we feel that we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or 'narrative about the self' about ourselves."

In *Time and Narrative*, Ricoeur (1988, 5) focuses on the way history and fiction borrow from each other. For Ricoeur, history is the "real" past while fiction is the interpretation and commentary an individual makes on the interpretations of the past. Ricoeur's analysis of time and narrative scrutinises the difference between history and fiction. Ricoeur argues that fiction is quasi-historical and that history is quasi-fictive. History borrows from literature not only through using a similar compositional form. The place of fiction in history is to free, retrospectively, "certain possibilities that were not actualised in the historical past" (Ricoeur 1988, 191). Ricoeur argues that both historical action and interpretive imagination shape narratives (Ezzy 2005, 243).

Ricoeur (1984, 53) describes his approach as hermeneutical because there is a reciprocal relationship between the events of history and the events of lived experience: "[h]ermeneutics ... is concerned with reconstructing the entire arc of operations by which practical experience provides itself with works, authors, and readers." Gubrium and Holstein (1994, 697) support Ricoeur's belief that lives are narratively constructed, "made coherent and meaningful, through the 'biographical work' that links experiences into circumstantially compelling life courses ... The process is artful, a complement to the play of difference, but is locally informed and organised." Narrative identity is coherent but fluid and changeable, historically grounded but "fictively" reinterpreted, constructed by an individual but constructed in interaction and dialogue with other people (Ezzy 2005, 246).

Ethnic, Cultural, National, Religious, or All of the Above?

Having defined identity and discussed how it is created, it is important to note and an individual's self conception usually consists of several identities. Identity is no longer a fixed set of characteristics specific to a group of people, but is identified by social scientists such as Barth (1969), Anderson (1983), and Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) primarily as a social construction, as a means of relating to other people and other groups. Taking myself as an example, growing up I identified myself nationally as a Canadian, religiously as a Pentecostal, and culturally as a Scottish and French Canadian. As I have aged, my understanding of what it means to be Canadian has changed, I no longer have a religious affiliation, but I remain very connected to my family's Scottish and French roots. These identities are constantly changing and often overlapping. Each Canadian individual and group will have a similar melange of identities that make up who they are. These characteristics may be derived from culture, society, ethnic origin, geography and so on, but they are by no means fixed or their meanings uncontested. Various members of the group may ascribe different meanings to them, making identity a dynamic process. In the same way that 'each person is ascribed at least several identities based on various group affiliations' (Dorais and Searles 2001, 18) , so group identities can be based on ethnic, cultural, geographical, social, political and other grounds. This section discusses some of the theory around these identities and the overlap between them. The assumption of overlap between these identities implies that for an authentic identity to be recognised, all parts of the individual must be displayed and understood. This section begins with a

discussion of ethnic and cultural identity as well as the overlap between the two. It then performs a similar discussion of national and religious identity.

Ethnic identity can be defined as the consciousness which a group whose members are deemed to have the same geographic origins, phenotype, language or way of life has of its economic, political and culture distinctiveness in relation to other groups (Dorais and Searles 2001, 19). Many scholars agree that ethnicity is delineated in varying degrees by some combination of shared ancestry, shared history, shared homeland, and shared traditions (language, religion, customs, lore) (Glazer and Moynihan 1975); (Driedger 1996); (Isajiw 1985 [1974]); and (Nash 1989). Ethnicity, like all identity, is constructed through negotiations between the self, the group and society. Ethnic groups can be understood as relatively subjective categories, defined by selected differences that the actors themselves regard as significant [(Barth 1969, 14); (Cohen 1985); (Fleras and Elliott 1996 [1992], 165)]. Barth (1969) was the first scholar to argue that ethnicity is changeable, as it is the product of social ascriptions or a labelling process engaged in by oneself and others. Nagel (1994, 155) explains that one's ethnic identity is a composite of the view one has of oneself, and the views held by others about one's ethnic identity. As audiences change, the socially-defined array of ethnic choices open to the individual changes. McBeth (1989) describes identities as ascriptive, where we assume that certain characteristics and qualities are with an ethnic identity. Ethnic boundaries, and thus identities, are constructed by both the individual and group as well as by outside agents and organizations (Nagel 1994, 155).

Ethnicity has become a mode of action and of representation: it refers to a decision people make to depict themselves or others symbolically as the bearers of a certain cultural identity. Ethnic identity has become a politically charged concept often used as the basis for a claim of self determination. For example, Aboriginal peoples use ethnic identity as a tool for furthering territorial and political claims. Ethnicity becomes represented by symbols generally drawn from everyday life, rather than from elaborate ceremonial or ritual occasions. Perceived ethnic boundaries remain critically relevant for the existence of specific ethnic groups, while the objective cultural content can and does change (Nahachewsky 2002, 175). Ethnicity is constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, or regionality. The location and meaning of particular ethnic boundaries are continuously negotiated, revised, and revitalised, both by ethnic group members themselves as well as by outside observers. (Nagel 1994, 153). Ethnic identity is most closely associated with the issue of boundaries. Ethnic boundaries determine who is a member and who is not and designate which ethnic categories are available for individual identification at a particular time and place. Debates over the placement of ethnic boundaries and the social worth of ethnic groups are central mechanisms in ethnic construction. Ethnicity is created and recreated as various groups and interests put forth competing visions of the ethnic composition of society and argue over which rewards or sanctions should be attached to which ethnicities (Nagel 1994, 155).

In this understanding, Identity and culture are fundamental to the central projects of ethnicity: the construction of boundaries and the production of meaning

(Nagel 1994, 154). Tylor ([1871] 1924, 1) defines culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Hall (1995, 176) defines culture as "shared systems of meanings which people who belong to the same community, group or nation use to help them interpret and make sense of the world. These meanings are embodied in the material and social world and are important for a sense of community. Culture is thus one of the principal means by which identities are constructed, sustained and transformed." Dorais and Searles (2001, 22) define cultural identity as a way of representing one's relation to nature, society and the supernatural. Manifestations of culture, such as language, norms and values and worldview are used to constitute cultural identity.

Culture is constructed through the use of symbols, which, according to Peterson (1979, 138) can be divided into four categories. First, values: choice statements that rank behaviour or goals. Second, norms: specifications of values relating to behaviour in interaction. Third, beliefs: existential statements about how the world operates that often serve to justify values and norms (beliefs in turn are often justified by reference to common sense, science, religion and the like). Finally, expressive symbols which consist of any and all aspects of material culture, and often directly represent beliefs and imply values and norms. Usually the meanings and practices of culture have achieved a settled continuity over time and place and act as a frame of reference of a tradition, which connects one's present mode of existence to the way of life of ancestors (Hall 1992) or, what we call history.

Swidler (1986) sees culture and history as intertwined as part of the "toolkit" the basic materials used to construct meaning and interpretative systems that seem to be unique to particular ethnic groups. Culture is most closely associated with the issue of meaning, particularly assigning meaning to symbols. Culture dictates the appropriate and inappropriate content of a particular ethnicity and designates the language, religion, belief system, art, music, dress, traditions, and life ways that constitute an authentic ethnicity (Nagel 1994, 162). Ethnicity is a politicization of culture that occurs when people recognise that ignorance of their culture among others acts to their detriment. The marginalization of their culture, and their relative powerlessness with respect to the marginalisers (Cohen 1985, 199) is a result of not having their authentic identity recognised. The symbols of culture are often simple in form but complex in substance because "[i]ntrinsically meaningless, then, but powerfully eloquent, so much so that their loss or proscription may be experienced as an utter silencing of the cultural voice" (Cohen 1985, 200). The politics of recognition mean that ignorance of a culture will result in a denial of its integrity making it invisible to others, especially powerful others (Cohen 1985, 199).

When ethnic identity becomes tied to a territory or a homeland, it can become a national identity (Dorais and Searles 2001, 19). A theme throughout this paper has been the role museums play in building a national identity. Nationalism and religion are both "identity-signifiers" that are more likely than other identity constructions to provide answers to those in need. Nationalism and religion supply particularly powerful stories and beliefs because of their ability to convey a picture of security,

stability, and simple answers (Kinnvall 2004, 741). Religion is also crucial in creating a national identity. In regards to immigrant groups, Kurien (2004, 366) argues that, immigrant religion and religious institutions are directly involved in the endorsement and sponsorship of religious nationalism in the home countries. Although discussing the United States, Kurien (2004, 367) argues that religion and religious institutions often play a central role in the process of ethnic formation, saying: "since religious organizations become the preferred means for immigrants to maintain and develop ethnic identities, much of this process of group formation and mobilization is accomplished by using religious organizations and symbols" (Kurien 2004, 368). Religion, like the nation, is not "just there" in any objective sense of the term but must be rediscovered, reinvented, and reconceptualised every time it is called upon as an answer to ontological insecurity. The more essentialist such interpretations can become in establishing links with past events, such as the historical significance of a place or a building, the more successful they will be in terms of inclusiveness and exclusiveness-in creating boundaries between self and other (Kinnvall 2004, 759).

Religion shares many of the characteristics of nationalism, and religion and nationalism are often mixed. Despite the shared characteristics and overlap between national and religious identity, the religious element in the study of nationalist movements is often neglected or dismissed. According to Haynes (1999, 32), this has to do with religion being viewed as the opposite of the Enlightenment's principles of rationalism, universalism, secularism, and materialism. However, this is to ignore the similarities between the individual self of the Enlightenment tradition (as manifest in

nationalism) and the communal basis of religious identity. Thus, in comparison to other discursive identity constructions, both national and religious identity make claims to a monolithic and abstract identity-that is, to one stable identity that answers to the need for securitised subjectivity (Kinnvall 2002b).

Finally, we cannot discuss identity without addressing the changes brought about by globalization. Bokser-Liwerant (2002) explores the theoretical trends currently occurring concerning globalization and identities to argue that while simultaneously giving rise to new identities, globalization has also restored the importance of local ethnic and religious identities. Globalization[36] and transnationalism[37] have resulted in a world where the events of one group in one place are linked in such a way that "local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens 1991). As well, writings on deterretorialization have shown that conceptions of community and identity have become detached from local places (Kearney 1995). It is this de-territorialisation of time and space that affects daily life; in a world of diminishing territorial barriers, the search for constant time- and space-bound identities has become a way to cope with the effects of modern life (Harvey 1989, 9) (Kinnvall 2004, 742). One might assume the decentralization, deterretorialization, and detachment accompanying globalization would lead to a decrease in attachment to places. This is not the case however, despite Appadurai's

[36] As defined by Basch and Schiller (1994) globalization refers to social, economic, cultural and demographic processes that take place within nations but also transcend them, such that attention limited to local processes, identities and units of analysis leads to incomplete understanding of the local.
[37] Activities that are anchored in but at the same time transcend one or more nation states, such as migration (Basch and Schiller 1994)

(1996) prediction that the nation is in its last days, it is still a primary signifier in peoples self identities (Kearney 1995). Likewise deterretorialised groups or those in Diasporas find that their nation of origin can have as much influence as their nation of current residence on their day to day lives and ideologies (Basch, Nina and Szanton Blanc 1994). Globalization challenges simple definitions of who we are and where we come from (Kinnvall 2004, 741). As individuals feel vulnerable and experience existential anxiety, it is not uncommon for them to wish to reaffirm a threatened self-identity. Any collective identity that can provide such security is a potential pole of attraction (Kinnvall 2004, 741). These global changes have meant that an increasing number of people "now lack the protective cocoon of relational ties that shielded community members and groups in the past" (Giddens 1991). In this wider sense, globalization tends to break down the protective framework of the small community and of tradition replacing these with many larger, impersonal organizations (Kinnvall 2004, 742).

Identity in Museums

Museums are places where the tangible and intangible aspects of identity are brought together, unified into a narrative, and displayed for public viewing. Much has been said about the use of museums and the display of identity. Urry (1996) has found that museums, local museums specifically, act as mediators between identity and structures such as 'nation', when museum visitors conceptualise locality and identity through the visual vocabulary of museums and heritage sites. As well, anthropological research on deterretorialised groups has shown that some groups create "hyper real"

places (Kearney 1995), such as museums where simulacra, including representations of culture and identity, are seen as more real and tangible than the actual thing being represented. Likewise the museum can serve as an "ethnoscape" where a fluid and shifting landscape of tourists and immigrants are exposed to a representation or an "ideoscape" where images directly linked to ideologies such as identity can be communicated (Appadurai 1996).

The literature supports the assertion that museums are places where identities are represented. According to Sherman and Rogoff (1994, xii) "by presenting objects as signifiers within an artificially created institutional frame, museums underline their irretrievable otherness, their separation from the world of lived experience. In so doing, museums simultaneously construct a self, the viewer, or in collective terms a public." As Karp (1992, 6) further says, "[a]s significant elements in civil society, museums articulate social ideas. ... The processes of making meaning and of negotiating and debating identity localised in institutions such as museums-provide the unwritten, ever changing constitution of civil society." Narrative identity as outlined above is a useful tool for interpreting identities in museums. Lowenthal (2003, 243) argues that "[u]nlike history and memory, whose sheer existence betoken the past, the tangible past cannot stand on its own. Relics are mute; they require interpretation to voice their reliquary role." Museums provide these interpretations through narratives, telling stories about objects, and using object to tell stories. Stier (1996, 837)has noted this, referring to the "traditional museum" as "a house for a number of mediating artefacts and narratives."

However, these representations are not unproblematic. The first problem with presenting identities in museums is that they create an illusion of completeness. As Stier (1996, 834) argues museums create "metonymic systems of signification" where a partial presentation of a society's material culture is assumed to adequately represent an entire identity. He critiques the belief that "ordering and classifying ... the spatial juxtaposition of fragments, can produce a representational understanding of the world." In a similar vein, Macdonald (2003) argues that the modern/western understanding of identity is no longer sufficient in a globalised world where many people exist transnationationally. She asks if museums are "too inextricably entangled in 'old' forms of identity to be able to express 'new' ones?" As museums negotiate their international presence, either through online exhibitions or travelling exhibitions, they will required to question their own roles in identity formation and communication in a globalised world.

Another problem with representing identities in museums is that museums are sites of power struggles. Groups may politicise their culture and intentionally use a museum for the service of their identity. Cohen (1993, 199) suggests that this occurs when groups recognise that ignorance of their culture among others acts to their detriment; and it may lead to the marginalization of their culture. Or, as Somers (1994, 606) points out: "[w]e come to be who we are (however ephemeral, multiple, and changing) by being located or locating ourselves (usually unconsciously) in social narratives rarely of our own making." That is to say, people are constrained by the limited repertoire of available and sanctioned stories that they can use to interpret

their experience. Whether pre-existing narratives or their sources are referred to as "sedimented traditions" (Ricoeur 1985, 18), "historical narrative structures" (Evans and Maines 1995, 303), or "cultural repertoires" (Somers and Gibson 1994, 73), these terms all point to the influence of "basic values "or culturally embedded narrative forms on the construction of the self-story. Groups run the risk of having little control over their identities, or having to conform their identities to the narrative tools available to them in dominant society

Museums come with all the power relations and authority inherent with their institutional status. Goffman ([1961] 1976 , 154) has observed that behind each self lies an institutional system: "[t]he self, then, can be seen as something that resides in the arrangements prevailing in a social system for its members. The self in this sense is not a property of the person to whom it is attributed, but dwells rather in the pattern of social control that is exerted in connexion with the person by himself and those around him." (Ezzy 2005, 250). When displaying a minority group the institutional nature of the museum and its ability to make authoritative statements about identity is even more pronounced. A narrative identity provides a sense of personal continuity through time grounded in social networks and larger institutions. The narrative integration of lived experience and pre-existing plots reflects the influence of power, social organization and the "politics of storytelling." Further, routine activities, regularly used props, and a stable, or predictable, physical environment are also important sources of a sense of personal identity. Goffman (1970) directs attention toward the role of institutions and institutionally located power in the construction and maintenance of

narratives, including narrative identities. As Levin (2005, 78) points out, "[w]hen museums attempt to focus on marginalised populations, their exhibitions gain inflection from three inextricable and commanding forces: the institution's past and present relationship to dominant groups; the politics of control inherent in spectatorship and display; and the evolving economics of marketing 'culture' as a commodity." Further, narrative identities are sustained and transformed through the influence of social relationships as mediated by institutional structures (Ezzy 2005, 251). "Controlled inclusion is often safer and easier to achieve and contain than exclusion" (Azoulay 1994, 101). Third, identity affirmation is most common among groups that are social institutions such as the family, schools, arts organizations, and religious orders. These groups sustain their status as institutions in part by using collective identity affirmation to proclaim their values. The mutual recognition of the identity by the museum, the visitors, and the groups being represented then validates the identity being communicated (Ricoeur 2005).

Museums have a language or a discourse they use to communicate their messages through the creation of displays and exhibitions of material culture, which can subsequently be interpreted as texts. Frantz (1998, 792) argues that there has been a conceptual shift away from perceiving artefacts in museums as mute and passive until they are described using language, towards understanding them as an inherent part of human understanding, with a language of their own. Her thesis is that "all material culture is itself an interpretation of the world (a re-presentation) that must in itself be interpreted in order for it to be viable in our constructed world of meaning." Bal (2009)

agrees with Frantz, defining a text as "a finite, structured whole composed of signs" which justifies interpreting museum displays and exhibitions as texts. The museum text uses objects, photos and panels to tell stories about the people and events they represent which play a critical role in understanding of identity. Mason (2006, 27) outlines two benefits to understanding museums in terms of texts and narratives. First, this method "moves away from privileging or compartmentalizing a particular aspect of the museum; for example, its buildings, collections, individual staff, or organizational status. All these components remain crucial, but a textual approach argues that they must be viewed in concert to understand possible meanings of the museum." Second, textual analysis can shift emphasis away from the curator as author and their intentions acknowledging the visitor as a crucial participant in the process of meaning-making.

Material culture has both the capacity to represent change and to offer change. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), have written an in-depth investigation into the meanings of symbols for the identity of the American family. Tilley (1990) similarly discusses how we ascribe meaning to objects, examining the relationships between material culture and societal practises such as the creation and critique of identity. The ability to shape social values and collective understanding shown in the discussion of power extends to the ability of museums to create, define and critique the identities of groups (Kong 2005), nations (Kaplan 1994), and other institutions (Macdonald and Fyfe 1996). Oddly, it is difficult to find instances where scholars have connected Ricoeur's work on narrative and identity to the stories told in museums,

although Frantz (1998) has made the connection between Ricoeur's narrative, identity (being), and material culture.

Canadian National Identity

This section examines the display of Canadian identities in museums, asking: in museums, what is the story Canada tells about itself? What role does religion play in this story? What symbols are used in this story? This section sets the framework for examining other religious groups and their alternative stories about Canadian identity, or how they work to include their stories in the Canadian identity. While the three founding nations are generally considered the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, the British and the French, this first section will focus on non-denominational telling of the story of Canada. The second section will examine these same stories from the perspective of mainline Christian churches in Canada and the third section will examine this story from the perspective of Aboriginal people's exhibits. The next chapter will compare the stories of those groups who are not considered founding communities and examine alternate discourses about Canadian identity.

This section begins by looking at the founding of Canada as a nation. As Ricoeur (1978,45) reminds us, social groups, including nations, form images of themselves in relation to a set of founding events and re-enact this shared link to a collective past in public ceremony as well as in everyday life. Conjoining present projects and past memories, ideologies of history are central to the symbolic constitution of social groups and to the creation of social solidarities. Museums in Canada are a critical space where histories and heritages can be invented and communicated. What distinguishes

museums is that their place in Canadian society as quasi-sacred institutions capable of creating authoritative narratives means that they discourses they communicate become accepted as fact and are difficult to challenge.

A similar authority is given to museums to define what Canadian culture is, and this is usually closely related to an understanding of the values, norms, and morals Canadians use to idealise themselves as a distinct nation. Macdonald (2003, 2) has analysed the connection between national culture and identity in museums. She draws on Handler (1988) to argue that 'having a culture' is now crucial to nationalist discourses. People who have a unique culture are more likely to have valid claims to national status. "Museums, already established as sites for the bringing together of significant 'culture objects', were readily appropriated as 'national' expressions of identity, and of the linked idea of 'having a history' - the collective equivalent of personal memory" (Macdonald 2003, 3).

The final section examines how museums discuss the role of religion in everyday life. By focusing on the smaller municipal, rural, and regional museums I hope to answer a series of questions. First, do the museums address the messiness of lived religion in everyday life, particularly the important role that religion played in the lives of the early pioneers? Second, how do smaller museums tell the story of the local church and its influence on the creation of the town? Third, how do these museums tell the stories of non-mainline protestant members of their communities?

The advantage of looking at museums is twofold. First, as Macdonald (1997) points out, local museums can presumably articulate other kinds of identities that

larger more general museums could not, such as those of local community, inter-community divisions, and direct kinship or familiarity with the individuals displayed there. These personal aspects of a larger story are critical in connecting individuals and smaller communities to the larger narrative of Canada as a nation. Second, globalization is allowing local communities religious groups to communicate globally on an unprecedented scale (Beyer 1998). Smaller communities can now look globally for a recognition and acknowledgement of their identity as well as communicate with more members of their imagined community than ever before. A religious or ethnic group that is only marginally represented in a small town no longer needs to look locally for acceptance; instead this can be done on a global scale via the internet. This sort of global communication will change and challenge the way small communities represent themselves, and the ethnic and religious minorities in their midst.

Founding Canada

Anderson's (1983, 6) deceptively simple definition of the nation as "an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" is both descriptive of but also challenged by Canadian nationalism. In support of his definition, the Canadian community is indeed imagined in that most of its members will never meet, it is limited in that there are Canadian boundaries beyond which lie other nations and it is sovereign in that it is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system and a head of state. However, as a nation, Canada challenges this definition in that there are many imaginings of Canada, in that Canada has nations not only external to her borders, but instead is made up of several distinct nations (Quebec, First Nations, Inuit

and Métis Peoples). The various nations within Canada struggle for sovereignty, as do the various levels of government (federal, provincial, and municipal).

Despite these challenges, Canada maintains its status as a nation, in part because of the ideas of a shared history that has become a part of the Canadian narrative. In this section I will discuss two major themes of Canadian history and how they are constructed by museums as a part of the national narrative. The first section deal with the founding peoples of Canada: The Aboriginal Peoples, the British and the French. Museums are institutions that create an official history of Canada, a history that for a very long time either excluded or downplayed the role of Canada's Aboriginal peoples. As well, French and English Canadians have very different understandings and interpretations of how Canadian history has played out and how it affects their identities today. The official history of the state, and the 'determination, codification, control of representation of the past' has been central to the reproduction of state hegemony (Cohn and Dirks 1988, 225).

The second part of this discussion has to do with Canada's war history where I will examine three ways religion plays into this history and how it is discussed in Canadian museums. First, what was the role of the churches in Canada's decisions to go to war? Second, do war museums discuss the faith of soldiers? Third, does the national discourse that connects war to Canadian identity mean that Canada has a civil religion being perpetuated by museums? According to Anderson (1983, 18) there is an affinity between the national and the religious imagination; though one vision is sacred and the other secular, both mitigate death and suffering by transforming fatality into continuity,

by linking the dead with the yet to be born. War does this as the deaths of soldiers are framed as a sacrifice for future generations. “Nations loom out of an immemorial past and ... glide into a limitless future. It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny” (1983, 19).

The Founding Nations

This remainder of this chapter examines the narrative created by some of the larger general museums and smaller community museums about the story of Canada, particularly the founding Nations of First Nations people, The British and the French. It begins by describing the story created by the CMC beginning with the First Nations and ending with a discussion of the CMC’s virtual exhibitions. The next section examines the First People’s Gallery and the Gallery of Canada exploring the narratives created about Canada in these two galleries. The next section discusses the role that warfare plays in creating a national identity and where religion intersects with this aspect of Canadian history and identity. The section entitled religion in everyday life examines museums and exhibits that have portrayed religion as either integral to the lives of their famous citizens or as a necessary part of understanding history in their region. The final section examines more specifically the story created by museums affiliated with mainline Christian denominations such as Catholicism or Anglicanism in Canada.

The CMC’s motto: “Your Country. Your World. Your Museum” and its position in the national capital make it one of Canada’s few ‘national’ museums. The CMC has what it considers humble beginnings, as a shelf of Aboriginal artefacts housed in the Geological survey of Canada’s Montreal headquarters in the 1850s (Vodden and Dyck

2006, 6). By the 1870s an increasingly large collection of artefacts, as well as legislation by the government for the maintenance of a geological museum gave the geological survey an official status as part of the dominion government (17). During the 1880s the museum saw three major changes. First, the collection was moved to Ottawa, now the capital of Canada. Second, attendance to the museum increased dramatically as a result of the new location; and third, a distinct anthropology section was added to the museum creating a space for separate natural and ethnological collections (19). The museum received a new building, that would eventually become the Museum of Nature in Ottawa (25). On January 5th of 1927 the government declared that the museum was now officially "the National Museum of Canada" legitimizing what had been the informal name of the museum for over fifty years (40). The museum survived the two world wars and the depression despite decreases in funding, space, and staff. The cultural boom of the 1950s and the celebration of Canada's centenary in 1967 resulted in increased public and government interest in the museum although very little changed practically for the museum until their building was finally able to undergo renovations in 1969. The museum also changed its name in 1968 to the "National Museum of Man" in order to reflect its increased interest in human history (65). After years of unsuccessful lobbying, the government made a surprise announcement in 1982 that the Museum of Man would get a new building at the Parc Laurier site. In 1986 the name of the museum changed to the Canadian Museum of Civilization and after several years of building which included the usual funding and political controversies

accompanying any government sponsored activity, the CMC was opened to the public on 29 June 1989 (79).

The CMC has reflected on its role as an institution of national identity. On their website that they make several statements about the role of the museum that deserve attention. First they state that:

> … there is a national tendency to look to public institutions to preserve and interpret our past experiences. Museums therefore have a unifying role. Museums are sometimes described as oases of the past in a rapidly changing world, a place to seek one's roots. They do not resist change, however, but show the contrasts and continuities between past and present, and thus portray change as a natural, explicable, and acceptable fact of life.

The first sentence assumes a mythical national unity, which is simply not reflected in reality. An identity is made up of multiple discourses, some of which contradict or are not included in the story of the museum. Likewise, the museum does not address the fact that unification often comes at the cost of diversity. Finally, museums do resist change; one need only look back thirty years to see how some museums fought against NAGPRA or other similar efforts to change the collecting practices of museums in regards to Aboriginal remains (Grimes 1990, 246).

The CMC website goes on to say:

> If museums generally are symbols of our society and its cultures, and as central to social development as the heritage which they help preserve and explain, what of the National museums in particular? The National Capital is itself a symbol of national identity. Next to such historic landmarks as the Parliament Buildings, cultural institutions are the major contributors to that image, and to the region's selection as a tourist destination. A national museum of human history is part of that symbolization. It helps define cultural identity and the country itself. It stimulates pride amongst Canadians in their own culture. It

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

The discourse of nationalism is that somehow a particular people are special and unique. The last sentence could be read as excluding Aboriginal people, who were here long before the other cultures and long before Canada was a nation. This sentence also downplays parts of Canadian culture that were not so welcoming to new peoples. The challenges to immigrants did not always come from the land, but also from xenophobic attitudes amongst the communities already established here in Canada. Finally, also of interest is the statement that:

> CMC offers, both to Canadians and non-Canadians, an initiation into the national identity. It submits itself to the confines of scholarly objectivity and seeks to make itself of utmost relevance to present issues and concerns. In a sense, a national museum elevates culture by recognizing it and placing it in a context that can be likened to a temple or a treasure-house. As a temple of culture CMC is very much a ritual space.

The religious language of initiation, ritual and temple underscore Grime's (1990) assertions that

> [r]ites are often the nexus of the connection between religious cosmologies and political ideologies; hence their embeddedness in power struggles. Power, like space, is never neutral, never abstract, except in inadequate philosophical conceptions of it. Conceptualizations of power are secondary to specific embodiments and enactments of it. Power is always the "power to" and "power of." We desire and judge power on the basis of its intentionalities and origins.

The claim of museums to objectivity is moot; every choice of what stories to tell and what stories not to tell is a political choice. The choice of the term temple is interesting

in light of Duncan Cameron's (1971) oft cited article on the museum as a temple or as a forum. The temple is hierarchical, dictatorial, and authoritative whereas the forum is a community centered place open to dialogue, discussion, and engagement.

As already written, museums have been historically used by nations to educate the masses both about culture and about national identity. Museums create norms and define the ideal citizen of a state. Also on the website of the CMC is the statement:

> CMC is also a symbol of the federal government's commitment to a role in cultural affairs. The creation of a new national museum of human history is only one element in the development of a cultural pilgrimage centre: the "museum capital of Canada" as it has been tagged. The construction of new buildings for CMC and for the National Gallery of Canada, the creation of the National Aviation Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Photography, and rehousing of the National Postal Museum and the National Archives of Canada, were all components of this cultural master-plan.

This is not to say that there is a conspiracy concerning the government and museums to create a national image, but the museum cannot claim objectivity when it is very obviously a part of a national plan to build and communicate a Canadian identity desired by the government. Again, religious language of pilgrimage is used by the museum. Without being too hard on the CMC, I also want to point out that it does have a mandate to engage in "advocacy," which means that, like the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, it does not merely have to reflect the status quo but can actively criticize it even though it is a government organization. Consequently, it is invested with the power to work for change. In 1987 Ron Grimes was a member of a group of scholars invited to review the CMC's proposed uses of rites and performances, especially those of native people in reflecting on this consultation he provides an excellent discussion of

problems of power and display in the museum of civilization, particularly the fact that museums are indeed political institutions as they mobilize power in the interests of specific groups. Grimes also notes that the CMC is comfortable using religious language about the museum experience but reminds us that "[s]uch ritually validated experiences can either transform or confirm oppressive social structures" (249).

It is also important to understand what the museum tries to do and its institutional goals. Both the CMC and the CWM are guided by five essential principles outlined in their annual report.[38] The first principle, knowledge, means the museum creates and disseminates knowledge. The second principle, choice and respect, means the CMC recognizes that their programs and exhibits reflect a wide range of people and subjects, but cannot include all themes, all perspectives, or all proposed artifacts. They also actively refuse to engage in activities or present materials that might promote intolerance. The third principle, authenticity, means the museum is truthful and comprehensive, communicating accurate information which is balanced and contextual. The fourth principle, coherence means the museum strives for coherence in their research, exhibitions, programs, services and design, behavior as teams, and use of the museums' physical spaces. Finally, the principle of Canadian perspectives means that all the museum's collections, programs and exhibitions reflect a Canadian perspective. The museum claims that this dimension reflects the fundamental Canadian commitment to democracy in its political and social sense (Canadian Museum of Civilization 2009/2010). The museum drew 1 709 000 visitors in 2008/2009 and expects that

[38] I have condensed these principles to their core, a full description is available in the annual report.

number to remain steady for the next five years. The CMC has the highest attendance for any Canadian cultural institution (Canadian Museum of Civilization 2010).

With this background in mind we can examine some of the individual exhibitions available at the CMC and what stories they create about the Canadian identity. This research draws on three visits to the museum and the many exhibits available online. A story begins to take shape even before the visitor enters the museum. The Canada garden outside the museum contains a variety of plants native to Canada. When applicable, the traditional medicinal uses of the plant are listed, the spiritual affiliations of a plant, such as the white lily in Christianity or their affiliations with particular people, such as the wild rose being the symbol of Alberta.

As the visitor enters the building they are encouraged to go through the Grand Hall which contains an exhibit on Pacific Coasts First Nations. The outer part of the hall emphasizes traditional culture while contemporary issues are discussed inside the buildings. However, I did not realize the contemporary exhibits were there until I began researching the CMC online. The extra resources online give much more detail than is easily accessible in the actual hall, though one must remember that guests often do not read all the detail on informational panels. The online information specifies the nomenclature of totem poles, which is a modern catch-all term for carved poles that served a variety of purposes. The *Spirit of Haida Gwaii* sculpture by Bill Reid is the most obvious contemporary piece of artwork in the hall.

From the Grand Hall the visitor moves to the First Peoples Hall which displays the history of the Aboriginal People's in Canada and includes everything from creation

myths to discussions of present day life. The hall is neither linear nor chronological and is meant to reflect an Aboriginal understanding of time and communicate a diversity of Aboriginal cultures.[39] According to the extra information available on the website, the hall celebrates Aboriginal accomplishments, highlights aspects of Aboriginal identity and communicates their relationship to the land. It also discusses the outcomes of contact with Europeans including disease epidemics, the reserve system and cultural loss. After discussing both the economic and political agreements with European settlers as well as the colonialism of the 18th and 19th century the exhibit ends with a narrative of cultural survival and Aboriginal contributions to the modern world.

The First Peoples Hall begins with the Aboriginal names of places around Canada displayed on a large wall and introduces some statistics about Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. The exhibit then mentions twenty-two First Nations, Inuit and Métis people of note, these are mostly artists (singers, writers, painters, carvers, crafters) with the exception of Louis Riel, Dennis Fraser (RCMP officer), Tom longboat and Alwyn Morris (athletes), Butch Little Mustache and Tia Potts (ranchers), and Olive Dickason (scholar). The faith influence of these people is never mentioned in the exhibits whether the person practices traditional spirituality, Christianity or a mix of both (or neither). The exhibit goes on to discuss the diversity of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples, their connection to the land using exhibits on Inuit life, particularly whaling, the life of plains and subarctic people focusing on the bison hunt, the Aboriginal people of Atlantic Canada and migration during different seasons, and discussions of the

[39] This statement was made by a tour guide in June of 2009.

People of Longhouses (mainly Iroquois and Wendat) focusing on farming and the role of women. The exhibit also examines archaeology and prehistory starting at the end of the ice age and ending 4500 years ago. A variety of origin stories and other myths are told and discussed, including a video where you can watch curator Stephen Augustine re-tell Mi'kmaq stories. In many places throughout the exhibit, the lives of Aboriginal people today are referenced in regards to these subjects. The exhibit also discusses contact between Europeans and Aboriginal peoples and the changes brought about by fur trading, the founding of the Métis people, the loss of population from disease, especially the Beothuk, encounters with missionaries and conversion to Christianity, residential schools, the retention of traditional beliefs, treaties, the reserve system, Aboriginal people entering the trades and cottage industries, the roles played by social and religious gatherings today and a discussion of humor and art.

Both religion and spirituality are discussed in the exhibit, but an interesting separation is drawn between the two. Spirituality refers to traditional beliefs while religion refers to Christianity. The two are also rarely discussed in isolation from other aspects of Aboriginal life. For example, Aboriginal people's connection to the land is a major theme of the exhibit; in discussing whaling the website says "[a] powerful spiritual bond unites the Inuit and the land and animals upon which they depend." However the connection to the land is also framed in terms of economics, heritage and history indicating that there cannot be artificial separation between these concepts. Hunting, of whales or of bison, and fishing is also discussed in terms of spirituality, but also in terms of economic, technology, and community building. Whaling is portrayed

as a very spiritual act for the Inuit people, with the belief that the whales have souls and a development of rituals for hunting the bowhead whale, but also as an opportunity to create new technologies, developing survival skills. The exhibit also uses whale hunting as an example of how communities would come together to hunt and share the food and supplies provided by the whale. Similar themes arose in discussing the Bison hunt. The Plains and Subarctic peoples would offer prayers and perform rituals to hopefully affect the outcome of the hunt. The decrease in the Buffalo population is linked to decreasing opportunities for Plains and Subarctic peoples to co-operate as larger communities.

The story of Christianity in the exhibit begins with Jacques Cartier planting his cross in 1534, and the first baptism of an Aboriginal person, Mi'kmaq Grand Chief Henri Membertou. The exhibit then discusses the work of Christian missionaries from the 1600s to the 1800s and how missionaries worked with colonial, then federal governments to establish residential schools, Indian Day schools and establish the Indian Act which outlawed some Aboriginal religious practices. The exhibit communicates how Christianity changed almost every aspect of Aboriginal life and competed with traditional beliefs. The exhibit says that Christianity came to be practiced everywhere, but it was not just Christianity, it was also settlements, and new laws that changed Aboriginal people's access to the land and this threatened the very foundations of Aboriginal cultures. The exhibit is also careful to show that the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and Christianity was complex. Some people rejected Christianity, some fought against it, some embraced Christianity while

maintaining their traditional beliefs, either in secret or in public, and others fully embraced the new religion. The CMC tells the story of two of these people including: Kateri Tekakwitha (1656 - 1680), a Mohawk woman who was baptized when she was twenty years old and became the first North American Aboriginal person to be named "venerable" by the Roman Catholic Church; and Peter Jones (1802 - 1856) who was an Ojibwa Methodist minister, author, and translator.

The exhibit also discusses other changes brought about by Christianity including a variety of new symbols such as the cross, the Bible, and the baptismal font that entered Aboriginal culture. Also, how churches were built in every community, traditional dwellings were replaced by small frame homes, and Aboriginal societies modified the yearly calendar based on the economy and ritual seasons to reflect a seven-day week, with Sunday as a day for collective worship. Missionaries encouraged changes in traditional farming practices to reflect European practices, which often were not suited to reserve lands. This conflicted with how Aboriginal people expressed their beliefs directly through their traditional uses of the land and sea. As the government divided up the land, Aboriginal people found it harder to carry on their hunting, fishing and gathering. As children lost their chance at an Aboriginal education, the original belief systems were eroded. The exhibit is also careful to create a complex picture of residential schools showing that while many Aboriginal people did want their children educated at day schools, the government and the church preferred residential schools where children could be instructed away from the influence of their parents. The exhibit tells how children were forbidden to speak their languages and discipline was

often harsh and at odds with Aboriginal practices. Children of residential schools often did not learn the skills (social or otherwise) to allow them so survive in their communities. The exhibit mentions that some children did have positive experiences at these schools, but emphasizes that the sexual and physical abuse as well as the loss of culture has overshadowed good intentions and practices of many missionaries.

The exhibit then discusses how some people are returning to their traditional beliefs, consulting shamans, learning to play drums, honouring elders, and working to save or re-learn their languages. The exhibit ends with a discussion of Aboriginal lives today, discussing how they have fought to maintain their independent Aboriginal identity by working with traditional crafts while holding other jobs. An interesting discussion was of the gatherings held by Aboriginal people today including Sun Dances, feasts, Midewiwin ceremonies, potlatches, and powwows. These traditional gatherings are referred to as social, even though they include rituals and have spiritual roots. For religious gatherings, the exhibit discusses the pilgrimage of up to 40 000 Catholics and non-Catholics each year to Lac Ste. Anne. Lac Ste. Anne was a sacred site before the missionaries arrived, but it became a Catholic holy site after a mission was established there and, according to legend, after a year of severe drought, people from the surrounding Aboriginal community gathered at the mission to pray to Saint Anne for rain. It poured and the pilgrimage was born.

The top of the museum consists of the Canada Hall there creating a separation between the First People's exhibits in The Grand Hall and the First People's Hall, and the Canada Hall which allows visitors to "[t]ravel across the country from East to West

in life-size settings and experience 1,000 years of Canadian history." As Grimes, (1990) argues, this separation subtly states that Aboriginal people are somehow separate from the history of Canada, although work has been done in some exhibits to integrate Aboriginal peoples into the contemporary Canadian story.

The Canada Hall contains life-size, reconstructed buildings and environments from the history of Canada. This exhibit is often animated by bi-lingual actors. During one visit, a man and a woman argued in French and English about some local political issues of the 1800s. The hall spans Canadian history from CE 1000 to the present day. The exhibit begins with a discussion of Norse exploration, and settlement of North America, and their subsequent departure. The exhibit picks up again in the 15th century with the European North Atlantic crossings in search of cod. Here the only mention of religion occurs when the exhibit reminds us that medieval Europeans were Roman Catholic and venerated the fish as a Christian symbol and as a substitute for meat on fast days. The display also contains an artefact of Saint Malo, the companion of Saint Brendan who was the patron of fishermen. The next display on the Basque whalers gives us some insight into the religious aspects of the culture with this prayer, recited at the moment of harpooning: "... Allow us, Mighty Lord, to quickly kill the great fish of sea; without injuring any one of us when he is bound by the line in his tail or his breast; without tossing the boat's keel skyward, or pulling us with him to the depths of the sea ... the profit is great, the peril is also great; guard above all our lives."

The next section discusses early Acadia, the French settlements around the Bay of Fundy established in the early 1600s. The Acadian farmhouse is decorated with

religious symbols, but the role of Catholicism in Acadian culture is not discussed. The exhibit then moves the visitor into a town square in New France, with exhibits on shoemaking or coopering. The exhibit reconstructs a small part of a convent hospital highlighting the role of early nuns in providing medical assistance for residents which also included help for the poor, the mentally ill, the orphaned, and the abandoned. The exhibit also mentions how the 17th and 18th century medicines treated only the symptoms of diseases, and how although settlers obtained most of their medicinal ingredients and knowledge from Europe, they also learned from the First Nations People. Although the collection implies that religious orders were responsible for most of the hospitals in New France, it does not go much into the details of the orders and why they were the primary health care givers at the time.

The next section discusses the fur trade in New France where the relationship with the Aboriginal Fur traders is discussed and we see what the camp of a group of voyageurs may have looked like. Europeans are shown competing for Aboriginal business and the visitor learns that the Europeans had to submit themselves to Aboriginal ceremonies, customs and trading practices. The exhibit also emphasizes how cultural exchange went both ways with Europeans adopting Aboriginal customs and inventions that ensured survival in the wilderness and aboriginals integrated European goods into their own cultures.

The exhibit then moves on to discuss the creation of the Métis culture through the adoption of French coureurs des bois into Cree and Ojibwa communities in the Upper Great Lakes region. The population become more culturally and ethnically mixed

and adopted elements from both sides of their heritage to become a distinct culture that began to crystallize in the early 19th century. These groups settled in Manitoba and divided into three main groups: buffalo hunters, traders, and voyageurs. The cultural characteristics of each group varied greatly depending on how much they retained of the original Aboriginal or European cultures. The exhibit focuses primarily on the Bison hunting Métis, but does not discuss the role of Catholicism or traditional Aboriginal spirituality in any depth. A subsequent exhibit on the timber trade also does not mention any of the religious implications of the English, Irish and French settlers involved in that particular activity.

The next section, a tent with a woman who has just given birth and a midwife, begins at the end of the American Revolutionary War of 1775 to 1783 and discusses the large waves of Loyalist immigrants who were mostly of British and European descent, but also included Black people and members of the six Iroquois nations. This section does mention the Quakers and Pennsylvania Germans who emigrated to avoid religious persecution, as pacifist beliefs obliged them to remain neutral during the war, and to take advantage of the large amounts of available farm land. The exhibit also includes The Conestoga wagon, named after the Conestoga Valley in Pennsylvania, which was developed by Pennsylvania Germans for long-distance travel and to transport goods to and from market. I find it interesting that the exhibit never specifically mentions the Amish or Mennonite beliefs of the Pennsylvania Germans (also known as the Pennsylvania Dutch).

The exhibit picks up again in the years between 1837 and 1867 discussing the rebellions and confederation. Visitors walk through Montgomery Tavern in Toronto and find themselves amidst the rebels of the Upper Canada rebellion led by journalist William Lyon Mackenzie. The rebels had proposed democratic reforms that were rejected by the crown and the tavern became the site where the rebels gathered to march with muskets, pitchforks and staves against the larger and better-equipped colonial militia, to whom they eventually lost. The visitor then enters Montréal's Pied-du-courant Prison, where 1367 Patriotes were locked up between 1837 and 1839 for their role in the Lower Canada Rebellion. The walls of the prison are filthy, and a cramped cell represents the space shared by up to four men. A prisoner sits at a table in the common room, writing a letter to his wife. Visitors can listen to popular 19th century ballads recounting the plight of the Patriotes. The exhibit contains the broken pieces of a door handle believed to be from the church at Saint-Eustache where some seventy Patriotes died when British troops set the building on fire in December 1837. The role of the church, why it was used by the patriots and why the British thought to burn it is not discussed.

A multimedia presentation now leads the visitor towards confederation introducing key characters and events. The exhibit then moves to discuss Canada's maritime traditions, particularly ship building, then goes on to discuss the urbanization of Southern Ontario with a recreated street scene from Ontario in 1845. The street scene mainly focuses on trades and the economy, and the family life of the elite with no mention of the role of religion in the town or family life.

The exhibit then moves on to Canadian Pacific Gallery to discuss the Railway Era[40] where the CPR is discussed as a symbol of national unity and acts as a portal to the west moving the visitor to Saskatchewan. The gallery discusses the completion of the railway, and moves to a discussion of the role of wheat in the Canadian economy with a full-scale replica of a Prairie grain elevator.[41] The exhibit focuses both on wheat harvesting, and on domestic life inside the farm house. The only mention of religion is a passing reference to the existence of churches in the town. As well no mention is made in this section of immigrant groups who were taken advantage of either working on the CPR or as farm labourers.

The exhibit then moves the visitor back east to Manitoba and begins to discuss immigration of groups whom I will discuss in the next chapter. From Manitoba the visitor moves to Alberta with a reconstruction of a cable-tool oil rig of the 1920s consisting of a wooden derrick tower and a shed housing the cable-tool drilling rig. From there the visitor moves to the West coast where the recreated town of Steveston British Columbia brings visitors to a wharf surrounded by buildings, vessels and tools characteristic of a fishing and salmon-canning community on the West Coast between 1940 and 1970. Nearby is the Nishga Girl, a gillnet salmon fishing boat built by Japanese boat builders and used by a First Nations family on the West Coast for over 20 years. The exhibit discusses the resources of the west coast as well as the people who worked there. The story of Sikh workers in sawmills and Japanese fishermen are told alongside

[40] In the museum, "The Canadian Pacific Charitable Foundation is gratefully acknowledged for its generous donation to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Gallery."
[41] The Barrie A. and Deedee Wigmore Foundation and the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool have generously supported the realization of the exhibit King Wheat.

others. The exhibit tells the visitor that before the arrival of European and Asian immigrants, the First Peoples of Canada's West Coast benefited from the region's natural resources, particularly salmon and other fish. Despite European involvement in the fur trade, coal and gold mining, and logging and milling, permanent non-Aboriginal settlement remained sparse along coast. With the arrival of the railway, resource-based industries could grow, spurring immigration and the creation of new coastal communities. Combined workforce of First Peoples, Japanese, Chinese and European Canadians worked at the canneries and on the fishing boats. The exhibit claims that "[o]ften, a spirit of cooperation and common purpose among social classes and ethnic groups held these coastal towns together." Though I cannot help but think this downplays some of the rampant racism present in Canada at the time.

The next part of the Canada hall examines the role Vancouver has played as a transportation hub and port of entry for new Canadians by displaying how immigrants arrived both by sea and by air. The next section discusses the Canadian idea of "the north" contrasting the First Nation's visions of the region's extraordinary landscapes, based on their needs for long-term livelihood with southern visions of the North which tend to focus on discovery, adventure and exploitation. The exhibit then reiterates the idea of Canada as a nation "from sea to sea to sea."

The Canada Hall also contains an exhibit called Face to Face: The Canadian Personalities Hall. The hall's theme is "We Inspired. We founded. We Fought. We Built. We Governed." and profiles prominent Canadians including writers, political leaders, artists, rebels, explorers, activists and athletes. Of the twenty-eight profiles, only five

mention the faith or spirituality of individuals including Timothy Eaton who we learn was "[p]ersonally devout, Eaton shaped his business according to the Methodist creed of honesty, self-reliance and hard work."; Alphonse Desjardins who was an ardent Catholic; Brother André who's legacy is Saint Joseph's Oratory in Montreal; Nellie McClung who was a devout Christian; and Mary and Joseph Brant, Mohawk brother and sister who formed political alliances with the British. We only hear about Joseph's spirituality in a quote from 1783 where he says: "I always looked upon these engagements, or covenants, between the King and the Indian nations, as a sacred thing." You can dig further into the website and find more references and chronologies that sometimes mention religion, but it is not a front and centre issue in the motivations of these famous Canadians. Is it possible to talk about Mordechai Richler without mentioning Judaism, Louis Riel without mentioning Catholicism, or the group of seven without spirituality? These portraits are one or two paragraph vignettes and as such, likely have to be pared down to only the most relevant information. So who decides what information is relevant and how prevalent can we assume religion was as a motivating factor for exceptional Canadians in history?

At this point I want to move entirely to the website and discuss the Virtual Museum of New France (Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation n.d.). This is a text-heavy online exhibit interspersed with photos of artefacts and links to more in-depth explorations of topics. The online museum was intended to extend the scope of the exhibition to encompass all of New France, from Acadia through Canada, the Pays d'en haut of the Great Lakes, to Louisiana and present a wide range of facets of the

French colonial experience. The exhibit has five themes: colonies and empires, population, everyday life, economic activities, and heritage. I will not re-tell the story of the entire exhibit here as time and space will not permit it. Instead, I will highlight areas where religion is discussed and how it is presented or interpreted. The first mention of religion occurs when we learn that relations between the French and their Aboriginal and European neighbours shifted over time causing officers and missionaries to improvise their roles as diplomats. At this point we are introduced in more detail to the Aboriginal people in the regions that would eventually become New France (Acadia, the St. Lawrence Valley, and Louisiana). The next mention of religion comes with the discussion of Columbus and how unfounded Catholic beliefs in a flat and rectangular earth, the existence of mythical countries, such as the kingdom of Prester John thought to be located in Ethiopia, or that of King Solomon. The exhibit mentions that while many celebrate Columbus, many see his "discovery" of America as the beginning of a tragedy.

The next mention of religion occurs, when we learn that Cartier arrived at the mouth of a river he subsequently named "Sainte-Croix," or "Holy Cross," on September 14, 1535 after the feast day of the Holy Cross, celebrated by the Catholic Church.[42] Later, between 1615 and 1625, the Recollets would re-name this river the Saint-Charles, as it is known today, in honour of their protector, Charles de Boves, the grand vicar of the diocese of Rouen. The Catholic Church influenced exploration if the new world in many ways. For example, Pope Clement VII had signed a papal bull dividing all

[42] Commemorating the discovery of the True Cross by Saint Helena in the 4th century

newly discovered lands between Portugal and Spain, but did not include lands yet to be discovered, as such, further explorations were watched carefully by the Portuguese and the Spanish to ensure the French were not intruding on land already discovered by their own explorers.

Religion enters the story again in 1615 when Recollet missionaries arrive explicitly to convert the Aboriginal people, and the Jesuits follow in 1625. The exhibit also tells how with the population explosion in Quebec between 1635 and 1665 (from 150 to 3500 settlers of French origin), religious and governmental institutions worked together to structure society, and the military provided defence, marking the founding of New France. The Jesuits were crucial in exploring North America as they travelled with Aboriginal peoples in the hopes of converting them, often investigating new regions in the hopes of establishing a mission. There are many stories of voyageurs and Jesuits travelling together to explore and evangelise. At this point in the story very little is said about Aboriginal spiritual traditions, instead the focus is on the political and economic alliances settlers formed with the Aboriginal people.

The exhibit then returns to 1615, to discuss missions in New France. Three Recollet priests, Fathers Denis Jamet, Jean Dolbeau and Joseph Le Caron, arrived in New France, and experienced many difficulties. Only a few Aboriginal newborn infants and dying elders were baptised, and in 1625 unsatisfactory results led the Recollets to call in the Jesuits. The first Jesuit missionaries—Fathers Énemond Massé, Charles Lalemant and Jean de Brébeuf—succeeded in supplanting the Recollets and by 1632, they alone were responsible for the missionary work of the Catholic Church in Canada planting

missions throughout Wendat territories. The discussion is primarily a historical recounting of the work of the Jesuits, where and when they built their missions and their conversion success rates. In this narrative, the acts of the Jesuits are separated from other political and economic stories. It seems that the museum has some trouble communicating the overlapping spheres of life, particularly when it comes to religion and politics.

A discussion of Aboriginal trade and military alliances with Europeans (particularly the French) gives some interesting insights into the different cultural understandings of the economic relationships between the two peoples. The exhibit teaches that First Nations people would only trade with family and as such the traders were adopted as brothers so the First Nations people could benefit from trading with the French. However, a political change, the defeat of the Wendat by the Iroquois, resulted in the French trying to re-cast themselves as fathers to the Aboriginal people. What the Jesuits did not anticipate was that the French conception of a father who was authoritative and distant did not at all match with the Wendat conception of a generous father who held little actual power. The exhibit also explains that maintaining these relationships required rituals and ceremonies that continuously renewed and consolidated trade alliances.

Another interesting discussion of religion arises in the demographic exploration of early France where the average age, sex, income, and religious affiliations of the settlers are discussed. From 1627–1628, Canada was an officially Catholic colony. Unconverted Protestants, while often tolerated as temporary immigrants, could not

hold assemblies to practise their religion "under pain of punishment." Fewer than 300 Huguenots were among the founding immigrants of Canada and many of them converted to Catholicism before they arrived. There were also a few Jews, particularly converts who practised the Catholic religion. New France, unlike New England, never became a refuge for religious minorities. Yet not all Catholics were necessarily pious. Among lay immigrants, neither the people nor the administrators were particularly inclined to be strictly devout. On the contrary, a degree of indifference among the people could be detected with regard to behaviours prohibited by the Church, and there were even cases of anticlericalism. The administrative elite often found itself in conflict with members of the clergy. Catholic zeal, undoubtedly important in the early years, would therefore have stemmed from missionaries steeped in the ideas of the Counter-Reformation. This type of information is very important in understanding the mentality of people during the time of New France. Despite limited personal devotion by the settlers, the Catholic Church still held an enormous amount of sway in economic and political arenas.

Another interesting discussion of religion concerns female immigrants who, if they did practice and occupation, were most often missionaries, educators, or both. The most famous was Marguerite Bourgeoys, the founder of the Congregation of Notre-Dame and the first among the colony's immigrants to be sanctified. Marguerite Bourgeoys, together with the Ursuline nuns, founded the school system in New France, just as the Hospitalières (nurses) of Québec and Montréal established the health system. The exhibit also reminds us that even though nuns played an important role in

New France, not all female immigrants were devout Catholics. At least a few dozen of them were raised in the Huguenot faith, which means that twice as many women as men were Protestant. The exhibit also tells of a Jewish woman, Esther Brandeau, who dressed as a boy to receive passage to New France after an exciting story of being on sinking ships and seeking refuge in convents, at a baker's house and in the military. After arriving in New France she was interned in the Hôpital général with the hopes of converting her. She eventually boarded a ship and there are no other historical records about her.

A very large section of the online exhibit discusses religious congregations and the "missionary adventure in New France." The article by Claire Gourdeau presents the various players, all the congregations that sent missionaries to the colony, and explains their reasons for doing so. The congregations included: Recollects, Jesuits, Capuchins, Ursulines, and Hospitallers who the author claims were "all were motivated by the same faith and aspired to one thing only: to convert Aboriginal people to save their souls." She explains how missionaries were inspired by successes in other parts of the world and a 1537 papal bull, *Sublimis Deus*, in which Pope Paul III declared the "savages" to be truly human and therefore capable of understanding and adhering to the Christian faith. She then briefly explains the Aboriginal animist beliefs and traces the history of missionary arrival in New France. The exhibit explores how there were fundamental cultural clashes between the Jesuits and the Aboriginal people saying:

> [t]he cultural and spiritual values of the two groups collided with one another—the Jesuits stood for the order of social classes, strict control of behaviour and unswerving obedience to the Church and the king of France, while Aboriginal populations

> favoured individual liberty, the comparative equality of the sexes and governing through consensus.

The Jesuits had to negotiate to bring nuns to Canada in order to educate girls, and the Ursulines of Tours and the Hospitalières of Dieppe arrived in 1639. These nuns came up against the same cultural problems as the Jesuits where the French believed that children were imperfect adults to be corrected with discipline and Aboriginal people were much less strict and not considered adults until their initiation. The nuns however, were also flexible enough that they were permitted to stay active in New France by learning English and accepting British pupils. The exhibit also discusses the hospitals run by the nuns.

The exhibit goes beyond discussing the missionizing activities the Aboriginal populations but also discusses the needs for pastoral care of the settlers. The clergy were concerned about the moral transgressions of the Europeans[43] and implemented a variety of schools and pious societies to help curb undesirable behaviour. As the colony grew the exhibit also tells of the other congregations that took root in New France including the Notre-Dame sisters from France, with Marguerite Bourgeoys at their head, and the Soeurs Grises (Grey Nuns) led by Marguerite d'Youville. The Sulpicians opened colleges and the Charron brothers, a pious organization dedicated to the care of the sick, the infirm and orphans, ran a charity home that was eventually turned into a hospital with a school for orphans. A discussion of the positive periods where the king

[43] These included: the selling of alcohol to the Native People by the coureurs de bois; dances; the lack of modesty showed by women in church; drinking, blaspheming and working on Sundays, by men; lazy, idle, rude and violent behaviour on the part of children; and drunkenness, profane amusements, games of chance, insubordination and eating meat during Lent.

of France sent money to help the missions is balanced with a discussion of the setbacks where churches and seminaries were burned down and nuns were living on very limited resources. Two more sections discuss the missionary work in Acadia and Louisiana.

The final exhibits I want to examine in the CMC are in the Social Progress Gallery[44] which presents four stories of change in Canada defining social progress as the weight of laws designed to alleviate human suffering. The exhibit states that while Canada was slow to start passing national legislation in this regard, it rapidly addressed its social needs from the 1940s onwards and that Canada continues to be one of the world's leading countries in overall quality of life. As reported by the United Nations Human Development Index, 2006. The gallery contains four exhibits; *Making Medicare: The History of Health Care in Canada, 1914-2007*; *Canadian Labour History, 1850-1999*; *A History of the Vote in Canada* and; *The History of Canada's Public Pensions*. These exhibits make very few references to religion. In *Making Medicare* there are four mentions of religion. First, we learn that health care in Canada was traditionally privately funded; churches and other charities encouraged doctors to provide free or inexpensive health care.[45] Second, a photo shows men marching to the Bathurst Street United Church in Toronto in 1930, but it does not mention what they will do there or why the church was important to the health care movement. Third, Mormons in Alberta were among those who attempted to create pre-paid health care plans. Finally, it

[44] Available online at http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/progrese.shtml
[45] http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/medicare/medic-1h06e.shtml

discusses how Ernest Manning was a radio Evangelist, but how his faith played a role in his fight for health care is never explored.

The exhibit on Canada's labour history indirectly discusses religion or ethnicity twice. First the exhibit explores how minority groups such as Asians and other immigrant groups were often excluded from unions and how they fought for eventual inclusion.[46] Second, the exhibit discusses how, at first, the Catholic Church in Quebec was anti-union as it viewed union groups as atheists and revolutionaries. Then, in 1921, the Church created the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Trade Unions. Catholic priests were assigned to oversee union affairs and ensure that secular unionism was kept at bay.[47] *A History of the Vote in Canada* mentions of how certain religious groups were excluded from being able to vote, but does not mention the role that churches in Canada played in either supporting or fighting universal suffrage movements.[48] *The History of Canada's Public Pensions* makes no mention of religion.

There are several observations we can make about the narrative created in the CMC. First, in the early history of Canada the story of the Church is told, and the museum attempts to communicate its influence on other aspects of society such as economics and politics, but sometimes has trouble communicating the integration. This is like for two reasons. First, it is difficult to find objects around which to communicate complex ideas such as the integration of Church and state. Second, the museum comes from the modern period where divisions between the church and other spheres of life

[46] http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/labour/labh15e.shtml
[47] http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/labour/labh14e.shtml
[48] http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/hist/elections/el_001_e.shtml#timeline

are assumed. It is difficult to create an exhibit that can communicate the philosophy and worldview of the past, especially when it is so foreign to the way people think today. Second, when discussing individuals, the religious motivations of historical figures seem to be an afterthought. Including such an analysis might help people today understand the motivations of great historical figures, but again the museum is limited by resource artefacts and space in which to tell these stories. Finally, in the Aboriginal gallery it is easy to hear the voice of the Aboriginal people, but in the rest of the CMC the voice is that of the coloniser, and while other narratives are mentioned, they are mostly tangential to the primary story of the white French and English settlers.

The ROM is a provincial rather than a national museum, but it is included here because its location in Toronto means it is one of the most visited museums in Canada, by locals and tourists alike. Doctor James Cruise, director of the museum in the 1970's explained that the collection of objects began in the early 1800s and was followed by the establishment of the Provincial Museum, the institution that would eventually become the ROM, in 1851. The museum was formally created by the signing of the ROM Act in the Ontario Legislature on April 16, 1912 (Royal Ontario Museum n.d.). The opening of the actual ROM building occurred in 1914. At this time, the building housed five separate museums: the ROMs of Archaeology, Palaeontology, Mineralogy, Zoology, and Geology. By the late 1920s, collections and staff were competing for space and the crowding had become intolerable. The first addition took place during the Great Depression and finished in the fall of 1933. In 1955, the five museums were reorganised as a single body and in 1968 the ROM was formally divided from the

University of Toronto and became a separate entity under the provincial government. A large renovation began in 1978 and finished in 1984, to provide room for extended research and collection activities included a new curatorial centre, a new library, and other facilities. After The Renaissance ROM Project, which included a long period of fundraising, refurbishing, re-creating galleries, and building a new expansion called, the Michael Lee-Chin Crystal, opened in June of 2007.

The ROM now divides itself into natural history galleries and world culture galleries. Of interest to us in this section is the Sigmund Samuel Gallery of Canada which, according to the website "… showcases the country's best collection of early Canadiana in a non-linear fashion ... Symbols, emblems and images of Canada, and what they suggest about changing ideas of Canadian "identities", play a key role in this vibrant permanent gallery. The contributions of successive generations of immigrants are also underscored." The Gallery of Canada is located south of the ROM's Rotunda across from the Daphne Cockwell Gallery of Canada: First Peoples to form the Canadian Suite of galleries on the main floor of the museum.

The gallery itself is too large to describe in great detail, instead this section recounts some thoughts and observations made during the research visits concerning the presentation of religion, supplemented with information from the ROM's website when relevant. The majority of the gallery's exhibits cover the early years of European settlement to the beginnings of the modern industrial era, and reflect mainly Canada's French and British cultural heritage. The focus is on the colonial past but there is some modern art and furniture in the gallery as well. According to the website, the goal of the

gallery is to help visitors understand how Canadians lived, where they came from, the evolving nature of Canadian identity and Canadian-ness, and the ongoing contributions of successive generations of immigrants.[49]

The beginning of the gallery contains two walls of paintings, one focused on landscape, and the other focused on portraiture. Several symbolic themes arise repeatedly throughout the gallery, but the first one that the visitor notices is the importance of landscape, particularly as displayed by the series of paintings that begin the exhibit. As curator Arlene Gehmacher says on the website:

> The paintings in the Canadian collection, … have usually been appreciated for their documentary aspects as well as their narrative content and as a way to illustrate the history of Canada. While the paintings can continue to function in this way, their new organization and presentation allows them to be appreciated on their own, as works communicating ideas of Canadian society, history or identity (national, regional, personal) within their own category.

The website says the purpose of these paintings is to encourage visitors to reflect on the significance of both land and individuals in shaping their understanding of Canadian identity and history.

For those visitors who take the time to read the panels carefully, they will find that several paintings were commented upon by Jeff Thomas, an Iroquois/Onondaga artist, curator and cultural critic. As well, the curator's comments are reflective, for example, on the painting *The Coast of Labrador* the panel says: "The Canadian North was a popular subject for artists in the latter half of the 19th century, and Rockwell offers a calm, almost mystical take on the subject. He was either unaware of or chose to

[49] http://www.rom.on.ca/exhibitions/wculture/canada.php

ignore the hardships encountered by the Innu in trying o balance their traditional way of life with the demands made on them by the Hudson Bay Company for commercial trapping." This is the beginning a very obvious attempt by the curator not only to present a critical picture of early Canada, but also to account for the Aboriginal story and ensure that Aboriginal voices are heard.

The symbols of the beaver and the maple leaf are introduced and discussed in terms of Europeans and Aboriginal peoples, particularly how the First Nations in Upper and Lower Canada taught Europeans how to make sap from bark as recounted in an excerpt from *Mœurs des sauvages Americans comparées aux mœurs des premieres temps*. Most of the exhibit contains furniture, flatware, and table services. The first noticeable mention of religion occurred on a panel before a case with an altar and some statuary created for the Catholic Church which read:

> The Catholic Church was the cornerstone of early French Canadian society. It occupied a central place in the everyday life of settlers and was the primary patron of the arts. The community gave its enthusiastic support to the erecting of beautiful monumental church buildings ... Through its patronage, the Catholic Church supported a craft tradition unmatched by any other Christian denomination. It was one that continued to reflect a conservative French artistic tradition, despite the lengthy period of British colonial rule.

Several Catholic artefacts find their way into the church including a monstrance in an exhibit about Canadian silversmithing and a weathercock (a weathervane with a rooster on top, a Catholic and French symbol).

There were four other allusions to religion that became apparent during research visits. First, a panel introducing Atlantic Canada mentions that the Atlantic

colonies were run by Merchant oligarchies in alliance with British administration and the Anglican Church. Second, a cover for Canadian Home Journal called *The Vision of the Crosses* by Rex Woods from 1935 that was a protest against war. Third was a panel on Gender roles in Canadian society and how they were rigidly enforced by both law and religion. Fourth, a portrait of Doctor Oronhyatekha in the portraiture section, as Jeff Thomas points out, was a very non-traditional painting of a First Nations person, whose distinguished people tended to be painted with feathered head dresses. Finally, a portrait of the Catholic Priest L'abbé François Féré-DuBuron was an unusual painting of a priest distributing the host during communion, an activity that was rarely depicted.

Upon reflecting on this gallery it appears that the museum has made serious attempts to reflect critically on history and include an Aboriginal voice in the story. However, the power dynamics still make it seem that the museum has 'permitted' Aboriginal voice in the exhibit. As well, why only commentate on the subjects relevant to Aboriginal people, perhaps the commentary should have been on other objects that did not directly address Aboriginal issues and People. Although there are multiple viewpoints there is still a separation from the First People's Gallery.

The First Peoples Gallery at the ROM was created as a part of the Renaissance ROM project and explores the relationship between collectors and indigenous peoples and attempts to communicate a story about Aboriginal culture from pre-history through to modern times with a particular emphasis on how Aboriginal peoples are both a part of the museum and of the history of Canada. *The Migration*, a painting of the first people crossing the Bearing Straight by Norval Morriseau begins a discussion of

Canadian Aboriginal pre-history. The gallery then tackles the 19th century notion that Aboriginal cultures were vanishing from North America as the impetus for professional museum collecting. One of the most controversial aspects of the gallery is the emphasis on the white fascination with Aboriginal culture, which manifests itself through the donated collections of individuals (Milroy 2006). The ROM divides the various groups ethnographically, however the featured groups, including the Inuit, Mohawk, Plains and West Coast First Nations are displayed through the eyes of the (mostly white) individuals who donated their collections.

Inuit culture is exhibited though the collections of Robert Flaherty, maker of the film Nanook of the North, who collected during the early 1900s. This collection's signature artefacts include Flaherty's kayak, a traditional carving knife and a bag made of goosefoot skin. The Mohawk are represented by the collections of Evelyn H.C. Johnson, sister of the Métis poet Pauline. Her collection includes weapons used in the war of 1812, traditional crafts and silverware used by her family, some of which allude to the hybrid culture of the Métis people. The Plains Aboriginal Peoples are represented by the paintings and collections of Edmund Morris, son of Alexander Morris who negotiated western treaties with the Plains First Nations. This collection's signature artefacts include a magnificent assortment of beaded clothing and moccasins. The clothing is complemented by paintings of the Plains Chiefs who negotiated with Morris' father. These paintings are symbolic of the white fascination with Aboriginal culture, but are also unusual in their dignified portraiture style. Finally, there is a massive West Coast First Nations art display from the American Museum of Natural History with

signature artefacts that include a shaman's rattle, a number of masks, headdresses, and a stunning Chilkat blanket. A much larger, more generally focused exhibit is the collection of the works of Paul Kane, which are placed in the very centre of the gallery. Kane painted scenes of the daily lives of Aboriginal people as a picturesque yet dying race. Kane's honoured place in the centre of the gallery caused Ojibwa artist Robert Houle to ask in his now infamous question "[w]hat's a dead white guy doing in the middle of our gallery?" (Milroy 2006).

The gallery ends with an exhibition space titled *Contemporary Expressions* which showcases contemporary Aboriginal art. This exhibit space was created to show new art with constantly changing displays in an attempt to demonstrate that Aboriginal culture is still alive and thriving. Adjacent to the gallery is a theatre devoted to the oral histories and cultures of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. Here visitors can listen to Aboriginal stories such as those told by Cree Elder Louis Bird, who was also an advisor during the development of the First Peoples Gallery. Also available to the public are a number of videos and sound recordings, as well as a collection of some of the oldest records of Aboriginal voices and music recorded on wax cylinders.

The history of the First Peoples Gallery at the ROM only extends to the mid 1990s, and since its beginning it has been a collaborative effort between curators and Aboriginal advisors. In fact, the second item that a visitor to this gallery sees is a glass case that introduces six Aboriginal advisors who come from a variety of First Nations, Inuit and Métis backgrounds. However, despite the involvement of these advisors there is still a feeling that the museum is telling Aboriginal history from a white person's

perspective. In Sarah Milroy's (2006) re-counting of the opening ceremonies, there was some controversy over the fact that white speakers were introduced with a series of degrees, qualifications, and honours, while the Aboriginal speakers were introduced only by their name and tribal affiliation. As well, despite the fact that Edmund Morris and Paul Kane created respectful portraits, they are still coming from a white colonial perspective. It seems that while the ROM is giving Aboriginal people a larger role in telling their stories, there are still some bridges to cross before they can act as main characters. One thing I wonder is why contemporary expressions of Aboriginal life seem to always focus on art. There are Aboriginal innovators is science, politics and business but we rarely hear about them.

While there are no hagiographic biases at the ROM, there seems to be a mild if unintentional inclination to venerate the white traders, settlers, and collectors who gathered and preserved artefacts, while at the same time critiquing their colonial motivations. The sometimes-unfair dealings between white settlers and Aboriginals are briefly mentioned but rarely explored in-depth. The ROM seems to avoid the topic of Aboriginal cultural evolution, only two artefacts, a horse whip and a canoe, are used to symbolise cultural interdependence and adaptation.

The ROM is trying to combat the "noble savage" stereotype by moving towards an encounter perspective attempting to be value neutral and stress the dignity and agency of Aboriginal people. However, in their neutrality they are hesitant to fully discuss the interaction between Christianity and Aboriginals. Here the ROM faces several challenges. First, there is still the desire among visitors to view "authentic"

artefacts based on what public perception of an Aboriginal object should be. Visitors can become highly agitated with an exhibit does not conform to their pre-conceived notions of indigineity. Second, the meeting of Christianity and Aboriginal people is not always a pleasant story and as such, the curators would need to tread a fine line between demonizing the missionaries and celebrating them, and no matter where curators landed, they would be bound to upset some survivors or descendents of either group. The third difficulty is one of power, if the ROM has decided to have Aboriginal advisors to help them display artefacts while continuing the discussion of missionary activity are they then required to take on white Christian advisors to help tell that chapter of the story? The honest answer is no, due to the Christian hegemonic nature of Canadian society this narrative is already dominant, however this understanding of hegemonic narratives and power is very difficult to communicate to the visiting public. As well, as demonstrated by Anderson (E. Anderson 2007) in her story about Pastedechouan, stories of the relationships between Christianity and traditional Aboriginal beliefs are complex and often difficult to communicate without fully understanding the worldviews of both the Aboriginal people and the European missionaries. The museum is between the proverbial rock and a hard place, on the one hand, a discussion of an important aspect of history is almost completely absent, on the other hand, beginning that discussion would tear open Pandora ‘s Box. To honestly engage contact and the religious implications of contact as an independent subject matter, curators at the ROM must overcome the discomfort that Heller (2004) has

shown exists between members of the public and museums staff when interpreting or viewing religious artefacts.

The ROM's display method has several disadvantages; however its most glaring challenge is the static nature of its exhibit. Without human interaction it is very difficult for complexities and nuances to be communicated through artefacts and placards. A second challenge comes from the display methods traditional in a museum. Placing artefacts behind glass can reinforce a perception of the otherness of Aboriginals among visitors. The artefacts can almost be seen as too separate or too sacred for the visitor. The artefacts can also lead to essentialism, to the point where the artefacts may be understood as the sum of a culture rather than only part.

The advantages of the ROM are that first, its vast resources it has created spaces for the discussion of contemporary Aboriginal life. Second, the nature of the collections exposes the visitor to a critique of the colonial collecting mindset. Third, the ethnographic grouping of the artefacts has allowed the First Peoples Gallery to move away from a purely chronological narrative. According to McLoughlin (1999) museums often fall into a chronological trap where the exhibit begins with pre-history and ends with a sad story of the decimation of Aboriginal communities and the destruction of their culture. The ROM avoided this trap in two ways. First, the ROM's final section on modern Aboriginal art reminds visitors that Aboriginal communities are still alive and well both artistically and culturally. The modern art section is constantly changing with new paintings being rotated through every few months, which symbolically lets visitors know that communities are still growing and active. Second, as the visitor leaves the

exhibit, they pass a number of panels on the wall showing pictures of the First Nations contractors who were hired to build the gallery. These posters attempt to make the visitors think of Aboriginals outside of the museum context, again reminding them of the living diversity of the communities.

These large museums are creating a narrative about Canadian identity that includes religion. However, the CMC seems to treat religion more as a separate entity than does the ROM when it comes to the history of New France and the role of the Catholic Church. The reality is that language, culture, history, heritage, ethnicity and religion all come together to create an identity, and this is particularly important in the early history of Canada where the churches held so much influence. The ROM has done a good job of integrating a contemporary native voice into their Canada exhibit; however the Aboriginal presence comes through still in the past through the artefacts and in the present only through the commentary. I understand the narratives created by the ROM are limited by the items available to them, however there are many Aboriginal people today who are trades and crafts people whose work might be integrated in the future.

In both museums space is an issue in that there is a separate Canada Gallery or Hall and a separate First People's Gallery or hall. At first I was inclined to always view this as an unintentional separation of Aboriginal people from Canadian identity. However, since I could never interview the curators for either of these exhibits, I was unable to ask about this. However, in reading about identity, it occurs to me that Aboriginal peoples do indeed consider themselves sovereign nations are imagined

communities. Perhaps these separate halls serve as a place for the First Nation's communities to assert their own unique national identities, using their own voices, but still backed by the institutional authority of the museum. If this is the case, then presenting spirituality as separate and different from religion as done by the CMC allows First Nations communities to challenge the colonial imposition of a category of religion, while maintaining a unique aspect of their own culture.

A Nation at War

One might wonder what a discussion of war is doing in a thesis about religion and Canadian identity. As will be shown below, the stories of Canada's war, militaries and soldiers has become a focal point for the understanding of Canadian identity. However, there are several groups for whom this narrative does not resonate or is entirely exclusionary. As such, this section will explain the mythic place of war in Canadian identity using the narrative of the CWM, and a smaller museum where I interviewed the curators in the Maritimes. Churches' roles in war, the faith of soldiers, the role of chaplains, Christian symbolism in memorials, and civil religion are all areas I expected to find evidence of religion in Canada's war museums.

The CWM is a subsidiary of the CMC and draws approximately 475,000 visitors a year. Similar to the CMC much of the presence of the CWM is online, as such I will briefly go over the structure of the museum and only focus on relevant discussions of religion. The CWM is divided into seven distinct areas, four Canadian Experience galleries: (1) Battleground; (2) For Crown and Country; (3) Forged in Fire; and (4) A Violent Peace. The other areas consist of: The LeBreton Gallery which contains The

Military Technology Collection, Regeneration Hall, and The Royal Canadian Legion Hall of Honour. The CWM enters into a main hall, also known as Memorial Hall, where the visitor passes through glass doors that lead to a hub from which the visitor can explore the galleries in whatever order they wish.

The first gallery discusses the wars that occurred on Canadian soil beginning with the warfare of Aboriginal peoples, their alliances and conflicts with the Europeans, the Seven Years War, the American Revolution, the War of 1812 and ends with the Red River Rebellion and the Northwest Resistance of 1885. This gallery is supplemented by the online exhibit: *Wars on Our Soil, Earliest Times to 1885*.[50] The first thing the visitor encounters is a reconstruction of an Iroquoian palisade, and several artefacts and discussions about military organization and implements of First Peoples. The visitor is then briefly walked through the story of contact and it is explained how First Nations people and Europeans worked together, particularly with the French and British Alliances with different First Nations people. The gallery is very small and has two main flaws. First, only focusing on the Iroquois Palisade denies the variety of groups and warfare techniques that would have existed among the diverse Canadian First Nations Groups. The Inuit, the Plains and Sub-Arctic people, the Pacific, and Maritime First Nations each had different strategies and implements. Second, there is no discussion of the different First Nation's understandings of warfare or of the conditions that usually brought about war in different First Nations communities (Bamforth 1994).

[50] http://www.civilization.ca/cwm/exhibitions/permanent-exhibitions/battleground

The Seven Year's War sets the stage for the next area, where visitors explore conflicts between the French and the British culminating with the Battle of the Plains of Abraham at Quebec City in 1759. There is no mention of religion in this exhibit but there is a discussion in the outcomes section of how after the Seven Years War when the French lost, the First Peoples formed new alliances with the British. "They are independent powers, free to negotiate to protect their interests." When the British did not live up to their obligations, the First Nations Peoples began a war against the British in 1763. The British responded with the Royal Proclamation, which was seen as the first step towards the acknowledgment of Aboriginal Title by the British Crown.[51] A discussion of the American Revolution from 1776-1783 contains the first explicit mention of religion saying that in the lead up to the war "[m]any Canadiens resented the British authorities and the seigneurs (landlords), clergy, and merchants of Quebec. The seigneurs, from whom Canadien farmers rented their land, attempted to dominate local communities. The clergy collected taxes known as tithes…" The exhibit also goes on to discuss the Quebec Act in 1774 which, among other things, guaranteed religious freedom to Roman Catholics and allowed them to hold public office, an act that further alienated Americans, and contributed to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Other than mentioning that western expansion in Canada altered the way of life for First Nations and Métis people, there is no real discussion of religion.

The galleries about the Boer War and WW1 discuss religion only in a few circumstances. First, is a discussion of the development of Remembrance Day and how

[51] http://www.civilization.ca/cwm/exhibitions/gallery1/clash4_e.shtml

for a short period of time, Remembrance Day was linked with thanksgiving weekend. However this received opposition as many felt the moods of the two days conflicted, in particular the online exhibit mentions an Anglican Church in Smith's Falls, Ontario, whose rector openly criticized the government for combining the two events and intimated that "in his church each would be observed by itself." These protests eventually led to a change in the day. The second occurs in a discussion by Brandon (2009) about the war memorials for the Battle of Vimy Ridge. Most of her article concerns how and why the memorials were made, but she also has an interesting discussion of the Christian symbolism found in twenty figures that make up the memorial. She says:

> For many Canadians, the First World War had been coloured by a belief that the horrifying number of deaths on the battlefield could be equated with Christ's death on the Cross and be seen as having redemptive value. The figure of 'Canada mourning her fallen sons' makes a clear reference to traditional images of the *Mater Dolorosa* (the Virgin Mary in mourning), while the figure spread-eagled on the altar below the two pylons resembles a Crucifixion scene.

The theme of Christianity is also reflected in a painting called *Sacrifice* by Charles Sims who used the image of the Crucifixion to capture the Canadian experience of war overseas and on the home front. The website goes on to tell the visitor the painting has not been exhibited since 1924, but does not explain why. The third gallery which discusses the Second World War also does not discuss religion, though it does address the holocaust and the rising anti-Semitism in Europe. The exhibit also discusses the Japanese internment between 1942 and 1947, although not a religious topic, it is a cultural issue I explore more in the next chapter. The fourth gallery which discusses

defense and peace keeping makes no mention of religion. The CMC has a small exhibit on Aboriginal Veterans online that discusses Aboriginal participation in both World Wars and the Korean conflict. There is no discussion of religion but rather how many Aboriginal veterans realised they had fought for others' freedom even though they did not have full legal rights in their Canada (Canadian Museum of Civilization 2010).

The museum ends with several memorial halls, the first, Regeneration Hall is the highest point in the museum and allows the visitor to see the Peace Tower on Parliament Hill and is meant to be a physical representation of hope for a better future. The hall contains a plaster of one of the Vimy Ridge memorial figures by Walter Allward's which, as mentioned, contains Christian symbolism. However, most interesting is in the online description where regeneration hall is described as "[s]piritual without being religious, Regeneration Hall is quiet, solemn, and memorable: it is a physical representation of hope for a more peaceful future." The Royal Canadian Legion Hall of Honour traces the history of how Canadians have remembered and commemorated the military past and as such cannot help but allude to religion, in particular ritual, by discussing burial, dance, and the erection of national monuments. However this is a small gallery and as such the analysis is somewhat surface level. There were also a number of other online exhibits on topics such as Afghanistan and NATO, but I spent less time in as they move well beyond Canada's formational period.

The small town war museum I visited and interviewed at was located in the upstairs area of the local Royal Canadian Legion building. Its 5000 artefacts cover local participation in World Wars, the Korean Conflict, and peacekeeping today. The museum

consists of three rooms where artefacts, photos, and uniforms are tightly packed into the space. The narrative tends to move chronologically from the early wars to the present day. What differentiates this museum from museums such as CWM is the personal nature of all the artefacts. Scrapbooks, written descriptions, and stories from the curator remind the visitor that these artefacts represent real people who may live just up the street.

When asked if their museum discussed religion Amy replied:

> We do in a way that is not exactly, it's not an in your face kind of thing. We prefer to have it as part of our tour, when we have, like a couple of years ago I did school tours for over 2000 students, and during the school tours I found that if, one of the examples was the heart shield Bible, if I explained the use of it, I found that almost every student as they went buy it either reached out and touched it or took a really close look at it. Then we have other artefacts around as well, scrapbooks and poems that are related in one way or another to religion or what the soldier's view of religion was.

To which Miriam added "[i]t played a big role in the lives of the solders, so you can't help but have it incorporated somewhere, and it always there somewhere in the background because it played a big role in the military; it's just there." This lead to an example of how religion permeated the everyday life of a soldier illustrated by a song called *A Soldier's Deck of Cards* about a soldier who was going to be court martialed for having a deck of cards with him at church with him on Sunday instead of a Bible. The lyrics are his explanation of what each card represented to him, and what the entire deck of cards relates to as referencing the Bible. Amy and Miriam also discussed Sunday Parade, which was another term for church, and was expected of the soldiers. Poems and prayers, particularly from the First World War are evidence of religion in the

everyday life of soldiers, as well as a heart shield Bible, passages from personal scrapbooks, and a cross in the second room where people place their poppies on Remembrance Day. All artefacts that Amy uses to try to teach people how important religion was, and still is, to the military.

When asked if they thought about Canadian identity Amy answered:

> Yes because the men and women that served their country did just that, they didn't just serve their community they served their country… Especially the veterans that were in the First World War the letters and artefacts and diaries that we have it speaks of how the men came together, or how the nursing sisters came together and they became known as the Canadians, before then they were just members of the British Empire, and by the end of the First world war they were actually proud of their country and they were proud to be Canadians, and this carried on in the next generation which was the men and women who served in the Second World War. And they became just as proud, if not prouder of what they accomplished. It continues today with Canada's armed forces today, we have artefacts that are currently being used in Afghanistan. The men and women in that area are just as proud of the fact that they might have come from New Brunswick as they are proud to be Canadians, what we try to represent is not only our own area, but the fact that these men and these women that have served so well have done it for their country.

The war museum definitely serves as a sacred space; both curators considered it so, especially for veterans and those directly affected by war. Amy also mentioned memory as a reason the museum was special and research by Cameron and Gatewood (2003) has shown the connection between places of memory and sacred space.

The first discussion of religion I expected to find in the museums was a discussion of Canadian Churches, both Catholic and Protestant and their reactions to the Canadian formative wars, either for or against. At the time of the wars, Canadian Churches were more powerful in society and, at least in English Canada, tended to

support the Canadian government's position on war. Pacifism was a minority position at best both from Anabaptists and within the larger denominations. Very few Pacifists or conscientious objectors were found among Anglicans or Presbyterians. Most Protestant churches at the time held to a theology of "just war."

A discussion of war time religion in Canada could add a deal of complexity to the understanding of war, the role churches played in the war and in nation building. Webb (2008) has outlined the connection between Canadian Protestant churches of British origin and how in the early 19th century they tended towards an imperial identity rather than a Canadian one which provided an ideological framework for the churches' role in Canada and the world. As Canadian nationalism replaced British imperialism in the late nineteenth to the early 20th century, the attitudes of the churches tended to follow suit. Protestant churches in particular embraced the idea of a distinctly Christian Canada (Airhart 1990), an ethos inclined the late 19th century and early 20th century churches to support the nation's war efforts (Heath 2010-2011). There is significant research displaying church support of Canada's various formational wars including the Boer War (G. L. Heath 2009) which argues that Canadian Protestant churches supported the war effort because a British victory in South Africa help spread justice, develop the nation of Canada unify and strengthen the British empire, and allow for more missionary activity. British Protestant churches generally supported the war, as did English Catholics (McGowan 1993) while French Catholics were generally anti-imperial and therefore anti-war (Durocher 1971). An interesting observation by Faulkner (1975) is that Catholics and Protestants had different motivations for

supporting the war. He illustrates how Canadian churches would often use the same language in support of the war, for example, to "defend Christian civilization." However, for English Protestants this meant a Christian civilization that was democratic, oriented toward individualism and freedom ... tied to ... the British Empire," but for French Catholics this meant a "Christian civilization that was hierarchical, oriented toward corporatism and authority, and ... tied to Roman Catholicism." Much of the writing on WW2 also focuses on the silence of the churches in regards to the Jewish plight in Europe. Irving and Troper (1997) argue that Canadian churches were silent regarding the plight of the Jews in Nazi Europe. But Davies and Nefsky (1997) argue that while some churches were silent, other church leaders, governing bodies, and pastors decried the treatment of the Jews, but they also note that there was no sustained outcry from the leaders or rank-and-file members. In the present day, churches do not have the same influence on Canadian society as they had prior to 1960 (Miedema 2005). Heath (2010-2011 , 69) speculates that the abandonment of the concept of a "Christian" Canada and the secularization of much of Canadian life since the 1960s has affected the churches' view of Canada's participation in wars. He argues that since many churches have abandoned their nation-building identity and have become less influential in post-Christian Canada, churches may actually be freer to critique the state's involvement in war.

An interesting gap in the discussion of religion in war museums is the minimal discussion around the faith of individual soldiers. In this area there was a distinct difference between the CWM and the local war museum. The local war museum had the

personal stories and artefacts of soldiers and those affected by war in their communities, as such, a soldier's individual faith was likely to be more obvious. Examining this in war museums can give a deeper insight into Canadian war history in two ways: first, many soldiers used their faith to help them through the struggles of war, as such, reading memoirs of the faithful should be an integral part of remembering the sacrifices made by soldiers as their stories and experiences are a valid dimension of the conflict.

Second, in some cases it explains the individual motivations for why soldiers go to war. For example, a study by Folwer (2006) of personal annotations made in the Bible of Lance Corporal Spratlin during WW1 show how Spratlin identified aspects of military service with particular Bible passages, and claims that his "annotated scripture passages tell us that at least one Canadian, and probably many more, viewed the Great War as a war in defense of others and in keeping with their deeply-held Christian beliefs." Another example is in the writings of Honorary Captain Waldo E. L. Smith who was a United Church minister during the Second World War who saw the war as a spiritual struggle between good and evil. He analyses the language of Christian militarism where Smith refers to himself as the "sword of the Lord" and saw military action as "faithful service of Christian individuals." He believed the role of chaplains was to help soldiers lead a good Christian life so that God would come to their aid in the war (Dueck 2006). Although war museums often have a chaplain's kit among their artefacts, they rarely discuss the role or development of Chaplaincy in the military. It was interesting to find that there was no sustained discussion of the role of chaplains in

the military in the war museums as there has been a fair amount of research down about chaplains, their role in the everyday life of soldiers (Crerar 1995).[52]

One other way a discussion of Canadian churches and the war effort is important is that many of the women's efforts during the war occurred in the context of churches. Roth (1992) gives the example of how some Mennonite women would assist soldiers through sewing circles, food canning, and other practical activities. It also reminds visitors of women who went overseas with religious orders and women who faced issues at home such as working in non-traditional jobs, having their husbands overseas, and living on wartime rations.

The next area I expected to find religion in the war museum was in the Christian symbolism present in memorials and rituals of remembrance. As mentioned above, these symbols were present but other than the one essay by Vance (1996), they are not deeply analyzed. Again, looking at the Christian aspects of memorialisation can give the visitor two insights into the Canadian identity. First, as argued by Vance (1996), there is a Protestant hegemony concerning dialogue about war and in memorials about war. In particular, Vance argues that the text and iconography of stained glass windows commemorating the war indicates that the traditional ideals of sacrifice and glory were

[52] See also Fowler, Albert. Peacetime Padres: Canadian Protestant Military Chaplains, 1945–1995. St. Catharines: Vanwell, 1996.; Murdoch, Benedict J. The Red Vineyard. Wexford, Ireland: John English, 1949. (First published in Canada in 1928.); Ogle, R. J. The Faculties of Canadian Military Chaplains: A Commentary on the Faculty Sheet of December, 1955 and the Directives for Holy Week Promulgated March 14, 1956. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1956.; O'Gorman, John Robert. Soldiers of Christ: In Memoriam. Toronto: Extension Print, 1936. Rowland, Barry D. The Padre. Scarborough, ON: Consolidated Amethyst, 1982. ; Scott, Frederick George. The Great War as I Saw It. Toronto: F. D. Goodchild, 1922. Reprinted, Vancouver: Clarke and Stuart, 1934.; Smith, Waldo E. L. What Time the Tempest: An Army Chaplain's Story. Toronto: Ryerson, 1953.; Steven, Walter T. In This Sign. Toronto: Ryerson, 1948.; Wilmot, Laurence. Through the Hitler Line: Memoirs of an Infantry Chaplain. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2003.; For An extended annotated bibliography of this and other sources see (G. L. Heath 2010-2011)

still present after the war and, despite the real horrors of war, perpetuated the idea that the war had been just and right. Second, understanding the Christian hegemony of war remembrance and ideology might help other people understand why some groups do not relate to the narrative of participation in war as a part of their national identity, and how it may exclude some religious groups. For example, many Muslims are uncomfortable with iconography that involves human beings and thus many feel excluded from Remembrance Day ceremonies as they often take place at monuments with images of humans.

The final area I expected to find allusions to religion in war museums was through the development or support of a Canadian civil religion. Bellah (1967, 3) defines civil religion as a "public, religious dimension ... expressed in a set of shared religious beliefs, symbols, and rituals".[53] Among other things, a civil religion includes: the use of nationalist symbols in ritualized or religious ways, a belief that "God" has a special plan or protection for your country, the creation of a "national myth" in which historical figures play major roles, themes of death sacrifice in rhetoric about the nation, the existence of national sacred sites such as a "tomb of the unknown soldier" or war memorials, and the integration of societal institutions such as family or community into the civil religion, for example, school Remembrance Day assemblies.

Kim (1993) has argued that Canada has no civil religion because of a "lack of revolutionary experience, the long history of special ties of English Canadians with

[53] For further discussion on civil religion, see Bellah and Hammond, 1980; Gehrig, 1981; Hammond, 1976; Richey and Jones, 1974; West, 1980. For arguments that question the very existence of civil religion, see Fenn, 1976

England and English symbols of civil religion, and the existence of a large province that is linguistically, ethnically, and religiously distinct from the rest of Canada." As well, according to Lipset (1990, 1-2) Canada has "no inspired national leaders, no ideologists." I have to disagree with Kim and Lipset that there is no Canadian Civil religion. Canadian civil religion may be more understated, but it still exists, and is evidenced in war museums. Perhaps it has not permeated the discourse of Canadian life to the extent American civil religion has, but there are still some civil religious aspects at least in the official government discourse of the CWM.

Greenberg (2008) reminds us that national war museums are built to glorify victory but also acknowledge the human cost of war and in countries with large immigrant populations, such as Canada, the exhibitions of national war museums are alien to large segments of the population. Also, in countries such as Canada divided by different responses to war either by religious or ethnic groups, the histories represented in war museums often come across as partisan. However, Greenberg (2008, 183) argues that the CWM is "the most important element in the recent institutionalization of a Canadian identity that is inseparable from the nation's military history. The scale and location of the new museum, so close to the Parliament Buildings, serve as advocates for the importance of Canada's military in the national psyche…" Using the list of aspects of a civil religion outlined above we can argue, based on the marrying of Canadian identity and Canadian war history that a civil religion does indeed exist in Canada, or is at least in development. The use of Remembrance Day and its associated rituals make use of the nationalist symbol of war in Canada ritualized.

The stories of soldiers and churches who use Christianity to justify war indicate that there are some who believe "God" has a special plan for Canada. The early Canadian wars are considered formational and there are heroes, though they are flawed and profoundly human in the Canadian context, Wolfe and Montcalm for example. The Christian themes of death and sacrifice that are pervasive in our memorial imagery create a rhetoric about the Canadian national character. According to Greenberg (2008, 194) these myths are sacred to the point where deconstructing them is discouraged. As she says "There has been much deconstruction of the myth of the Canadian landscape and its link to Canadian identity, however, similar deconstruction does not seem to occur for the myth of Canadian military participation and heroism." The CWM is situated near four other memorializing projects. The National War Memorial, Confederation Square, The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and the Peacekeeping Monument, and the CWM are national sacred sites. One need only see the public outcry that occurs if one of those sites is tagged with graffiti or disrespected in some other way to be sure these are indeed sacred sites for the public. Finally schools, government and many Canadian businesses and Churches are all societal institutions that participate in Canadian Remembrance Day ceremonies.

Although smaller museums participate in this narrative, most museums were unaware of the idea of civil religion, which is understandable as it is a fairly academic theory rarely discussed in the non-academic world. The desire of the smaller museum I interviewed was to tell a similar national story, but with a regional context that ties the sacrifices of the smaller community into the larger Canadian narrative. During the

interview, the theme of sacrifice and honouring the sacrifice of soldiers came up repeatedly. As a section from the interview with Amy and Miriam Illustrates:

> Miriam: I visited the national war museum in Ottawa, and I have been to other museums and it's almost like civil religion in the way that there is something ties museums together, and when you walk in, you are transported right back in time, the smell of the artefacts, and just looking at them, it's I don't know. A national myth, I am not sure, but there is kind of a similarity between the museums that isn't individual to each museum, but I can't really explain it.
>
> Shelly: Is it like they are all telling the same story but with a regional bent?
>
> Miriam: Yeah, exactly, that is why I find this museum so interesting because it is just this region, and it's a small community, and families have their own stories and it's all incorporated here. I think there is a theme almost. It makes me feel good when I go to museums; there is something there.
>
> Shelly: One of the things I have noticed about NB is the museums are very NB focused, in here the word Canada seems t be more prevalent, have you noticed a similar trend.
>
> Amy: I went to one in Gaugetown, and I found that it was quite focused on the NB regiments and their histories, I find what we tend to do is to try to build a story on every artefact that comes our way, if we possibly can, and try to relate it to a person from our region that, it's going to tell a story, when you come to visit and you pick something up and bring it to one of us and say "Can you tell me what this is" we can explain to you how it came to us, what we found about it, how it was used, when it was used, we might even be able to relate the artefact to the picture of the veteran on the wall or something like this, and when visitors leave, we hope that they take with them the memory that I can remember what she or he said about Mr. Smith whose picture is on our wall, and they used that lighter in the second world war. Perhaps the gentleman or lady was never overseas, but they used it for a certain purpose, and that builds a little bit of respect towards that aspect of that persons history so that somewhere down the road that little bit of information is going to be repeated, hopefully correctly.

Religion in Everyday Life

It is important to look beyond the large museums that receive so much attention to the local museums that work within Canada's smaller urban and rural communities. As Macdonald (2003, 4) says about local or community museums, not all museums are national, but to some extent, all these museums still play into the model of identity articulated by national museums, but the community museums do this in a more localised way.

> Thus, metropolitan areas generally sought to establish museums on very similar lines to those of national museums, each city thus effectively claiming for itself an identity - and a type of mastery - analogous to that of the national museum. At the same time, however, metropolitan museums were not merely small-scale nationals - they also had their own concerns and institutional dynamics.

Luke (2002, xxiv) argues that we must view all museums as "sites of finely structured normative argument and artfully staged cultural normalization." By participating in creating a national identity, even with a local flair, community museums generally contribute to this normalization rather than challenge it. "Creating citizens is, to a significant degree, a process of institutionally organised impersonation. Each nation must develop a set of narratives for the political personality that imperfectly embodies the values and practices of its nationhood" (Luke 2002, 13).

The smaller size of these museums should not lure us into thinking that they are somehow less influential or that the power dynamics within them are any less complex. Luke (2002, xv) reminds us that as educational institutions, museums possess a power to shape collective values and social understandings in a decisively important fashion,

but he does not limit this power only to large national museums. Instead, he argues that in small town museums it is easier to see how political the personal can be, or why the personal can never be easily divorced from the political in the racial, class and economic conflicts of its recently settled frontier society (Luke 2002, xvi). The emotional proximity of the narrative in a community to members of the community and their ancestors creates a level of personal involvement often absent from larger museums. Exhibits discussing difficult or controversial events from the past either ancient or recent may still resonate with community members.

Very little has been written about the development of local museums in Canada. Tivy's (2006) thesis on local history museums in Ontario provides some context, but even many of her sources were drawn from information in the United States. She says that beginning in 1879, local history museums in Ontario developed largely from the energies of local historical societies bent on collecting the past. Local museums followed the same ebbs and flows as all museums in Canada with growth after the First World War, decline during the depression, and growth again after the Second World War until Canada's Centennial. According to Tivy, today half of Ontario's community museums receive subsidies for their operations from the Province of Ontario. Most of the history museums in Ontario were owned by historical societies when they were created. However, ownership of most local museums in Ontario has transferred to municipalities, non-profit organizations including historical societies, conservation authorities, and Indian Band Councils, though the latter. This history is specific to Ontario, and no similar research exists for the other provinces or territories.

There are a plethora of local history museums in Canada, far too many for me to have visited or conducted interviews at all of them. As such, this section will focus only on museums that I have extensive experience with either through interviews or personal connections. Likewise, these museums range from those that are quite large and cover a broad subject area, such as those in Montreal, St. John's, and Vancouver, to some very small museums from Collingwood, and small town Alberta. The information in this section is drawn from visits to the museums, the interviews, and museums' websites. A discussion of religion should have appeared in these museums in the context of contributions of their region to the creation of Canada, the roles of churches in forming the towns, and the lives and activities of significant individuals.

When the curators of regional museums were asked if they discussed their communities' place within the larger narrative of Canadian identity, the answers were mixed. Three curators said their museums were more concerned with reflecting the regional identity. A museum on the East coast was an interesting case as most of their permanent collection was from before Canada's creation, as such, they rarely addressed Canadian identity simply because of a lack of objects. A lack of objects was also a concern for Brian, his argument was that because the museum is considered one of the most trustworthy institutions by the Canadian public, he did not want to abuse that trust by telling stories that could not be reflected in his collections.

> To get back to this relationship within Canada or our place in Canadian history in a way it's by exclusion because we don't represent Canadian history on a greater whole, because we're telling the stories we have, not what we don't have. We try to ensure rather, that when those national stories are being told at

> national institutions, that New Brunswick's place is being represented.

The most interesting element of the responses to this question was that religion was never brought up as a factor in the communities' contribution to Canada. This could be because of a lack of objects around which to tell that aspect of the story, but it does imply that the Canadian identity does not necessarily have a religious aspect other than the assumed mainline Christian hegemony. Instead of religion, the two curators who did think about their communities' contributions to Canadian identity focused on the military contributions of local regiments or industry such as logging, shipbuilding, or the CPR. This was also the case in the museums I visited without interviewing. For example, the Collingwood museum had a huge collection about the Shipyards and talked about their role in creating boats for industry and for the military. The only independent mention of religion came from Cheryl who when asked about identity said:

> I think about it a lot. If we are consulting with different ethnic or cultural groups about the exhibitions, they often bring issues about identity to the table. They are looking to give a richer sense of their particular stories -- the sense of where they fit in the story of *the city*, to literally claim a chunk of that storyline for themselves or their ancestors. People need to understand their stories and to have them recognised by the larger society. The *museum* is not technically *the City's* museum (we are a private, non-profit) but it is often perceived that way. So it is very important what stories are included in our exhibitions and programs. This is perceived as a place where story receive official acknowledgment, the civil religion is articulated.

It is interesting that her definition of civil religion does not mention military, but instead talks about the recognition of diverse stories and ownership of the stories for groups and their ancestors.

When discussing their local community history without the Canadian context, the role of religion in the communities' identity was much easier to articulate, usually taking the form of a history of the local churches. To investigate if churches or other local religious groups were talked about in the museum, I asked the curators if there were particular religious institutions or ethnic communities that helped found the city, and how they were discussed in the museum. Relevant answers also came up independently when I asked about the connection between religion and culture, or the necessity of understanding a regions religious history in order to also understand the social history. One curator independently mentioned the Aboriginal community in her area and the objects related to them that her museum had on display. The lack of mention of Aboriginal peoples may imply that they are often not seen as a founding nation. I did not delve deeper to find why they were not mentioned. When discussing Acadians and loyalists in the museums in New Brunswick, it was interesting that their religion was assumed—Acadians were Catholic and loyalists were Anglican. However, the same curator was also careful to iterate how powerful the religious communities were, and argued that religion was often a primary identity, especially for Catholics. The power of the Catholic Church was also a theme in a Northern New Brunswick Museum. While Matthew's museum did not really display church history, he and his assistant ran a series of cemetery tours every summer where he discussed religious symbolism on the tombstones. He also told the story of a powerful Catholic priest who would meddle in all areas of town life from regulating how children dressed to involving himself in union negotiations because of the role of the church in the hospital.

Matthew also told an interesting story on the tour of how three boys were among the first to sign up for military service in 1939 and the local church had a special service for them and everybody in the congregation shook their hands. This is an interesting story of church support for military activities discussed in the previous section.

The most detailed and organised discussion I saw of churches was from a small regional museum in Alberta which had a series of panels where each local church was profiled with a list of important dates and significant person associated with that church. It was interesting listening to Cheryl claim that her museum only discussed religion indirectly then describe her exhibit in the following way:

> It would be indirectly, because our church exhibit, as you saw, was mainly factual, but certainly it does point out the areas where the people were interested in particular religion, and therein is a tale about getting it started and building better buildings, they usually started in someone's home and then it progressed to another building and so we have sort traced their path as they increased. Also, we have the early history of missionaries here, so we had Rundell ... and we had the early priest Father McComb and two or three others, so there is a very early history here as well, and we try touch that to an exhibit. We have a lot of churches in the area, so we address religion in a sort of discussion not debating way.

This exhibit was probably the most detailed for discussing the churches role in the region's history as it included stories about Catholics being probably the first religious institution, followed by the United Church which was Methodist and Presbyterian, as well as some of the tension within the Presbyterian Church when the United Church was created. It seems that at least two curators considered discussing religion directly to be a confessional discussion.

In most small town museums, the discussion of religion is limited to a display of artefacts from local churches that either renovated or are no longer in existence including: stained glass windows, statuary, and ceremonial or liturgical objects. A museum in Saskatchewan claimed to use religious objects to supplement other important stories, for example, Theresa's museum has a window from a local Presbyterian Church that was salvaged from a cyclone in 1912. Cheryl said that while her exhibits discuss religion indirectly and occasionally directly, the subject does come up, though maybe not as strongly. "Religion does show up, if you take that lens to the city's history exhibits, you can see it as a presence." In her town, the CPR is considered the founding institution; however in the "CPR people were involved in the Presbyterian Church. In terms of the movers and shakers and the power centre of the city, they tended to go to Saint Andrew's Wesleyan. Historically you found some of the movers and shakers, and more of the writers and artists with aesthetic ambitions at the Anglican Church." Finally, a museum in the Yukon did not yet discuss religion in their exhibits, but had plans to include it in the future by discussing churches as one of the many institutions important in shaping the town.

The final way these small museums talk about religion is in the context of significant individuals from their communities. The expectation was that the stories of significant individuals would be likely to at least mention the religious affiliation of that individual. In New Brunswick, an exhibit about a man named Alexander Gibson (known locally as Boss Gibson) focused mainly on his business and economic contributions to the region. The exhibit on the boss made clear that he was a devout Irish Methodist,

who was so committed to his faith that he built a Church building and forbade any alcohol in the town where he lived and worked. Three museums did have exhibits on influential Canadian figures. The small museum in Alberta had an exhibit on David Thomson, who some consider a Canadian hero who mapped over 3.9 million square kilometres of North America, more than Lewis and Clarke. While he was not originally from the area, he did map much of it. He is an interesting character, though the exhibit did not discuss whether or not he was religious. Another museum on the east coast discussed Joseph Howe, the father of freedom of the press, but also does not mention his religion. Finally, one museum in Saskatchewan discussed Louis Riel, despite him being a very controversial figure at the time; again, I could not find a reference to his Catholicism.

The expectation at the outset of this research was that religion would be a common topic of discussion. However, upon being immersed in these museums and their communities it began to make sense why small town museums do not always discuss religion as a distinct topic. First, as mentioned already, museums can only tell stories about the objects they have. As Brian mentioned, using an object in a museum creates a large burden upon that object, and it is not fair to force that object to stand for more than its original use intended. There has been a lot of research about the role objects, particularly sacred objects play in museums. First, an object is often required to transcend cultural differences (Seip 1999) these differences can be across space, time or both. In the case of local history museums, an object from the past must be recontextualised in the present. Second, the museum has the authority and power "to

arbitrate upon material culture, to decide what is "valuable" or "interesting" and what is not, to endeavour to add the former to the museum's holdings, and to construct it into meaningful patterns" (Pearce 1999). If a museum has religious or liturgical objects from a period and decides not to display them, they are making a statement about the value of religious objects in telling a particular story. Third, when objects become artefacts in a museum their function changes, what once was probably a utilitarian object now must be symbolic, aesthetic, and/or educational (Basalla 1982). Branham (1994/1995) agrees with this saying that

> [t]he museum setting, almost by definition, displays ritual objects out of context, thereby stripping them of circumstance and purging them of original function and significance. This tendency, on the part of the museum, to decontextualise works of art deprives liturgical objects of the reciprocal power to define and give meaning to the space that surrounds them.

To put it more bluntly, a religious object in a religious building is still invested with its sacred power, and the power to help define the space it is in. In a museum, the power of definition lies with the museum and not the object. The curator can decide to use the religious object for any number of purposes: to illustrate a point about history, to fill a blank space, to describe an aesthetic quality. All of these purposes, though important, decontextualise the object from its original story.

On the topic of objects, I asked community museums about objects that are considered sacred to the community, where I allowed the museum to interpret the question with sacred in quotations thereby permitting a secular understanding of the term. What I referred to as "sacred" objects have also appeared in the literature as "relics" (Burcaw 1997), "association objects" (Hindle 1978), "loved objects" (Ahuvia

2005), “memorabilia,” “icons,” and “numinous objects” (Maines and Glynn 1993). Maines and Glynn argue that in all of these words, the assumption is that the objects “are ambiguous and often controversial components of history museum collections. The significance of these artefacts is psychological rather than material; it is as if they are, to borrow a term from Roman paganism, inhabited by a numen or spirit that calls forth in many of us a reaction of awe and reverence.” They describe these objects as the ones museums collect, not necessarily because of aesthetic merit or historical authenticity, but for their association, real or imagined, with some person, place, or event endowed with special sociocultural magic. Much research has gone into the connection of objects to things, some of the most interesting of which has occurred in consumer research. Belk’s (1988) assertion “That we are what we have” is indicative of his argument that possessions as a part of the self are important. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) have argued that symbolic objects play an important role in identity creation. According to Ahuvia (2005) such objects “serve as indexical mementos of key events or relationships in the life narrative, help resolve identity conflicts, and tend to be tightly embedded in a rich symbolic network of associations.” He further argues that objects steeped in symbolism are often are often the most intensely integrated into the sense of identity. Communal objects, such as flags, can affirm group identities as they become a part of the extended self to the extent that the individual identifies with the group being represented by that object, and the item is important to the group identity.

The curators' answers to inquiries about such objects elicited several interesting results. It was notable that none of the objects mentioned in the regional museums were religious. Two responses showed the importance opinions of the curators in interpreting objects. The first was from Sarah who said maybe some of the artefacts related to Joseph Howe would draw out some emotional responses, but she referred to it as "just a regular artefact." When I probed further she explained that she had never seen the old collection that had been taken down just before she was hired saying: "[w]ell it is kind of weird what people remember from the old building. They are not really anything really old or special, but there were these models of different buildings in the area that aren't here anymore, and that is something I always hear about. People really were interested in those." It is possible here that her position as a new curator has made it such that Sarah has not developed the same relationship with these objects as the people who have lived in the area for a long time. However, as she regularly consults members of the community, this gap will eventually be filled in. The second came from Matthew and Stephanie who said that a stitching sampler in their collection that tends to be mentioned in the visitor cards may be more important to the community because they took such great pride in showing it. This situation is evidence of the recontextualization of objects and the power of the museum in deciding what is important or valuable. The sampler may have no inherent qualities that identify it to the visitor as special, but its position in the museum as an object of value has transformed both the meaning and the purpose of the object. Other objects included military artefacts, a sign from a popular local nightclub, artefacts from a local Masonic

lodge, and a very old Clovis Point.[54] While none of these objects are religious in nature, they are special and important to the community, and to some extent become signifiers of identity. For example, the military artefacts use the narrative of service to tie the local community into the larger narrative of war and identity discussed earlier.

In smaller museums there seems to be a trend, where the artefacts of a community church are displayed, but little analysis goes into what role the church played in the daily lives of the residents. Orsi (1997) makes the argument that "'the social' is the necessary dialectical partner of 'the religious.'" Orsi believes scholars have spent too long separating religion from the rest of life to study it, instead of acknowledging that many of the changes that have occurred in religious practice came about because of so-called secular events such as mass migrations, or poor factory conditions. The messiness of religion makes it difficult to separate from everyday life, and as shown already, the museum is an institution of categories and separations. As such, I do not expect that museums as they are understood now will ever be able to explain the complexities of the role religion played in everyday life. Nor do I expect religion to be a primary lens in museums. However, if museums are going to either tell the stories of the past or recreate the past, the embeddedness of religion in everyday life for early Canadians, both from an institutional and an individual perspective, is critical to create a fuller understanding of history.

Cameron (2000) also agrees that the museum as it exists today will never be able to be a completely open forum because of its limited nature; instead he argues that

[54] A stone projectile from around 10 000 years ago.

this sort of multi-facetted dialogue is most likely to occur in cyberspace. An online exhibit called *Urban life through two lenses*[55] is approaching a more multi-dialectical interpretation of the past. This exhibit featured photographs from the late 1800s of Montreal that were recreated by a photographer in 2001. The pairs of photos were then placed beside each other. Holding your mouse over the photo produced sounds of the scene from the respective time periods and between the photos were games, an interactive quiz, and a link to related historical documents.

Figure 1: Urban Life Through Two Lenses

Most telling was the commentary available at the bottom of the screen. The visitor could choose to read three different perspectives on the photograph. For example, two photos of the Notre Dame de Bon-Secours Chapel were commented on by historians Joanne Burgess and Gilles Lauzon who said:

[55] http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/dq/duos.php?langue=1andduo=5

> A Place of Pilgrimage since the 17th century, it later became a place of worship for Irish Catholics and, in 1848, was given official status as a pilgrimage chapel. From 1886 to 1894, radical changes were made to the church: new frescoes inside, substantial additions and monumental sculptures on the outside. This work was a reflection of the wave of religious zeal that swept the country at the end of the century. This spiritual fervour perhaps helped the protestant and Catholic communities to deal with the upheaval in human values caused by industrialization, but it is also true that the Catholic religion lends itself particularly well to expressions of collective devotion such as pilgrimages.

This dialogue allows a glimpse into the role the chapel played in dealing with the realities of life. As Orsi (1997) points out, changes in the secular world caused changes in religious world, precisely because the two were so interconnected. Likewise, museologist Nicole Vallières says about the photos:

> The city of a hundred spires and a thousand and one faithful. When the church bells ring out, punctuating the hours and announcing specific celebrations, the Church makes people mindful of its existence. For some, the spires define the landscape of the city. Fervent believers flock into the parish churches and other places of worship that, like the Bonsecours Chapel, are associated with specific times or events. All of these people come together on their knees, calling upon the sacred heart, the Virgin Mary and all the saints of Heaven.

These two particular lenses both discuss religion, but a website such as this could also include the views of geographers discussing how the chapel's position is evidence of changes in the physical geography of Montreal, An Aboriginal person could comment on the relationship between the founder of the Chapel, Marguerite Bourgeoys, and the Aboriginal peoples of the area. In short, an almost endless number of viewpoints could be made available for a visitor to explore.

Mainline Christianity

In this section I will discuss the display of mainline Christianity in museums. I am uncomfortable with the term mainline Christianity as it supports a hegemonic view of what Christianity should be. However, it is a useful tool to discuss some of the larger foundational denominations of Canada as opposed to some of the later forms of Christianity that came to Canada. This section moves away from telling only the story of Christianity in context of contact and nation-making from the perspective of more general museums, and moves to look at the story of Christianity in Canada from a decidedly confessional perspective. The churches I consider mainline include Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, The United Church of Canada, Lutheran and Baptist. According to Bramadat and Seljak (2008) these were considered the more respectable Christian communities in Canada that received special recognition from the government, and were directly involved in other Canadian institutions such as education, the military, the prison system, and other federal institutions. In terms of population, there are 12 793 125 Roman Catholics in Canada and 8 654 845 Protestants (Statistics Canada 2010). I am excluding more Evangelical denominations such as Pentecostals and non-denominational Evangelical Churches, simply because there are no museums representing these groups. There are approximately forty church related museums in Canada, though this number does not include all the small churches that are registered as historic sites or have small displays on their premises. This section begins by looking at two exhibits that discuss Christianity as a general topic. *Anno Domini: Jesus and the History of Western Civilization* and *Under the Sign of the Cross: Creative Expressions of*

Christianity in Canada were both well-received exhibits focusing exclusively on Christianity in much respected general interest museums (Glenbow and the CMC). Next, I will examine two Catholic museums that discuss the stories of religious communities and their founders. Next I will examine two historic churches in Canada that have identified themselves as museums. I will end with a discussion of the mainline denominational museums that will set the stage for the next section of Alternative discourses. Across Canada there are several archives dedicated to the histories of specific denominations in Canada which fell outside the scope of this research because of their archival mission, and one physical museum dedicated to Presbyterian history[56] that was created after I began this research began.

Christianity in Canada

The exhibit *Under the Sign of the Cross: Creative Expressions of Christianity in Canada* at the CMC used nine different "zones" arranged in the shape of a cross, to illustrate "the impact of Christianity on Canada through more than a hundred and thirty religious works, including statues, models, miniatures, stamps, bibles, war art, and music" (CMC 1999b). This exhibit ran before this thesis was conceived, but it should still be discussed as there have been so few exhibits of this sort in Canada. In his review of the exhibition James Opp (2001) stated that it was "encouraging that a national public institution has taken upon itself to examine the material artefacts of religion" especially considering recent work that has explored the issue of religion and public life. However, he found the exhibit far from satisfactory, as an examination of the

[56] http://www.presbyterianmuseum.ca/index.html

"impact of Christianity on Canada" apparently did not entail a serious consideration of church history.

His major critique of the exhibit is that the curators focused more on aesthetics than history, and did not reconstruct the complex interplay between beliefs and the visible manifestations of religion that is characteristic of Christianity's relationship with Canada. According to Opp, the assumption of those creating the exhibit was "that since Christianity had been an important factor in Canada's past culture, and the CMC was the collector of Canadian cultural heritage, the "impact" of Christianity would be found in microcosm by pulling together objects from the collection deemed to be of a religious nature." By only pulling from the CMC's limited collections, the objects never had a chance to create a narrative that was representative of the impact of Christianity on all of Canada.

The exhibit began with a family tree tracing the development of the different sects of Christianity; however a series of mistakes, both major and minor, showed that the museum was not really interested in accurate research concerning religious history. The second zone included a late 19th or early 20th century Québécois wayside cross which was meant to mark the area as sacred space, but the artefacts were almost never discussed in the context of religious history. The next section, "*To See and Worship God*," included six large, almost life-sized statues in "coffins of plexiglass" (Opp 2001) including a statue of the Virgin Mary and a limestone Saint George brought back as booty from WW1. These statues were further evidence that the museum was not focusing on lived religion in history. As Opp critiques:

> these objects that once graced the interior and exteriors of many different sacred spaces were suspended in time. Their history remained noticeably unexplained, and the exhibit offered no sense of how these material objects that once gazed upon worshippers from pedestals and walls played a role in the cultural practice of faith. Instead, the text of most of the descriptions relayed information about the individual depicted, rather than how the representation was understood.

Here Opp is confirming what I have said about lived religion and practice. An exhibit claiming to discuss the impact of Christianity on Canadian history does a disservice to the topic if they do not discuss what these religious artefacts meant to people in their everyday life.

The fourth zone, "*Models of Faith*," included postage stamps, mosaics, birdhouse churches, a wooden crucifix installed within a ketchup bottle, a 19th century church-shaped sugar mould and a wooden wall niche that served as a home communion set. As Opp points out, to a historian of religion these artefacts would be fascinating tools for examining the practise of religion in everyday life, but this was not the analysis chosen by the CMC. The fifth zone, "*To Hear the Word of the Lord*," consisted of a series of sound booths where the visitor could listen to a variety of auditory traditions. Opp claims here that the connection of the music to Canadian history was not always clear. The final zone, "*Christians at War and on the Battlefield*," was historically grouped, concentrating on the two world wars, therefore felt more cohesive. The objects were more closely related to one another, and were more indicative of both historical practise, and what the objects meant to those associated with them.

In contrast to U*nder the Sign* is *Anno Domini: Jesus Through the Centuries* now hosted on the VMC.[57] Also for the bi-centennial of Christianity, *Anno Domini* set out to understand Jesus as the central figure in the formation of Western culture. Based on the books *Jesus Through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985) and *The Illustrated Jesus Through the Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) by Jaroslav Pelikan, the exhibit uses depictions of Jesus from around the world to discuss the impact of Jesus within eighteen themes. These themes were: Jesus, The Jew; Jesus, The Turning Point in History; Jesus, The Light of the Gentiles; Jesus, The King of Kings; The Cosmic Christ; Jesus, The Son of Man; Jesus, The True Image; Christ Crucified; The Monk Who Rules the World; The Bridegroom of the Soul; The Divine and Human Model; The Universal Man; Jesus, The Mirror of the Eternal; Jesus, The Prince of Peace in a World of War; The Teacher of Common Sense; Jesus, The Poet of the Spirit; Jesus, The Liberator; and Jesus, The Man Who belongs to the World.

[57] http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Annodomini/introduction-en.html

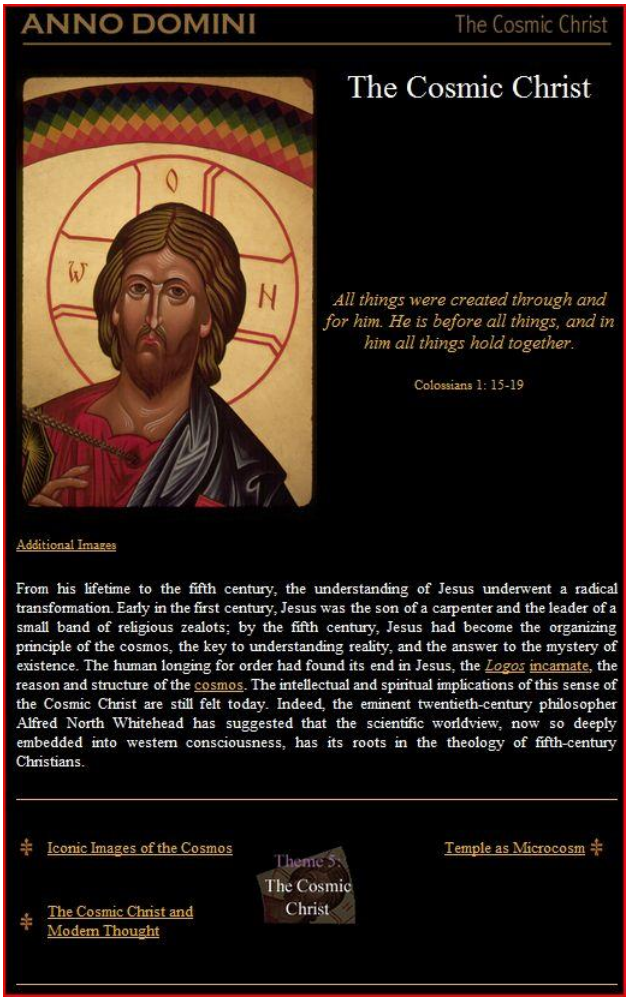


Figure 2: Anno Domini

This exhibit also occurred before I was working on this project, but it still exists online. The opening page allows the visitor to click on any of the eighteen themes and they will be brought to a page such as the one illustrated in figure 2. The visitor can click through a variety of links to explore more information about the subject. All the pages include a mix of art, famous texts and discussion from the curator.

Mulder (2007) analysed this exhibit explaining that the curator, Professor David Goa started with three assumptions: First, that tradition is the living faith of the dead. Traditionalism the dead faith of the living. Second, that Jesus Christ is too important to

leave to the theologians and the Church. Third, regardless of personal beliefs about Jesus, he has been the dominant figure in the history of western culture for almost two millennia. The western calendar is based on his death and millions use his name to curse and his name to pray every day. These three statements acknowledge the historical and religious significance of Christ as well as placing him in a position of importance for western secularised culture. Mulder argues that by using the themes listed above the gallery presented things, rather than chronologically, in such a way that paradoxical juxtapositions could be seen and understood by the lay visitor. Putting modern next to ancient, secular next to sacred, abstract next to realist created a unified picture of the Jesus figure. This exhibit made explicit attempts to examine Jesus in both a Jewish and Muslim context as he is a figure, however contested, in both those religions. One of the goals of the exhibit was interfaith dialogue, so to create these sections of the exhibit he worked closely with the Jewish and Muslim communities in Edmonton.

Most of the religious museums in Canada are associated with Catholicism in some way. Two interviews were with workers at museums that focused on the charismatic founders of Catholic communities. The first museum in Saskatchewan is housed at a school with archives and a museum that has two purposes to tell the history of the school Notre Dame, Our Lady, and the history of Father Murray. The second is in Quebec and works in the Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours Chapel where the religious order of nuns The Congregation de Notre Dame and the founder Marguerite Bourgeoys are discussed. In both these museums, there is a separate chapel building

that is still considered a part of the museum. The museum in Saskatchewan contains a collection of Rare Books, a Parthenon Frieze, the Rex Beach Repository, 4000 selected Lane Hall library books, the Nicholas de Grandmaison Art Portrait collection, a piece of the Berlin Wall that was donated to the College in 1990, as well as a series of other artefacts collected by Father Murray over the years.

When interviewing Adam he readily admitted that the museum talks about religion, but what surprised me was that it also talked about other religions as the campus associated with the museum contained a building known as the Tower of God, "dedicated to the three great world religions of Judaism, Islam and Christianity." Apparently Father Murphy felt it important that people "recognise the spiritual and your religion was your own affair." Adam did not talk much about identity or the relationship of the Catholic community in larger Canada. However, he mentioned that on Remembrance Day the relevant artefacts in the museum are taken out and set up in the Church. This also happens if they are having a special service for a fallen soldier, which they did in 2008 when a former graduate of their school died in Afghanistan. The tie between the military and the church as a signifier of Canadian identity is something that should be explored more. His response to a question about sacred space was also interesting considering that Catholicism tends to have a delineated understanding of sacred space.

> I find some people, for example, consider sacred as almost untouchable or unapproachable, it is special but I have got to stay away from it or stay outside of it, I won't trample on sacred ground, I don't see it that way. I see there is a sacredness about all of this, about the campus, but it is to be embraced, it is not

> something that, it is to be recognised and stare around the borders of it.

The Marguerite Bourgeoys Museum is associated with the oldest chapel in Montreal, the Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours chapel. The current chapel, built in 1771, was built over the ruins of the first stone chapel of pilgrimage to Mary whose foundations were recently uncovered in an archaeological dig. Early on, the chapel became the home of the English speaking community and eventually became known as the sailor's church because of its proximity to the port and the carved replicas of sailing ships hang from the ceiling. Most importantly, the chapel also contains the remains of Marguerite Bourgeoys, Canada's first female saint, in the left side-altar below the statue of Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours. The museum sits adjacent to the chapel tells the history of old Montreal, the Chapel and Marguerite Bourgeoys. Underneath the museum are a crypt and an archaeological dig open to the public.

At this museum I interviewed Judy, who also happened to be a sister in the Congregation de Notre Dame. In response to the questions about religion in her museum, Judy said:

> Since part of it is a chapel that still in operation and since Marguerite Bourgeoys is a canonised saint and religious figure then yes, very much so. And our temporary exhibits also are supposed to be in keeping with the actual mission of the chapel, which is first of all a pastoral mission, and a mission of education and it includes preservation of the material heritage, but it is all supposed to be in service of the spiritual heritage.

This is the only museum that claimed to have any sort of pastoral mission, all the other museums, even ones about religious groups, were more interested in the history of their group than fulfilling spiritual needs. Also, the chapel is an official pilgrimage site,

so in the analysis I will discuss the fluidity of sacred space that is a part of the chapel and the museum and the fluid line between tourist and pilgrim. Judy's personal understanding of sacred space was also confessional. She stated: "[t]hat it is a place where there can be an encounter with God, so I suppose the whole earth is sacred in that sense, but there are some places that are better than others that makes it easier." To explain however she paraphrases Thomas à Becket saying: "first of all and the sacred space that has been created from the blood of martyrs, but wherever a saint has dwelled, wherever they are even if people come and even if armies march over it, even if tourists with guide books, there will always be something sacred there."[58] Finally, she did not spend too long discussing identity except to say that they were always careful to have activities in the chapel that were consistent with a Catholic identity. Secular or overly evangelical concerts generally were not permitted in the chapel. Also, although she never specifically mentioned identity, Judy discussed how much the chapel meant to the sisters of the Congregation de Notre Dame, and to the English speaking community in Montreal, both of which she claimed loved the chapel. And as discussed above, we see how loved objects can play an important role in identity formation. The fact that this loved object is a Catholic chapel means that for the people who love the Chapel, the Catholic religion is an important aspect of their identity.

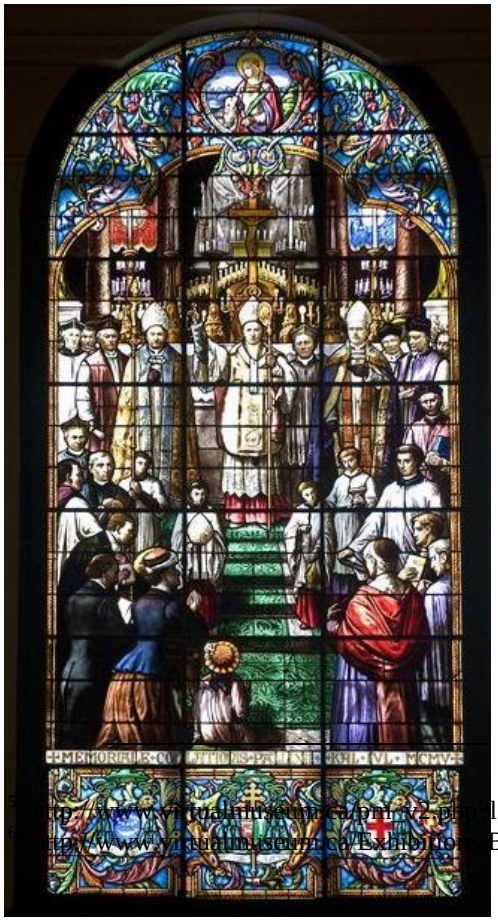
---

[58] This quote is actually from T.S. Eliot's murder in the Cathedral (1935). The actual quote is:
Wherever a saint has dwelt, wherever a martyr has given his blood for the blood of Christ,
There is holy ground, and the sanctity shall not depart from it
Though armies trample over it, though sightseers come with guide-books looking over it;
From where the western seas gnaw at the coast of Iona,
To the death in the desert, the prayer in forgotten places by the broken Imperial column,
From such ground springs that which forever renews the earth
Though it is forever denied.

Most religious museums in Canada are in the form of preserved or historic churches. The two churches I discuss are the Basilica Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador and the Old Log Church in Whitehorse, Yukon. These two churches make an interesting contrasting pair for several reasons: the former is Catholic, a large Basilica and is considered an architectural work of art. The latter is Anglican, a small church, and an architectural novelty. The Basilica has a small museum on the premises, whereas the Old log Church is actually considered a museum in its own right.

The importance of the Basilica cannot be understood without accepting the premise that Roman Catholicism was central to the culture, identity, and politics of the Irish immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador. During the 18th century, the British Government enforced strict Penal Laws, outlawing the practice of Catholicism in Newfoundland. Catholics were permitted to erect small chapels in Ireland, but this was forbidden in Newfoundland until Liberty of Conscience was proclaimed in 1783 effectively lifting these laws. By the mid-1830s, there were over 10 000 Catholics in St. John's, but the old wooden chapel in the city was only capable of seating several hundred. Bishop Fleming wished to replace it with "a temple superior to any other in the island, at once beautiful and spacious, suitable to the worship of the Most High God". The Irish were a minority in St. John's and many opposed the building of such a large Cathedral in what was considered a small colony. However the Bishop was successful and the Cathedral was consecrated in 1855. The Basilica is noted for its architectural influence in other cathedrals built after the Basilica in both the new world

and the old. The Basilica is surrounded with a significant amount of myth about the ability of the Cathedral to build unity between Catholics and Protestants, but also to dissolve differences between Catholic factions within different parts of Newfoundland. Members of the community saw it as a valuable project and Catholics and Protestants alike helped to build the Cathedral. In 1984 the Basilica was designated a National Historic Site by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and in October 1988 the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador designated the Basilica as a Registered Heritage Structure. The information above can all be found on the Basilica's exhibit on the VMC.[59] The stories are interesting but even the casual reader will note the narrative of the basilica is very positive, the Catholic community comes across as the underdogs and controversy is only briefly mentioned.



The Basilica also has a stunning exhibit online at the VMC[60] that examines and tells the story behind the Cathedrals various stained glass windows which contain a mix of traditional hagiographic depictions along with visual depictions of stories about the Cathedral. The most interesting is the Pallium Window (seeFigure 3: Pallium Window) which contains a scene from the Basilica's history, as well as a

[59] http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/pm_v2.php?lg=English&ex=00000546&fl=0&id=exhibit_home
[60] http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibition/Basilica/en/index.html

Figure 3: Pallium Window

depiction of Saint Agnes. The text from the VMC tells the story of the connection this particular window has to the community which commemorates the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Province of Newfoundland and the conferring of the Pallium on Archbishop Michael Francis Howley on June 23, 1905. The description tells the story of the Archbishop, explains the placement and history of Saint Agnes in relation to the Pallium, and describes all the people recognizably depicted in the window, including bishops, priests, altar boys and other dignitaries. As it says in the VMC exhibit: "[t]his particular window has very personal connections with the parishioners of the Basilica Cathedral Parish. Some of the characters—the altar boys, cross bearers—took great pride in later years - pointing out their likeness in the windows to their friends and relatives." The exhibit ends with a discussion of the symbolism of the Pallium.

The Old Log Church Museum in Whitehorse discusses the history and role of the Anglican Church in the Yukon and tells stories of early missionaries, whalers, explorers and Yukon First Nations. The church was established 1861, and claims to have played an active role in shaping the Yukon. It tells how the missionaries arrived shortly after the fur traders. During the Klondike Gold Rush, the Anglican Church worked with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to help establish peace and civility. They mention that the First Nations people in the area were displaced, but are less clear about how the civility was enforced, among whom, and at what cost to the First Nations people. The museum claimed that the Anglican Church was a stabilizing force throughout Yukon history. The most famous exhibit to come out of the Log Church Museum is *The Bishop Who Ate His Boots* which "tells the story of Bishop Isaac Stringer, his wife Sadie, and

their contribution to the history of the northern Anglican missions. The Stringers spent thirty-nine years in the north ministering to the Inuvialuit and commercial whalers at Herschel Island and the First Nation and non-First Nation populations in the Yukon Territory."

I was fortunate enough to interview Mary, one of the workers at this museum. She echoed the sentiments of the website, that the goal of the museum was to display and interpret Anglican Church history, but also made it clear that it was not within the mandate of the museum to proselytise. I noticed the narrative about the Anglican Church also tended to be fairly positive in this museum. It was interesting when asked if there were any delicate or controversial issues discussed in the museum. And Mary replied:

> I suppose the issue that everybody is talking about these days are residential schools. It is not addressed in our current exhibit, although we will be addressing it in our new exhibit, and it is mentioned in our videos that we have upstairs that were made recently on the history of the Anglican Church. But we don't try to take sides in that issue because we are just kind of relating the history of it. We try to be as neutral as we can even though it is a very heavy issue.

The idea of presenting a neutral interpretation of this topic was interesting. As I have argued before, even the claim to neutrality is a political stance. She goes on to clarify that the museum is waiting until the truth and reconciliation commission has been completed. "We don't think we have a right to exhibit history that hasn't been completed. I just don't think it would be right. But we will be addressing it because it is an issue." It also interested me that there was an understanding of history that could be finished.

When asked if her museum tried to tie into the larger Canadian story, she said it was only to the extent of the church's involvement in general Anglican Church history I guess. Also, as a newer staff member Mary did not feel comfortable answering questions about Yukon or Anglican identity. She also clarified some of the history; the Old Log Church Museum was active as a church until 1962 when the Christchurch Cathedral was built next door and the services moved over there. The museum is still a consecrated church so the diocese does have the right to hold events there, but they have not in many years. This fed into Sarah's understanding of sacred space as consecrated space.

In discussing the museums outlined above, three issues of religion became apparent. First, are conceptions of sacred space in the museum, second are the multiple narratives that occur in communicating history, and third is the Christian hegemony in Canada. On the first subject, sacred space, these museums provide an interesting set of case studies for examining the complexity of sacred space in the museum. Museums are what Kong (2001) refers to as sites of religious practise beyond the officially sacred. The case of Christian museums creates an interesting complication to the dialectic of public and private mentioned by Kong. In Canada, religion is a supposedly private thing while museums are public institutions. Churches that become museums are private sacred places made public, while museums that display Christianity are public spaces displaying the private. In a way, these museums challenge the modern notion of a museum based on categorical delineations of society. This is beneficial for the museum as an institution. The assumed separation of religion and public life is a detriment to the

representation of history as it is a projection of a modern understanding of religion on the past, or on individuals to whom this might not apply. These smaller museums help fill the lacuna that I have demonstrated exists in the more general museums.

The section on space outlined three ways that museums can become sacred spaces: through the numen-seeking experiences of visitors; through the presence of conflict; and finally, through the human actions that create sacred space. The most relevant to the museums listed above are numen seeking experiences. Three of the museum/churches discussed above are official Catholic pilgrimage sites, which is one form of numen seeking. These museums that also act as sites of religious pilgrimage complicate yet another dichotomy, that of sacred and secular. Turner and Turner (1978) have theorised about the overlap between tourists and pilgrims. The tourist visit and the pilgrimage both lift individuals out of their everyday routines, free them from obligatory social roles, and give them the liberty to spend their time however they choose. Both activities usher individuals into a state of liminality or "time outside of time" and acts as a period of anti-structure (Turner 1982). Pilgrimage and identity have a reciprocal relationship. Graburn (1989) argues that tourism is enhanced by a group identity. This is complemented by MacCannell's (1976) assertion that tourism is a search for "authenticity", "back there" in space and time, and provides a unifying modern consciousness. Turner (1969) has also argued that pilgrimage helps foster communitas, in other words, it helps individuals to experience the 'spirit of their community'. The tourist and the pilgrim both approach these places seeking an encounter either with history or the divine, and it is very likely that the two overlap.

Anecdotally I have asked some of my Catholic friends about their pilgrimage experiences, and as soon as they finish the ritual requirements, they often go to the adjacent museum or gift shop, moving fluidly between the pilgrimage and the tourist experience. Likewise, I have experienced a similar move from tourist to pilgrim at the Basilica in Saint John's where the quiet beauty of the Cathedral caused me to lose track of time spending several hours alone. As I learn more about the importance of Catholicism to my husband's family, aspects of Catholicism become more important to my own life (despite my position as a non-Catholic) and every year I return to the Basilica seeking and finding that initial spiritual experience which is intensified through my own growing ties to my husband's family in St. John's.

When seeking an authentic historical experience in the museum, we enter a nexus of power relations over who is creating the history and who is defining it as authentic. By using the museum format to communicate their history, these religious groups and congregations (whether intentionally or not) are taking advantage of the perceived institutional authority of the museum to communicate historical truths. When the Old Log Church museum claimed to discuss topics such as residential schools from a neutral perspective, it fell into the paradox of historical truth outlines by Alonso (1988, 38)

> Representations of the past are concerned with 'truth in different ways and to different degrees. The verification procedures of professional historiography clearly indicate that the goal is to recover the truth of the past, insofar as this is possible. But the paradox is that by hiding its own hermeneutics, by passing interpretive description off as unmediated factuality, history does a violence to this truth and becomes ideologically constituted in a negative sense ... Historical description, 'what

> really happened, is not the result of self-evidences which we gather and string together but instead, the product of a complex interpretive process which, like any practice, is inflected by broader social projects, by relations of domination which seep into the private sphere of even the most 'civil' of societies.

The Anglican and Catholic Church museums would do well to acknowledge their hegemonic and privileged place in Canadian society. They must recognise that the history they communicate is seen as authoritative, and therefore when discussing difficult topics such as the Church's relationship to First Nations people, they have a responsibility to show the full complexity of these relationships, even when doing so may challenge the power structure the museum exists within. Church, and general interest museums are not yet fully allowing these counter histories (Alonso 1988, 50) into the museum, as evidenced by the need for museums run by marginalised groups. What is the most interesting about this, is that I have already shown how non-religious museums often do not incorporate church history, as such these Church museums are, in a way, counter histories themselves.

These museums must also work to include depictions of Catholicism and Anglicanism that reflect the diversity of Anglican and Catholic forms of practise that now exist in Canada. In many museums, the only discussion of Christianity in other cultures occurs through a discussion of missions, even in museums in countries such as Canada where congregations are becoming increasingly ethnically diverse. As Gable and Handler (1996, 569) argue, "Heritage museums become publicly recognised repositories of the physical remains and, in some senses, the 'auras' of the really 'real.' As such, they are arbiters of a marketable authenticity. They are also objective

manifestations of cultural, ethnic, or national identity, which outside the museum is often perceived as threatened by collapse and decay." Catholics and Anglicans who do not see their experiences reflected in these churches may feel marginalised and excluded from the Catholic or Anglican identity.

This section ends with a discussion of representations of mainline Christianity in Canada by briefly talking about the Christian hegemony in Canada. The majority of museums in Canada that identify themselves as religious are associated with the churches discussed above. There are a number of museums that discuss religious and ethnic groups outside the mainstream, but the very way we discuss these religious groups as non-mainline assumes that they are somehow "other" or different from "regular" religious groups. This is reflective of the religious situation in Canada articulated by Beaman (2003). While museums congratulate themselves on the increased number of museums opening up to discuss more recent ethnic and religious groups in Canada, and these groups making headway in Canada's larger established museums, Beaman argues:

> The very existence of religions outside the mainstream is sometimes taken as evidence of diversity, of a flourishing margin that is eroding the hegemony of mainstream Protestantism and that represents the positive effects of a constitutional regime that officially separates church and state. In fact, there has been little erosion of the hegemony of the religious mainstream.

Beaman explains that Protestantism, and to some extent Catholicism, are constructed as the normal against which the "other" is established. The very existence of these museums that discuss smaller groups however, means that power in traditional museums is not being adequately distributed and groups must take the language and

format of the museum and adapt it to their own style in order to tell the story that accurately reflects their own self conception. In the following section I will show how some museums are beginning to change, but also how these smaller groups have appropriated the museum format to tell their stories as they understand them.

Conclusion

Canadian museums have painted a hegemonic picture of the ideal Canadian who is of British or French decent and a mainline Christian. This ideal Canadian also participates in the myths and narratives surrounding war in Canada. However, Aboriginal peoples are beginning to see themselves portrayed more often as one of the founding nations of Canada who continue to play an active role in Canadian society. However, these representations still ignore or down play the role of millions of other Canadians who do not fit into the Canadian identity created by museums.

Presenting the role of religion in Canadian history also presents a conundrum for these museums, and needs to be explored further. The assumption of a strict separation between secular and religious life is a modern assumption that does not necessarily describe the reality of lived religion. By not showing the embeddedness of religion in Canadian history, a large and influential part of the story is missing. How can people truly understand the stories of their ancestors if they do not see how for many people, religion was present in almost all aspects f their life. However, the stories of Aboriginal people in Canada complicate the assumption that religion must be explored in a museum. Forcing Aboriginal peoples to discuss their traditions in the museum is as much of a colonial imposition as excluding their stories entirely.

For many people today, religion is still an integral and influential part of their life and is crucial to their identity. However, often this story does not match the hegemonic one told in museums. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, in order to have authentic and meaningful identities communicated to the public, Aboriginal Peoples, members of ethnic minority groups and Canadians who do not practise mainline Christianity are making their voices and stories heard in Canada's museums.

Chapter Six: Alternative Discourses

Introduction

Macdonald (2003, 1) asks a crucial question for museums today concerning their role in a world in which nation statist identities are being challenged. Are museums too inextricably entangled in 'old' forms of identity to be able to express 'new' ones? Perhaps museums used to face this problem, but museums are changing and adapting to the times. Smaller ethnic and religious groups are creating their own museums in order to make their voices heard, and working to have more say in larger museums. These new narratives argue for a more complex understanding of what it means to be a Canadian, and what role religion can play in that identity. Cohen (1985) coined the term 'personal nationalism' to make the point that nation-ness was not 'out there' so much as 'in here', that it had a multi-vocalic character with an ability to mean different things to different people in different contexts, and that people are active interpreters of nationalist messages rather than its passive recipients (McCrone 2005, 70). However, these changes also come with their own dilemmas. A longer quote from Scott, nicely sums up many of the dilemmas that arise when museums attempt to present counter-narratives.

> This goes back to the discussion of the panel presentation that we had with Thomas, myself, and representatives from the Saint Boniface museum and the Korean museum and we talked about should there even be ethnic museums or should ethnic identity be integrated within the so called mainstream? The reality of course is that ethnic museums came up during a time when mainstream museums were doing a poor job of depicting their histories. I remember when I was going to the museum there was very little that was written about other ethnic groups and what was there was exotisized. They were conceived as 'others' and strangers people who were antithetical to who we were. So ethnic museums in large part arose as a result of ethnic

> communities defining their own terms and to define their own histories and space within Canadian society, and ensure their history be told because the mainstream society on the other hand weren't telling them. On the other hand I've also seen some lousy ethnic museums where they have segregated themselves to the point where their history is told in a vacuum. They have monolithic concepts of their own community and their own identity, they talk for example about an Italian identity. Identity is not monolithic it is based on a lot of things. They were projecting a unified monolithic view of their community. In some cases it was for political purposes to assert themselves in a Canadian context. The whole notion of united we stand divided we fall. Ethnic museums are not good at trying to integrate their story in a greater context but it's a challenge. I don't know where I stand in terms of whether there should or shouldn't be ethnic museums. When we did the panel presentation I was in favour as long as the communities describe their role within Canadian society and their interaction in Canadian society, how they have been influenced and the values around them. On the other hand how they have influenced the values around them as well and how they look at themselves in a broader social context as well. If they are going to be there just to romanticise their past and to look at their past in a very acritical and ahistorical way which a lot of them do some times to be honest with you then what is the purpose? What they are doing is their own identity by not assuming that because their ethnic identity is dynamic, contrasting, a dialectic of sorts. To paint it in a very non-dialectical fashion does a grave injustice to that identity.

This chapter turns its attention to the stories that are peripheral to or excluded from the discourses from the museums, examining them with a critical eye that is optimistic, but not blind to the problems outlined above.

The previous chapters have created a groundwork that is important to remember throughout this final analysis. First, that museums have an embedded authority and can be sacred spaces, but that this understanding of sacred space is fluid and will change from museum to museum and from group to group. Second, partially because of its sacred nature, the museum is a place where groups engage in power

struggles to have an authentic identity presented in the museum and recognised by society. Third, identities are created by the stories we tell about ourselves, and the stories others tell about us. Museums have created a story about what it means to be Canadian, and what role religion plays in that identity. Unfortunately, there has been a somewhat hegemonic view created that excludes groups who do not fall under the rubric of mainline Christianity.

This chapter examines the narratives created in museums run by non-mainline Christian groups including Mennonites and Doukhobors, and ethnic groups including Ukrainians and African/Black Canadians who are affiliated with Christianity but have their own cultural interpretations of the religion. Then it moves to museums in Canada affiliated with non-Christian groups including: Jews, South Asians, Japanese and Muslims. The final section examines smaller museums that discuss Aboriginal history; both those run by First Nation's peoples and non-First Nations peoples. Aboriginal museums are included in this chapter as they provide a counter narrative to the larger national museums discussed in the previous chapter. Each group has a unique history in Canada that is described herein, along with a brief demographic description of each group. These descriptions are provided to show how each group has been involved in Canadian history, and to demonstrate the minority status of each group. With the context in mind, the interviews from each museum are grouped along with other exhibits where interviews were not performed, and important themes and observations about religion and identity in Canada are pulled out of the interviews. These museums challenge the dominant narratives in several possible ways: first, by

complicating the ideas of space in the museum with their own understandings of sacred space; second, by either highlighting their participation in the Canadian military, or telling a counter narrative to the prevailing understandings of war in Canada, third, by stressing the groups contributions to industry or economic prosperity; fourth, by emphasising the role their ancestors had as pioneers in Canada and; fifth by telling the stories significant individuals who contributed greatly in some aspect of Canadian society. While some museums tell all these stories, some only use one or two of these rhetorical devices. Whenever possible, this thesis attempts to illuminate what role the museums allow religion to play in these stories.

Mennonites

The first Mennonites to settle in "the New World" made their home in Pennsylvania between the 1720s and 1730s. However, the United States war for independence in 1776 and the rejection of British rule caused many of the Mennonites to feel uncomfortable breaking their vows of loyalty to the British government. These Mennonites, who were primarily of Swiss origin, began moving from Pennsylvania to "Upper Canada" lured by the promise of available, inexpensive land and the prospect of living under British rule. Migration continued between 1785 and 1825 as more Mennonites from Pennsylvania settled in Waterloo County and present-day Kitchener. Over the course of this migration about 2000 people came to Ontario from the United States (Epp 1974).

In 1825 a steady flow of families began to move into Upper Canada directly from European countries including France and Germany. Again most of these settlers found

their way to Waterloo County and by 1850 about 1000 another Anabaptists had arrived in Ontario (Epp 1974) . The immigration of Russian Mennonites to Canada occurred in three distinct waves. The first wave arrived in Canada in the 1870s from Russia. The second wave arrived in Canada soon after the Russian Revolution in 1919. The third wave followed closely arriving in Canada after WW2. As the German army retreated from Russia in 1944 and 1945 they brought with them many of the German speaking peoples in Western Russia in what came to be known as "The Great Trek." At the end of the war as the borders of the Soviet Union closed up, approximately 7000 of these people joined relatives, friends and communities that had already immigrated to Canada rather than stay in Germany (Epp 1974). Today there are 191 465 people in Canada who self identify as Mennonites (Statistics Canada 2006). The CMA has eight registered Mennonite museums, archive centres and cultural centres listed in Canada (http://www.museums.ca 2008). While a sizable number of Mennonites live in Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, the majority of live in Manitoba and Ontario. This research focuses primarily on the MHV in Steinbach, Manitoba, and the Saint Jacobs Museum near Waterloo Ontario.

The MHV chronicles the history of the Mennonites in Canada from their beginnings in the 16th century through to today. The village is set up in a pattern reminiscent of Mennonite villages found throughout Southern Manitoba at the turn of the century. To document the change in Mennonite life the north side of the street illustrates the early settlement buildings while the south side shows the gradual shift to various business enterprises. The buildings themselves are often artefacts and as such

some of the more significant buildings include memorials to various events and people who affected the Mennonite way of life. Examples of the evolution of homes Mennonites lived in, from sod houses to log dwellings and barns, illustrate the reliance of the early Mennonites on horse and oxen power. Schools and churches stand in the village as testament to the work of Mennonites to preserve their religion and culture. Finally, the windmill stands as a testament to the necessity of community co-operation and participation for Mennonites. The windmill was a functioning and critical part of Mennonite life that could not have been built or run without the participation of the whole community.[61]

At this museum I interviewed Thomas and when asked if he considered the museum religious he said that although they deal with religion specifically, "it is not a religious museum, we consider it a historical museum, but because religious faith is central to Mennonite identity and Mennonite history, their migrations, their settlement patterns, and their way of life. It's of course a major part of the museum, and we deal with the interpretation of religion." On a personal level Thomas included an interesting discussion about the intersection of a public institution and a private religion worth requiting here.

> ... my background is also in anthropology, so I have a wariness about missionaries, this is something that is carried through anthropology, they are like oil and water in some ways, and so the whole issue of proselytisation of being an advocate for the faith is something that I'm worried about and suspicious about. However, I am a Mennonite and a Christian and I feel that those are good things, and I don't feel ashamed about those things

[61] The description comes from my own visit in 2009 and http://www.mennoniteheritagevillage.com

> either, but this is a public context and historical museum, so I feel like I'm always being careful that we are not proselytizing, but at the same time, I also feel that the museum is a witness, not a mission, but a witness to our history and to a certain aspect of the Christian faith.

I thought this was an interesting distinction for a museum because the idea of being a witness is still a very Christian terminology for telling people about faith. However the idea is that it is different than proselytisation which actively seeks out unbelievers and encourages conversion.

An issue that often arises, even in museums that already portray marginalised groups, is that there are subgroups who do not find themselves or their stories within the discourse: minorities within minorities. Thomas says his museum has worked very hard to include the stories of all people who might consider themselves Mennonites. As he says:

> when people come here they have this stereotype, and we want to challenge that stereotype right up front, or at least I wanted to. And so on the brochure we have an African woman on the cover that says who are the Mennonites. And on the inside we have a picture of a fairly influential man in the history of Steinbach on the cover there juxtaposed on the cover. And those juxtapositions run throughout, and the brochure is in English French, English and German. So we have that right up front.

Thomas has also had to think about the connection between religion and culture. When asked whether Mennonites are an ethnic group or a religious group, his answer is always "yes." "[B]ecause first of all those categories change over time, and the two are always intimately related, so the question of either/or is not the best question to ask, it's about when and how." Also on the topic of identity it is part of the mission of the museum to highlight the contributions of Mennonites to Manitoba and by extension to

Canada. Interestingly, he said that the museum sees itself as Canadian rather than Manitoban as they try and speak for the larger Mennonite community, not just the local community. He also thinks about Mennonite identity in the context of the museum, his hope is that the "galleries and the buildings, don't necessarily suggest a way to be a Mennonite, but they at least open up in a simple enough form, a complex history of what it is to be a Mennonite." He tries to complicate the conception of Mennonite identities by informing visitors that there are different kinds of Mennonites including: very traditional, very progressive, liberal, conservative, and traditionalists. A difficult topic for Mennonites is often unity, particularly Church unity as Mennonites are known for their Churches splitting frequently over different theologies and understandings of the scripture. Thomas believes that in the museum he is able to communicate that while schism is a painful experience for people, it also gives people options within their tradition.

In terms of sacred space, Thomas holds to a Mennonite view that spaces are not inherently sacred; but the practice of worship and the period of time set aside for worship is sacred. Likewise, there is no such thing as a sacred object for Mennonites, but there are symbolic and meaningful objects. Thomas' Mennonite understanding of sacred space is very similar to Smith's understandings of space where human action creates the sacred space and sacred time. As such, the museum itself is not sacred for the Mennonite community, unless worship is being performed there. However, the museum is meaningful to the Mennonite community and would qualify as a loved object that has symbolic value to help create the Mennonite identity.

The practise of lived religion came to the forefront in an exhibit put together by Thomas on Mennonite funeral customs. The museum had to face the issue of how to communicate a very personal ritual to the public. As he describes:

> [w]e had mannequins in coffins and did funeral shrouds, which were handmade things by midwives, so a midwife would help give birth, take care of people in the village and put them in the ground as well, and so then that became part of the interpretation. We had people who had actually done this make the shrouds with us, then we videotaped it and it become this very interesting project on meaning, and life after death, and then how do you talk about life after death, when it is such a meaningful thing? It is like a core thing for Mennonites, but a lot of people come here from very different backgrounds and so how do you talk about that?

To discuss this difficult topic the curators asked children how many of them had been to a funeral and used their responses as a point of entrance. This type of program that discusses similarities between groups allows for a less exotisized or "othered" portrayal of a group. The exhibit manages to normalise what, to many people, seems like a very strange practice of taking a family photograph with the deceased family member in the coffin. By showing fifty photos of the same practice, Thomas normalised it such that it did not seem as strange.

The MHV uses its exhibits to communicate that Mennonites are fully Canadian, while at the same time having a unique cultural identity, in essence that their homeland is Canada, even if they have a distinct culture, which includes a unique relationship with state institutions. According to Ens (1994) Mennonites believe in a strict separation between church and state to the point where in many European countries they considered themselves "non-citizens." While this was a tolerable arrangement prior to

the Enlightenment, the rise of nationalism that followed it fostered a climate where disassociation with the state was no longer considered acceptable. In Canada this pattern of tension with the larger society repeated itself during periods of intense nationalism, most notably during the First and Second World War. Although the government ensured exemption from military service since the beginning of Mennonite migration to Canada, these guarantees were tested with the onslaught of the First World War and in particular, the Military Service Law, more commonly known as the conscription law, which was passed by the Borden government in August of 1917. While the act contained protections guaranteeing Mennonites freedom from conscription, the provisions were vague, resulting in Ontario Mennonites having to appear before tribunals to defend their right to be exempted from military service and Mennonites in the west having to go to great pains to prove their affiliation with the Mennonite Church (Janzen 1990). As well, conscientious objectors were viewed with hostility by the public, which only increased in vehemence after the war, ultimately resulting in a short lived act that banned migration of anyone belonging to the Mennonite religion (Janzen 1990). This is a topic that the MHV discusses, but must do so carefully as it is still a divisive issue within the community.

Similar situations occurred during the Second World War when conscription was introduced in 1940. During the Second World War the definition of Mennonite was narrowed and those who wished to be exempted from military service had to apply under the second more general category of conscientious objector. As well, anyone who was exempted under either category was required to provide a non-combatant service

under either military or civilian auspices, and for many Mennonites, even civilian efforts supporting the war effort were too close to military service for their comfort. Some Mennonites who refused were sent to prison, however the majority wound up in either non-combatant military service or in government organised work camps for tasks such as forestry and railway maintenance (Janzen 1990).

Participation in alternative services along with significant charitable contributions to war relief and veteran recovery lessened the stigma that had attached itself to Mennonites for not "fully participating" in Canadian society, during WW1 (Janzen 1990). The Saint Jacobs museum creates a medium where Mennonites can show that despite not participating in certain aspects of Canadian society, they are still active, contributing and beneficial members of society. By emphasizing the charitable and social justice aspects of Mennonite culture they affirm their participation in Canadian society through charities as varied as quilt auctions for hospitals to the sponsorship of Peace and Conflict Studies programs at Conrad Grebel College at the University of Waterloo, which are mentioned in the museum displays.

According to the Saint Jacobs museum, such a concern with social justice remains a worldwide phenomenon among Mennonites. In a way, the Saint Jacobs museum shows how Mennonites in the Kitchener-Waterloo area are acting out the process of glocalization outlined by Beyer (2007) where aspects of global culture, such as the Mennonite commitment to social justice, are acted out in local forms. In this case, the Mennonite quilt is a sought after tourist attraction and souvenir, at any point during the year, there are a number of donated, authentic and handmade Mennonite quilts up

for auction or raffle with proceeds going to local charity. The quilt itself is symbolic of adaptation to North America as women had to keep their children warm, but also had to make do with what they had, as such scraps and rags were often the only material available to make blankets (Mennonite Historical Society of Canada 1998). Mennonites have made use of the local and tourist (and perhaps Canada or North American wide) fascination with these quilts to act out their global commitment to social justice in a localised fashion.

The MHV in Steinbach uses more concrete methods to root the Mennonite community into Canadian culture. The MHV tells the story of the Russian Mennonites and their arrival in Canada, expounding the role of these early Mennonites as pioneers and settlers who helped to found and even create Canada. As Swyripa (2003) explains:

> Using a cultural filter coloured by both personal experience and group memory, a founder generation reconfigured an alien mental and physical landscape around familiar points of reference that bound the old world and old-world ancestors with the new land and the immigrants' future in it. Successive generations of their descendants internalised further this interplay among the land, the dead, and the past and the present to create a regionally-based identity in which the first arrivals were crucial. The latter also formed a bridge between their descendants as part of a local prairie community and both the rest of Canada and the homeland or people overseas.

The physical connection to the land is made through the emphasis on farming and "creating a future" in the new land. The museum also uses actual buildings, such as the *Semlin*, an example of the first homes built by Mennonite immigrants in 1847 from sod, soil, grass and wood, as a metaphor for the connection between the land and the

settlers as the survival of the Mennonites on the prairies relied on their ability to make do with what only the land had to offer.

The MHV allows Mennonites to communicate their distinct religious and cultural identity while maintaining a Canadian identity. Religion is a critical part of the Mennonite identity and the museum communicates it while complicating it as well. The lines of public and private, secular and sacred are blurred to create a comprehensive view of who the Mennonites are. As well, this and other Mennonite museums serve to show how Military service and unilateral support of the military does not have to be a defining factor of Canadian identity.

Doukhobors

The Doukhobors are a Russian Christian sect that reject secular government, the Russian Orthodox priests, icons, all church ritual, the Bible as the supreme source of divine revelation, and the divinity of Jesus. They are most famous for their pacifist beliefs and their communal and agrarian way of life. Doukhobor means spirit wrestler and refers to the people fighting along with rather than against the spirit of God. After clashes with the Russian government around 6000 Doukhobors migrated to Canada in 1899, settling on land in what is now Manitoba and Saskatchewan. More migrated later in the year to increase the total population to 7400 (Inikova 1999). The migrations were permitted by the Russian government on the condition that the emigrants never return, they pay for their own migration, and that any Doukhobors in prison serve out their sentences. Using the Hamlet clause, an act designed to accommodate other groups with communal lifestyles such as Mennonites and Hutterites, the Doukhobors were able

to purchase farmland and live in a communal Hamlet nearby. Also, in 1898 pacifist groups such as Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors were exempted from military service (Wiley Hardwick 1993).

Canada was not easy for the Doukhobors, the climate did not allow them to grow the foods they were used to, and the government eventually started requiring land to be registered in the name of an individual which conflicted with their beliefs in communal ownership. This resulted in the Doukhobors losing one third of their land. Also, the Canadian government now wanted the Doukhobors to become citizens and swear an oath to the crown, an act that was always against their principles. Eventually the group split around 1907 into the Independents who still were Doukhobors religiously, but felt that communal ownership of land, hereditary leadership and communal living were not essential to the practise. The largest group stayed loyal to Peter Verigin, the hereditary leader and maintained the communal living principles. The last group, the sons of freedom, were more zealous and received much media and historical attention for their protests, despite being only a small part of the Doukhobor population. (Wiley Hardwick 1993).

The group that stayed loyal to Verigin found their way to south-eastern British Columbia where they purchased land and were able to grow the fruit and vegetables they preferred in their diet. However Peter Verigin was killed in a CPR train explosion in 1924 that remains unsolved. Verigin's son took over leadership and tensions between his community and the sons of freedom continued to mount. Because of these tensions, and the fact they would not send their children to public schools Doukhobors

became known as a "problem" by the Canadian government. Eventually the groups dispersed and they are no longer known for living communally (Wiley Hardwick 1993). Those who religiously identify as Doukhobors are a small segment of those descended from Doukhobors living in Canada today, as of 2001 there were 3800 self Identified Doukhobors in Canada (Statistics Canada 2010).

There are three Doukhobor museums in Canada, and two general interest museums that have Doukhobor exhibits (CMC and the Boundary Museum in British Columbia), as well there is an online exhibit at the VMC[62] and Verigin Saskatchewan is a national historic site. This research focuses on the Doukhobor Discovery Centre (DDC), which also responsible for the online exhibit at the VMC. The museum is located in southern British Columbia and tells the story of the 5000 Doukhobors who settled in the region between 1908 and 1913 after the Dominion government reversed the land settlement policy they had negotiated with the Doukhobors. The Doukhobor Village Museum illustrates the history and heritage of the Doukhobors who settled and prospered here as the largest communal enterprise in North America until 1938, when the commune folded due to the onset of the depression and active efforts by outside forces to bring about assimilation. The museum came from the efforts of the Kootenay Doukhobor Historical Society formed in 1966. They could not find any complete villages that were in good enough condition to be preserved, so the society worked to collect buildings and artefacts to recreate a village.

[62] http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/pm_v2.php?lg=Englishandex=00000349andfl=0andid=exhibit_home

The village tour begins in a brick building with a communal kitchen where women took turns cooking for the household, which could number up to fifty people. The next room is the hospitality room where formal occasions such as prayers and singing, schooling, marriages, funerals and other meetings took place. The grounds include a statue of Leo Tolstoy who was a Doukhobor sympathiser. The visitor then moves to another brick building with temporary exhibits, a photo archive, and films. The grounds also include a blacksmith shop, a barn, a steam sauna, a washing machine, and another barn with farming implements. The physical museum is complemented by several online exhibits[63] and an online exhibit at the VMC which includes photos and art with more detailed descriptions than in the museum.[64]

At the DDC I interviewed William, who when I asked if the museum discussed religion, answered that the museum discusses "religion as a requirement as a part of the Doukhobor belief because that is what the museum is about" but also emphasised that the museum is also about the impact of Doukhobors on British Columbia and how the Doukhobors fought assimilation for as long as they could. When asked about identity, William said he only thought about it when people asked him if he was Doukhobor, which found a bit frustrating as he said it did not affect anything about the museum. Also, when asked about sacred space he drew a very clear distinction between museums and churches. He was comfortable with visitors treating the space as sacred, but wanted to emphasise that the DDC was a museum and not a church. Similar to

[63] hosted at http://doukhobor-museum.org/

[64] http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/pm_v2.php?id=record_detailandfl=0andlg=Englishandex=00000349andhs=0andrd=81502

Mennonites, Doukhobors also believe that space is not sacred in and of itself, but that it is the person who makes a space sacred. Even though the space is not technically sacred, the museum is definitely a loved object within the Doukhobor community, and is a centre for family reunions and the place where they gather to remember the Doukhobor way of life.

This museum, was very similar to, if smaller than the MHV. Both attempt to communicate the embeddedness of religion in culture, however one major difference was that the MHV seemed more open to discussing the diversity of Mennonite identity, whereas the DDC communicated a more unified identity. However, this may be because there are significantly fewer Doukhobors in Canada than Mennonites. According to Kozakavich (2006, 119), previous historical characterizations of the Doukhobors, particularly in Saskatchewan, "are inconsistent in their portrayal of the Doukhobors as an ethnic group and/or religious sect, and of the degree of internal cohesion and homogeneity at the community level." I did not find inconsistency, but the diversity of the group was definitely downplayed while the story of the tragedy of the Doukhobors was often discussed. Kozakavich's archaeological and historical investigations suggest that the Doukhobor identity in Saskatchewan involves multiple levels of practice and belief, and that there was significant change in identity due to constant change brought about by repeated migrations through two centuries. Her research shows that some people were excluded from the community for breaking Verigin's provisions about not eating meat. As well, archaeological evidence of an uneven disbursement of more expensive glass, flatware, cookware, toys, and clothing material (such as silk or cotton)

indicates that there were economic differences between households and that the practice of communalism may not have matched the ideals. This does not mean that the Doukhobor story presented in the museums is somehow invalid because not everyone adhered to the communalism, but rather that again, lived religion was messy and played itself out in different ways for different people, even in a commune with strict social control. Although both museums take pains to acknowledge the role of women in their communities, neither museum really addresses the patriarchal rule that most women are subjected to by their husbands and/or commune leaders in Utopian communes (Spencer-Wood 2006).

Ukrainian

Ukrainians are different from Mennonites and Doukhobors as there can be no question that they are primarily an ethnic group, but one for whom religion has played an important role in their history, on the other hand, the argument can be made that Mennonites and Doukhobors are a religious group first and foremost. Ukrainians came to Canada in three waves. The first wave occurred between 1891 and 1914, and involved mostly migrants from western Ukraine who settled in the prairies and began farms (Isajiw and Makuch 1994). During WW1, approximately 5000 Ukrainian men, and some women and children, were interned at government camps and work sites, and many others were forced to register with the Canadian government under the war measures act as possible enemies, because of Ukraine's affiliation with the Austrio-Hungarian Empire. The second wave occurred between 1923 and 1929 when approximately 70 000 Ukrainians from Poland and Romania arrived in Canada (Isajiw

and Makuch 1994). Unlike the first wave however, these Ukrainians did not become farmers but instead became industrial workers in cities, mines, and forests across Canada. As well, several Ukrainian professionals and intellectuals came to Canada, eventually becoming leaders in the Ukrainian Canadian community (Isajiw and Makuch 1994). The third and final wave occurred between 1945 and 1952 and settled mainly in Toronto and Montreal.

Most Ukrainians who came to Canada were either Ukrainian Catholic (if they came from Galicia) or Ukrainian Orthodox (if they came from Bukovyna). Ukrainian Canadians are an interesting case study in post-migration religious change as both these churches suffered shortages of priests when they came to Canada. Ukrainian Catholic clergy also conflicted with Roman Catholic clergy over issues of celibacy and independence. Likewise, the Russian Orthodox Church was the only functioning Orthodox Church in Canada at the time, and Ukrainian Canadians who were Orthodox Christians were suspicious of being controlled by a Russian organization. Partially as a result of these conditions, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada was created and alternative and Ukrainian Catholic clergy were given a separate structure from the Roman Catholic Church.

According to the 2001 census there are 1 071 060 Canadians in Canada of Ukrainian heritage (Statistics Canada 2010) of which approximately 126 200 are Ukrainian Catholics and 32 720 are Ukrainian Orthodox (Statistics Canada 2010). The VMC lists twenty-three Ukrainian museums in Canada including traditional museums, historic villages, historic sites, art galleries, cultural centres, and historic buildings. The

VMC hosts two virtual exhibits about Ukrainians in Canada and a number of general interest museums have exhibits on Ukrainians (the CMC and the Western Development Museum for example). This research consisted of visits to the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in Saskatoon and an interview at the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok) in Winnipeg.

On a visit to the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in 2006 it was remarkable how the history of Ukrainians in Canada was so intertwined with the community stories of the churches, and the individual stories of family practise. Scenes of domestic life in paintings and exhibits addressed Christian holidays and rituals including blessing the Easter paska,[65] an exhibit on the Christmas feast, scenes of mothers teaching children how to make the sign of the cross, and an exhibit about Ukrainian Easter egg painting. The website for the museum [66] confirms the dedication to telling the religious history and identity of Ukrainians along with their social history in Canada. When describing a picture of a little Ukrainian girl on the website's homepage, the text accompanying the photo says:

> When you first see this little girl's face you can sense her character and our collective identity when you think of all the people that have preserved our culture. This child was in every person who taught dancing and music, directed choir, taught Sunday school. This child wrote pysanky and learned to embroider by lamp light. She was in awe of the icons in her home and church. She loved sviaty vechir and often wore hand me downs. She is the child in us, and in every one who came before us. That's where we've been but it's also who we are, and it's also where we're going.

---

[65] A traditional Ukrainian Easter Bread
[66] http://www.umc.sk.ca/page/index_new

This theme continued at other museums and exhibits curated by Ukrainians, but was not as prevalent in the displays at the CMC or the Western Development Museum. I was not able to obtain interviews at any of these museums, but I was able to interview two curators at Ukrainian museums: Rachel and Timothy. Rachel is the curator at Oseredok, and Timothy works at a Ukrainian Heritage Village.

Both Rachel and Timothy talk about religion in their museums. Rachel communicated that there are several ways that religion might intersect with culture in her museum:

> ... you could view religion as institutional religion, institutions like churches or what have you. You can think of denominations, but you can also think of religion in terms of faith and the relationship between faith and institutionalised religion, you can think of spirituality, which I don't think is necessarily the same thing as faith. I think for a museum like ours, a combination of those three things comes together, not that that's the purpose of our museum, but there are occasions when these things intersect.

Timothy's museum discusses religion directly by having three separate church buildings in the village: Orthodox, Catholic, and Ukrainian Orthodox. The museum also discusses Ukrainian Catholic and Russo-Orthodox Churches. The Russo–Orthodox is an important but delicate topic for the museum as Ukrainians, because of their time under soviet rule, sometimes Ukrainian Canadians feel that such a church spreads the mistaken stereotype that Ukrainians are synonymous with Russians.

Discussions of Ukrainian identity often involve challenging pervasiveness of material stereotypes of Ukrainian culture such as Easter Eggs and embroidery. Rachel said visitors to her museum are often surprised to see exhibits or shows of an artist who is of Ukrainian origin but uses no recognizable Ukrainian theme in their art. In

these circumstances she has to explain to visitors: "[w]ell because he is expressing his identity, and his identity is a blend of things and he identifies himself with the group, he is part of the group." She goes further to say that religion, or more likely spirituality is closely intertwined with the Ukrainian identity. The final interesting thing Rachel said about Ukrainian identity is that some of the exhibitions in her museum have actively tried to communicate the place of Ukrainians in Canadian history.

> Yes, we frequently have exhibitions that relate to the history of Ukrainians in Canada. On the centenary of the Ukrainian settlement we actually had a travelling exhibition that placed the history of Ukrainians in Canada into a Canadian context, in fact we even underline our contribution to the development of the multicultural policy in that exhibition. In fact, I think that in our community and in our exhibitions and from our institutional perspective, we like to see ourselves and to promote the idea that we're nation builders just as much as the English and the French in a completely different role for us, but that is the way we see the Aboriginal people, the French, the English, Any other group, they have contributed in their own way to building this nation and making it so diverse and strong.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Timothy who said that communicating religion and culture in his museum had to be done carefully because of the religious differences in the Ukrainian community. His museum also tries to subtly demonstrate rather than blatantly state that Ukrainians were pioneers and actors in the creation of Canada.

When asking both curators to define sacred space there were some overlaps. First, both curators expressed that institutional religious buildings were sacred spaces. Timothy ensured that the churches in his museum were still consecrated and staff and visitors are expected to treat the buildings with respect. However both have also dealt with issues raised by dealing with the sacred in a museum space. Rachel found some

artefacts that had become infested with rot and needed to be disposed of, one of which was a tabernacle from a Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Tabernacles are blessed and hold what is considered the body and blood of Jesus Christ, as such they cannot simply be thrown into a dump. Rachel had to approach the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and ask their advice. After consultation with a priest the museum burned the object so it would not just decay in a dump, which would be disrespectful. This issue comes up often in her museum as in Ukrainian folklore tradition, bread is a sacred thing. Rachel explained:

> I remember as a child if bread fell on the ground my mother would tell me to pick it up, do the sign of the cross and kiss it because it is the stuff of life, and every rite of passage in Ukrainian is accompanied by a special bread, there is bread for every rite of passage. Those are very important symbols and the bread becomes kind of a sacred object. So you you'll have a special kind of bread, the Kolach, at Christmas Eve, you will have a special wedding bread, marriage bread has all kind of symbols and that becomes very important, so even in our collection with that, we collected ritual breads. They are not very conducive to keeping and preserving, they attract all kinds of little creepy crawlies from time to time, and from time to time museums have to divest themselves of that or to treat them. Yes we have discussions of if we are going to fumigate these breads because they are ritual objects, and yes you have to do that because they are going to infest the textile collection if they don't. But yes you treat them with respect.

In the Timothy's museum, an interesting case rose because the churches are consecrated. The priests were invited to explain the rules of the church; however, one rule was that women were not allowed in the sanctuary. Since most of the curators at Timothy's museum are women though, the priests had to accept that women would be working in the sanctuary.

Ukrainians are often categorised under the rubric of "Eastern Christianity," which assumes there is a mainstream Christianity, and Eastern Christians are somehow outside of or 'other' to 'normal' Christianity (Tataryn 2008). To this effect, the Ukrainian community, among other challenges, has survived discrimination, attempts by western churches, both Catholic and Protestant, at proselytisation, and government policies that favoured mainline churches (Tataryn 2008). In the early 1900s, bilingual schools that taught in both English and Ukrainian were one of the primary vehicles for passing Ukrainian culture on to children along with the community churches. However, when the bilingual schools ended in 1917, other already existing cultural organizations, the churches, and women were forced to shoulder the extra burden for cultural education and preservation (Tataryn 2008). Most of the Ukrainian museums in Canada are affiliated with at least one other Ukrainian cultural organization. It is a testament to the pervasiveness of religion in Ukrainian culture that many of these organizations are affiliated with churches, and, according to Rachel, almost every Ukrainian cultural event still begins with prayer.

Both of these museums are also institutions where the Ukrainian language is often spoken. Rachel's' museum also contains a library with a variety of Ukrainian language resources. Isajiw (1990) has noted that Ukrainians have the highest level of language retention by the second generation. Tataryn (2008) has argued that this language retention, and the churches' use of Ukrainian languages in their services, has "provided a core around which organizations devoted to fine arts, recreation and politics have clustered." Museums will very obviously fall into this category. The church

obviously still plays a very active role in these museums with quite a bit of authority. However, this role of the church may not reflect the desires of all Ukrainian Canadians. As noted by Tataryn, many Ukrainian Canadians are unhappy about the influence of the clergy in what some would call the secular areas of society. In Timothy's museum, the clergy wanted to keep women away from the altars in the churches; however, as most of the curators are female, it could not be avoided. Tataryn goes on to say that such alienation of women from the church, and the refusal of clergy to even discuss their inclusion in liturgical practices will not bode well for the future. Neither curator brought this conflict up independently other than the instance mentioned by Timothy.

This also raises an interesting discussion of power in the museum when ritual taboos around certain artefacts violate secular or mainstream conventions. Many such taboos apply to women and are the cause of much negotiation between the museum and the community. In this case, women were not allowed to approach the altar, but the museum ignored the restriction. In the cases of some Aboriginal artefacts, women are not permitted near certain artefacts when they are menstruating as that is considered a time of great power for women. As a museum cannot justifiably ask women to avoid such artefacts when menstruating, solutions have been negotiated such as creating powerless replicas, putting up barriers between the objects and visitors, or removing the object from display altogether.

African/Black

Canadians of African descent, or Black Canadians, have a long history with museums. The continent of Africa has inspired colonial interest for hundreds of years

and missionaries, explorers and colonists have brought exotic treasures from Africa to Europe for display in cabinets of curiosity and museums, since the beginning of the colonial period. In Canada, representations of Black Canadians or Africans has traditionally been discussed in museums either in terms of African art and artefacts from colonial conquest, or in relation to slavery. However, the Black community in Canada is dynamic, active, and neither slavery nor colonialism adequately summarises Canada's relationship with its Black citizens. To begin this section, I will briefly discuss the *Into the Heart of Africa Exhibit* in the context of colonial discussions of the representations of Africans. Next this section will discuss museums in Canada that discuss the Underground Railroad and slavery in Canada, Finally I will discuss contemporary exhibits of Black Canadian culture in Canada

Mathieu Da Costa was the first Black person known to have visited Canada as a free Black African in the early 1600s who was employed as a translator by French and Dutch traders and explorers (Sadlier n.d.). Slavery existed in Canada during the colonial period, and though many Aboriginal People were taken as slaves, there were still Black slaves throughout Canada and an active slave trade as evidenced by newspaper advertisements for Blacks or Negros to be sold to the public in the latter half of the 1700s (Teelucksingh 2010). Most slaves at this time were domestic workers who had traveled with British families, and this practice continued after it was outlawed by Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe of Upper Canada outlawed in 1797 (Teelucksingh 2010).

Canada was the first British colony to pass such a law against slavery, but still fell short of completely abolishing slavery. Between 1781 and 1784 tens of thousands of loyalists fled to Canada because of their support of British rule, a census taken in 1783 of the loyalists concluded that almost 10% were Black (Sadlier n.d.). Most of the Black Loyalists were not church-going Christians and whilst enslaved in the United States they were deliberately denied religious teaching by slave owners. However, by the late 18th century, most of the Black Loyalists had joined churches such as Christ Church in Nova Scotia. Despite being free, these Loyalists never received the land and provisions they were promised by the crown and they faced rampant discrimination in Nova Scotia. However, many Black Loyalists stuck out the harsh conditions and wages rose as many became qualified tradesmen. By 1812 Black Settlers felt enough a part of the community to form three separate Black militia units to fight against the Americans in the War of 1812 (Teelucksingh 2010). In 1837 Black soldiers served again in the during the rebellions of that time.

Slavery was finally abolished in all the British colonies, including Canada on August 1, 1834. This came about through the combined effort of Black Canadians who resisted the slave system and abolitionists who had strong religious convictions against slavery. Prior to the American Civil War enslaved Africans followed a series of secret networks and safe houses north to reach free states or Canada and escape slavery (Buckmaster 1992). This history of the Underground Railroad has been well documented, but as a relevant note to this thesis many Quakers and Methodists were heavily involved in the Railroad.

Between 1879 and 1911 another group of Black Americans migrated to Alberta because of increased racial tensions in the Southern United States. These immigrants worked to take advantage of the policies designed to recruit famers to Canada, despite the fact the Canadian government was obviously trying to recruit white European farmers. The Black families persevered and managed to get farm land and still have settlements all across the Prairies and Northern Ontario. Black history in Canada follows similar patterns to the experiences of these Prairie farmers, for example, during the wars Black soldiers wanted to fight for their country, were prohibited, but eventually managed to get both their own Black battalions and integrate some soldiers with white troops. Likewise Black Canadians wanted their children to have access to the same education as white Canadians, as such Black Canadians fought against segregation and the last segregated school closed on in Nova Scotia in 1983 (Sadlier n.d.). Throughout Black history in Canada the Church has played a central role as an instrument in freeing slaves, as support for communities recovering from the trauma of slavery, as organizations for activism and as places for expression of the unique Black Canadian identity. These churches are mostly Protestant and still active in communities today (Teelucksingh 2010). As of 2001, 53 090 Canadians identified themselves as Black and 294 705 as African in origin (Lindsay 2007). The African population in Canada includes people reporting a number of different ethnic origins. About half of the African population, 51% in 2001, reported they were either Black or simply African, while 11% were Somali, 6% were South African, 6% were from Ghana and 5% were Ethiopian. The majority of the African population living in Canada was born outside the

country. In 2001, just over half (53%) of all people with African ethnic origins living in Canada in 2001 was an immigrant.

The largest religious group in the African community in Canada is Protestant. In 2001, 30% of African Canadians reported they belonged to a mainline Protestant denomination, while 23% said they were Catholic. At the same time, another 22% of those in the African community in Canada reported they were Muslim. On the other hand, relatively few Africans report that they have no religious affiliation. That year, 12% said they had no religious affiliation, compared with 17% of the overall population (Lindsay 2007). According to the VMC there are approximately eight museums dedicated to Black or African Canadian history in Canada, there are at least twelve virtual online exhibits or museums discussing Black history in Canada, ten of which are associated with the VMC. As well, Parks Canada has a page dedicated to exploring twenty-one historic sites associated with the Underground Railroad, two of which are churches.

It is impossible to talk about the relationship of Black Canadians with museums without discussing the *Into the Heart of Africa* controversy at the ROM in Toronto in 1989. Curator Jane Cannizo, attempted to make an exhibition that would critique the role of museums in the colonization of West and Central Africa. The presentation involved displaying artefacts collected from Africa during the colonial period and displaying actual words of white colonists, although in quotation marks to indicate their irony, to critique colonial mentalities. The irony was lost on much of the public and some members of the Black community in Toronto protested the exhibition. The

curator was eventually forced to resign her teaching job at the University of Toronto and other museums that had intended to display the exhibit backed out of hosting the travelling exhibition. Most relevant about this exhibition to this thesis is that fact that the majority of these artefacts were collected by Canadian missionaries on their travels, illustrating the relationship of Canadian churches to British Colonial objectives. However, despite these artefacts significance to African history, they were still discussed in the context of a white lens, even if that lens was meant to be a critical one.

I was unable to see the actual exhibit, but Hutcheon (1994, 73) describes a section of the exhibit titles *Civilization, Commerce, and Christianity*, that:

> ... presented the artefacts collected by missionaries (who thought they were bearing 'light' to the 'dark continent', as texts explained). There were also photographs of these evangelical Christians with their African converts. The last and largest area of the exhibition was entered by way of a reconstruction of an Ovimbundu village compound from Angola, wherein some of the objects seen in cabinets elsewhere were inserted into a simulated context of use. The final large room, containing drums, masks, textiles, headdresses, weapons, and musical instruments (including earphones for listening to African music), was introduced by a reflexive message attesting to the impossibility actually to reconstruct another cultural reality in a museum. The artefacts you see here are displayed according to their 'function' or 'form' in a way that would be quite familiar to late 19th century museum-goers, but not the people who made them. The things are theirs, the arrangement is not. Such a sign was intended to mark the change in interpretive emphasis at this point in the exhibition, as the theme changed from the history of the collection to the objects themselves which were said to 'speak of the varied economies, political or cosmological complexities, and artistry of their African creators'.

There is no deeper discussion of indigenous African spiritualities, of how the Africans felt about missionaries, about how converts adapted Christianity and made it their own,

instead the exhibit displayed objects as they were seen by the missionaries, as relics of a savage society they aimed to convert to Christianity. Hutcheon also tells us that some descendents and colleagues of missionaries were offended by the portrayal of missionaries in the exhibit.

This exhibit provides a lesson in how important involvement with the community is essential for museums, and how museums cannot claim to be separated from politics. At the time of the exhibit there were already tensions in the Black community because of altercations between the police and some Black youth which resulted in the shooting death of several of the youths. As well, it reveals the necessity of specificity. The brochures advertizing the exhibition invited the visitor to view "[t]he rich cultural heritage of African religious, social and economic life is celebrated through objects brought back by Canadian missionaries and military men over 100 years ago" and as Hutcheon (1994) explains, this brochure which was developed in consultation with the Black community (unlike the exhibit) expressed what the community wished the presentation to be rather than what it actually was. If this is the case, then the Black community in Canada does want their religious and spiritual history discussed in museums.

Slavery is a fact in Canadian history, but museums work more to commemorate Canada's role in the Underground Railroad than to memorialise and remember the slave trade that occurred in Upper and Lower Canada. Slaves in Canada, were usually Aboriginal rather than Black and acquired as captives of war (Winks 2008). In all the museum exhibits I visited I cannot recall a single instance of the Slavery of Aboriginal

people being discussed. The Virtual Museum of New France has the only thorough discussion of both Aboriginal and Black Slavery in Canada. The primary focus of religion in the museum narratives about slavery is the role of churches in anti-slavery and community support efforts. The parks Canada website explains:

> The building type associated with the refugees that is most likely to have survived is the church. It represented the institution most central to the lives of the Underground Railroad settlers. Churches ministering specifically to the Black population were established largely in response to negative attitudes of the white majority, who, while decrying slavery, were often unwilling to accept the formerly enslaved on an equal footing. The black churches became the most visible symbol of the parallel societies that evolved in places where numbers of Underground Railroad refugees settled.[67]

The VMN describes three Black churches: the Sandwich First Baptist Church in Windsor, and St. Catharines British Methodist Episcopal Church (also known as the Salem Chapel). In each case, a Black community founded and sustained the church then used it as a place to organise against the slave trade. Interestingly, the site then goes on to discuss famous people associated with the fight against slavery such as Mary Ann Shadd, Josiah Henson, Thornton and Lucie Blackburn, and Harriet Tubman but does not mention their individual religious affiliations. The Parks Canada website gives a little more information about these churches and their denominational history, including a discussion of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (the denomination of the Salem chapel). Parks Canada also talks about the relationship of the Black community in Canada to the Baptist Church, and how the indifference and hostility of white Baptists caused the Black communities in Canada and Detroit to form the Amherstburg Regular

[67] http://www.pc.gc.ca/canada/proj/cfc-ugrr/itm2-com/pg13_e.asp

Missionary Baptist Association to supply needed religious and practical assistance to fugitives and fight for the abolition of slavery. Some Baptist churches in Canada and the United States were still pro slavery and the association cut off all ties with them. The Sandwich First Baptist Church was a member of the Amherstburg Regular Missionary Baptist Association. The Parks Canada website goes on to discuss travelling preachers, women's societies, and schools; all of which functioned out of these churches.

Teelucksingh (2010) has critiqued of the Canadian myth of the Underground Railroad saying its usefulness may have been exaggerated as most slaves who escaped did so through paths along the East Coast or on boats rather than the Railroad routes. He also says that most slaves who escaped were from border states where slavery was less common and the restrictions on slaves were fewer. He also says that much more of the Underground Railroad occurred in the United States than Canada, so it should probably actually be called an "an epic of American heroism." Aside from this, the history of the Underground Railroad is an opportunity for museums to critically reflect on the history of churches in Canada, including those that supported slavery and those that fought against. Although it is a difficult history to talk about, it provides a more accurate view of the past and an understanding of how religious doctrine can change over time.

Contemporary exhibits discuss Black history Canada touch on slavery and the Underground Railroad, but focus in more on other aspects of history and the contributions of contemporary Black Canadians. *Citizens: Portraits of Canadian Women*

of African Descent[68] hosted by the VMC, and the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia (BCCNS) is a complex portrait of Canadian women of African Descent who migrated to Canada from European societies and have since contributed to life in Canada. The curator, Aïda Kaouk, filmed, interviewed and photographed nine women telling their individual stories of coming to and settling in Canada. These portraits are highlighted by objects owned by or associated with the women. These women were born in Rwanda, Cameroon, France, Romania, the Congo, South Africa and Benin, and some of them have European mothers. The curator expresses that the goal of the exhibit is to talk about citizenship through openness and encounters, building a meeting ground where people can discuss complex citizen identities.

This exhibit also played with the traditional concept of space in the museum. As Kaouk explains:

> When we travel to a location to meet with people in their own environment, it is in a sense the museum that travels. The objects, letters, postcards and family photos presented on this site were located in the women's homes, in their workplaces or the site of their community activities, and "displayed" in a setting chosen by them. The "exhibition space" is thus other than the museum. None of these objects was acquired by the museum. They belong to the women and their families. These articles testifying to the intimate, to daily life, and to the public arena are displayed here in a virtual space.

Here the objects remain in their individual context on the one hand, but on the other hand are still contextualised by their inclusion in a virtual space. The museum has moved into the home of the individual, into virtual reality and then again into the home of the visitor. Looking at this exhibit from the home computer the visitor is free to look

[68] http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/cultur/citoyennes/cityne.shtml

around their own home and draw comparisons noting similarities and differences. The public and the private spheres are blended by this exhibit, but the virtual nature of the exhibit and the domestic nature of the viewing space eliminate the uncomfortable feelings of voyeurism I sometimes feel when viewing domestic spaces in museums.

Figure 4: Citizens

Figure 4: Citizens is a screen shot of the virtual exhibit, the visitor can click on any object or photo and get more information about the photo or object. As well, the visitor can listen to excerpts from the interviews with the curator. The page illustrated in Figure 4: Citizens contained the most visible evidence of religion when the interviewee Martine, meets the Pope. However, the spirituality or religious convictions of these women are never discussed in the text. Understanding the role religion played in the lives of these women would add a dimension to the portrait. The exhibit also discusses the complexity of these women's identities, most of whom consider themselves Canadian, but also African. Many of them state that they love Canada and Africa at the same time and travel back and forth between the two whenever possible. The objects are also fascinating as the exhibit contains photos of many loved objects that according to Ahuvia (2005) affect identity. The Canadian and African artefacts these women chose to have photographed are testaments to their dual identities.

The BCCNS is a cultural centre in Nova Scotia with a museum housed in the centre run by the Society for the Protection and Preservation of Black Culture in Nova Scotia (better known as the Black Cultural Society). The goal of the centre is to educate and inspire and to protect, preserve, and promote Black culture. The permanent exhibit contains some information on slavery and the movement of Black Loyalists into Canada, but it also contains exhibits that move beyond these narratives. One exhibit that was unexpected was the history of Black African Kings and Queens from before the colonial period in Africa. Another is of the military contributions of the Black

community. The most interesting is the *Spirit of Democracy* exhibit[69] that has a counterpoint online discussing the roles that members of the African-Nova Scotian community have played in the development of Parliamentary Democracy in Nova Scotia. The exhibit compares the democratic nature of the first Black communities in Canada to the models of African communities where everyone in the community had a say in decision making. The exhibit discusses how even though Black Canadian men received the right to vote in 1837, they still faced massive inequality in the electoral process. The communities organised to deal with these inequalities and created committees where the church was the focal point. The exhibit goes on to explain how the Black communities made municipal, provincial, and federal candidates listen to their concerns as well as featuring profiles of Black politicians from the local community.

I interviewed David, a worker in the centre, to discuss how religion is displayed in the BCCNS. When asked about religion in his museum he admitted that it was a complicated subject as religion was used both for good and evil purposes during the slave trade. He says that because many denominations did not allow Black people to join, they looked less to dogmatic religion and more to spirituality:

> ... understanding that God created humans in his likeness. So the creator in a certain way allows us to have our own will and make our own decisions. That's how the Black community kind of looked at religion, when we weren't able to go into a particular denomination on an equity basis so we decided over time that we should start our own kind of concepts and that's what happened with a lot of different backgrounds and ethnic origins, the Black

[69] http://www.bccns.com/d250/

> community became known for special worshipping techniques, so what helped us there was being discriminated against, it was an actual help to give us empowerment to start something that we could embrace and say this is my way of worshipping the higher power God...

He also his discussed that a unique adaptation of religion in his community was the creation of the African Baptist denomination which used African styles of worship with the tenants of Christianity. He also articulated how the church became the community focus for education, social work, and medicine.

David articulated that when creating his museum, he often had to think outside the Eurocentric styles of display to convey something that was meaningful to his community. He also has to fight against the idea that the Black community in Nova Scotia are all homogenous descendents from survivors of the Underground Railroad. Instead he tries to emphasise the religious, cultural, linguistic, and regional differences that exist in his community. Another interesting things about the BCCNS is that they try and move away from a narrative of slavery being the main signifier of identity for the community. They do this through the exhibit of African Kings and Queens and other exhibits about the contributions of Black Canadians to society. The argument of this section is that the DNA of all Canadians of African descent may contain some slaves, but also contains greatness. As David says: " just the fact that there is evidence of greatness, of achieving, overcoming and persevering, of contributing, so they say if this wasn't here I wouldn't know that we were inventors, orators, preachers, doctors, artisans, explorers and musicians. All those things that everybody else did, we did too."

When asked about sacred space, David said that Black communities were sacred spaces, as was the land where his cultural centre was built, but the building became sacred over time. He credits two causes to the sacredness of the facility. First, he states that the involvement of the church in every aspect of the Black community including the creation of the centre sanctifies the area. Second, he describes what might be numen-seeking experiences by visitors, particularly those of African descent. He says "... when people come to this building there is a reverence about it, there is a feeling of, some people have said of refreshment in the spirit, of renewal in the spirit and they have said that, ... when people see a place like this, African Americans in particular, they are blown away." In particular, David argues that the cultural centre is one place where Black Canadians can see people like themselves who are accomplished and successful, a part of the African Canadian story that is often overlooked in other museums.

Jewish

While Jews have been in Canada for approximately the same amount of time as other non-French and British immigrants, their history has been marked by different contexts and struggles. The urban nature of Jewish settlement did not give Jews the same opportunity as Mennonites or Ukrainians to portray themselves as pioneers who settled the land. Although they constitute only a small minority in Canada, Jews have been present and active in Canada since the mid-1760s. Montreal's Jewish community built Canada's first synagogue, Shearith Israel in 1768. By the 1830s Jews were guaranteed the same political rights and freedoms as Christians by the government, although this was not always acted out in practice. The Jewish community in Canada

remained very small at first with the bulk of immigration to Canada occurring between 1881 and 1923 because of the pogroms in Russia and other Eastern European countries. Most Jews who immigrated during this time established communities in the larger cities of Toronto and Montreal but by 1911 there were Jewish communities in all of Canada's major cities. Unlike the Mennonites, the Jews who came from Eastern Europe had been forbidden from owning land and therefore were not farmers, which may partially explain why the Jews coming to Canada during this period generally did not apply for land distribution in the prairies (Brym, Shaffir and Weinfeld 1993).

By the time WW1 started, there were approximately 100 000 Canadian Jews, with most living in either Montreal or Toronto. The Canadian Jewish Congress was founded in 1919 to speak on behalf of the common interests of Jewish Canadians and assist immigrant Jews. After WW1, immigration policy restricted the people who were allowed to immigrate to Canada. A move that was justified by the government claiming they desired "peoples who would assimilate well" into Canadian society, and was further exacerbated by the economic pressures of the great depression in the 1930s (Brym, Shaffir and Weinfeld 1993).

The holocaust which, among other things, resulted in the mass emigration of Jews out of Europe is a black spot on Canada's history. Despite heavy lobbying by Jewish communities, Canada took in only five thousand Jews between 1933 and 1945. After the war, and as the atrocities of the holocaust became evident to the world, Canada allowed approximately 40 000 holocaust survivors to enter in the 1940s. A further immigration surge occurred in the 1950s when tens of thousands of Jews left

French colonial North Africa during the turmoil in countries such as Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia who sought independence from France. Most of these Jews settled in Montreal and Quebec City, where their French language helped them quickly adapt. Thus between 1941 and 1961, the Jewish population in Canada grew by just over 150 percent (Brym, Shaffir and Weinfeld 1993).

Today the largest Jewish communities include Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa, Winnipeg, and Calgary respectively. Canada currently houses the fourth largest Jewish community in the world, after the United States, Israel, and France. Today the Jewish population growth has slowed because of decreased immigration and low birth rates (Brym, Shaffir and Weinfeld 1993). Interestingly the Canadian census now allows people to identify as religiously Jewish as well as ethnically, as such there were a reported 329 995 (Statistics Canada 2010) Jews by religion and 348 605 (Statistics Canada 2010) by ethnicity in the most recent census (Statistics Canada 2006). As well, according to the Anti-Semitism World Report in 1993, published by the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs anti-Semitism is a diminishing problem in Canada. However more recent reports, most specifically the 2007 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents sponsored by B'nai Birth Canada, found that in 2007, 1042 incidents were reported to the League for Human Rights, constituting an overall increase of 11.4% from the previous year, a figure that is also shocking compared to the 2003 total of 584 incidents.

The Jewish community in Canada has made extensive use of museums both as community centres and places of holocaust remembrance, with approximately nine

museums registered with the CMA. For the analysis in this section the Jewish community is represented by the MMHM, JHCWC and the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum (SJJHM).

The MMHM claims to be the first "world-class holocaust museum in Canada" exhibiting the history, heritage, richness, and diversity of Jewish life during the holocaust while telling the story of the tragedy. Montreal has approximately 5000-8000 holocaust survivors (making Montreal home to the third largest survivor population in the world). The museums 400 artefacts and 372 photos were all donated by Montreal area survivors and their families, as well as 20 films of archival footage and interviews with holocaust survivors. The videos of survivor testimony are a result of the MMHC's "Witness to History" program which attempts to preserve the memories of holocaust survivors and are integrated into the museum's exhibits. The MMHM is divided into three sections each corresponding to a particular historical era: pre-1919, which focuses on the diversity of the Jewish community in Europe before the holocaust, 1919-1939 which chronicles the rise of Nazism and anti-Jewish propaganda in Germany and, 1939-1945 which creates a narrative of Jewish life and resistance during the holocaust and beginning their lives anew after the fact, with a special emphasis on coming to and settling in Montreal.

Copious research has already been done concerning holocaust exhibition and memorialisation around the world. As such, this section will focus on where religion appears in this specific museum. At the MMHM, I was able to interview Gregory, a former worker at the museum. The holocaust museum is not a museum of Jewish

religion, but because within Judaism religion and culture are so intertwined and part of the Jewish identity, the museum has to discuss them both. To some extent, the museum has to deal with Jewish identity, but does not want to put limits on who is or is not Jewish. As such, the Jewish identity is usually some mixture of ethnic, religious, cultural, and national identity, but the museum does not try to say what concentrations each ingredient of that mixture should be. However, the museum also does have to discuss how the Nazis defined Jewish identity, so there are different understandings of Jewish identity in the museum.

As for Canadian identity, this museum is the one that gave me the idea to ask if communities saw themselves as foundational to Canadian identity or a more local identity. In seeing the exhibit I got the impression that the museum was trying to communicate that the Jewish, and the survivor community had been foundational to creating the self perception of Montreal after WW2. This time I totally missed the mark in the exhibit; as Gregory argued that the change was less foundational and more that the Jewish community was already established and the survivors merely influenced the Jewish community. However, as much as is possible in the space provided, the museum does discuss how the survivors integrated into Canada and the existing Montreal Jewish community.

The MMHM is a memorial as well as a museum so I was interested to hear Gregory's perceptions of sacred space in the museum. Gregory himself saw sacred space as places that are "concreted, separate or taken apart, it's a space reserved for a particular transcendental meditative experience that should not be violated by things, it

is dedicated to a particular, usually some kind of meditative spiritual process, ritual, be that meditation, be that prayer, whatever." The museum itself was probably destined to have sacred space as it began as a memorial room in 1974, and memorials are often considered sacred spaces (Crane 2000). The rest of the museum is "sacred in a secular way" holding loved objects and preserving memories, but the memorial is a sacred space on several levels. First, as a memorial, second as a cemetery as the memorial room holds an urn of ashes from Auschwitz. Third, it is a sacred place because of the rituals performed there, both formal when people say *Kaddish* in the room, and informal, when people bring stones to leave on top of the column in the centre of the room. Fourth, it is also a contested space as the retention and display of human ashes is not a traditional way for Jews to remember the dead. Jews traditionally bury the dead quickly and do not keep relics or ashes. They may build monuments but they are rarely associated with human bodies. The enormity of the holocaust has necessitated new ways of remembering and memorializing the dead. Although Gregory expressed that some people are uncomfortable with the memorial room challenging the Jewish understandings of how to mourn the dead, it is still seen as a sacred space by many members of the Jewish community.

As with sacred space, the discussion of sacred objects in this museum is multi-layered. As Gregory said, the objects in the museum have two levels of "sacrality." First, there is the historical sensitivity of the objects that were donated by the community and their connection to the narrative of the holocaust, which is a crucial story in understanding the Jewish identity. Second, the museum does contain religious objects,

the ashes, prayer books, and a Torah scroll are just a few examples. The Torah scroll is slightly damaged and therefore is not kosher so it can be displayed, however, if the Torah was Kosher, then it would have to be stored behind a curtain. The conflict of sacred and secular also exists when the museum participates in rituals of remembrance. According to Gregory, large numbers of the survivor community are not religious, yet the museum holds the Kristalnacht commemoration and a Yom Hashoah commemoration in synagogues, and both of which incorporate readings, poems, songs, and some Jewish ritual.

The Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada (JHCWC) provides an interesting contrast to the MMHM. First, it is a Jewish Community Campus, with a research library, an archive, exhibitions, and a visiting exhibits space. Second, it has a holocaust resource and education centre rather than a memorial. Third, as stated in the interview with Scott, the centre is run primarily by secular humanist Jews, so there is not as much diversity in the point of view of the centre as there is in Montreal. Despite this, the centre still explicitly aims to advance and promote knowledge, understanding and preservation of the cultural and religious life of Jewish people while serving as an advocate for tolerance and anti-racism. According to their website, the museum is currently undergoing a transformation with new exhibits that will discuss the themes of: "Judaism and Israel from both secular and religious perspectives; immigration; genealogy and family histories; the world of work; organizational life; cultural life; political life; and war." The holocaust education centre currently features a replica of boxcar doors that transported Jews to the concentration camps in Europe, the panels

also tell the history of the holocaust. The centre was founded by local survivors and organises outreach programs for schools and groups.

I interviewed Scott, a worker at this centre, to examine the role religion played in his centre. When asked if his museum discussed religion, Scott gave perhaps the most complex answer of any curator:

> At this point, given the display area we have now its indirect more than direct, in terms of how we discuss the issue of religion, again the perspective that I bring to exhibit development is a secular humanist perspective, having said that, that doesn't deny the fact that religion isn't an important aspect of our community's history, we focus less on the spiritual dimension and more on the structural implications. Also, its relation to larger political economic processes, and also as a social institution. So we deal with the spiritual and more with the material aspects of how religion fits into the history the ethnic identity that is the Jewish identity

There is a lot to unpack in this statement. An important piece of context is that the community that helped found the centre and the museum are mostly secular humanist Jews, and in this sect of Judaism, religion is considered only one part of the Jewish identity. It is important on its own, but this museum looks to analyse religious Judaism in relation to other institutions and norms that affect Jewish identity. Scott also noted that the centre's secular humanist perspective was respectful and very cognizant of the impact and the importance and the influence of defining a Jewish identity. Even if religion is only one aspect of the Jewish identity, it is important and they treat it with respect.

Scott's perspective on society was that it is complex, even though he is not Jewish, his experience doing social history made him look at the broader picture and try

to place the ethnic identity within a broader historical context and that context being the development of society ,politics, and economics on a larger scale the impact and bearing on individual ethnic communities. A valid critique of this thesis is that it emphasises religion too much. However, the more realistic argument is that museums, whenever possible, should look at how all aspects of society come together to create both history and our understanding of history, and that religion is one part of society that needs to be considered. Likewise with identity, Scott said that his museum focuses on cultural identity, but recognised cultural identity includes religion. However, they also try to recognise that identity changes over time, as it responds too historical forces and events. Not only does Jewish identity change, but Scott also recognises that identity is "changing, evolving, developing, dynamic, and dialectical." His museum tries to examine identity in terms of how other social structures such as economics affect identity, or how identity is defined by gender and by class issues.

When discussing the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, if we analyse it from the perspective of the Jewish community, who consisted both of factory owners and labourers, we learn that the Jewish community played a large role in the labour movement in Canada. The Jewish community were diverse in their stances as there were both left wing and more right wing leaning Jews. Visitors to Canada's museums can gain important insight into historical events when museums focus in on a community perspective, and a more real picture of the event is created for the visitor. Scott did not define sacred space, but he argued that memory could be quite sacred, which is a central issue in the holocaust education centre. His goal with the centre is to

create a space where anyone can find themselves comfortable regardless of whether they define themselves as secular, spiritual or religious.

The final Jewish museum discussed in this thesis is the SJJHM in New Brunswick. The SJJHM collects, preserves and displays the history of the Jewish community in Saint John. The museum is situated in a synagogue where the visitor can see a Hebrew School Classroom, The Sanctuary, and Permanent exhibits on the Jewish Way of Life which examines customs and rituals throughout the life cycle and the Jewish calendar year. As well the museum puts up temporary exhibits. When I visited in 2009 the new museum was under construction, but according to the website the exhibits on display now include: *There's no Place like Home* which is display of a 1940s-era Jewish kitchen, accompanied by stories about growing up in Saint John, and a family portrait slide show; *Open for Business* which is a historical examination of Jewish-owned and managed businesses in Saint John; and a travelling exhibit called *Images of Jewish Women* which examines the stories of Jewish women in Saint John between 1897 and 1997.

At the SJJHM I interviewed Elizabeth, a curator and jack-of-all-trades in the museum. When asked if her museum discussed religion she said it does, as the permanent gallery, which was under construction at the time of the research visit, was on the Jewish way of life and focused on the life rituals and the major holidays of the Jewish year. An interesting thing Elizabeth noted about her museum was that Jewish visitors were always interested in the differences between their own community and the community in Saint John which is very small, especially compared to larger city

centres such as Toronto and Montreal. Small museums such as this play a dual role in this sense. First, for Jewish communities in large cities they present a different way of living and understanding Jewish life challenging the normative assumptions of life in a large urban centre. Second, they help solidify the imagined communities that create the Jewish identity by showing the similarities with a group of people who have never met before, but still claim the Jewish identity. This museum also provides non-Jews with an intimate glance into a Jewish community. The museum is not focused on the holocaust, or on fancy exhibits of Judiaca and Jewish art. Instead it shows the rituals of everyday and yearly life, holidays, and gives visitors both a glance into domestic spaces and into the synagogue as a centre for the community.

When asked about communicating Jewish culture and Jewish religion, Elizabeth admitted it was a challenge because different people in the community, who still identify themselves as Jewish, have different levels of religiosity and adherence. All the rituals discussed in the museum may not be what defines some families' relationships to Judaism, while more adherent people may see themselves vividly reflected in the museum. Elizabeth uses the stories of immigration to tie the local Jewish story into the larger Canadian story. This is important for identity as Judaism was something that kept many people out of Canada.

In regards to sacred space Elizabeth has seen Jews perform rituals and say prayers in the museum and in the sanctuary, as well she has seen non-Jewish people sit in the sanctuary and have their own "quiet time." She does not try to actively promote

or prevent this, and it seems that neither her own understanding of sacred space nor the Jewish understanding sacred space really affects the museum or the visitors.

Similar to the Mennonite museums, Jewish museums emphasise the co-existence of two identities, Jewish and Canadian, by tying the Jewish community to a place. Despite their long history in Canada, Jews still face acts of discrimination and harassment. Anti-Zionist groups question the commitment of Jews to Canada, even going to the point of questioning their loyalty to the country (Matas 2005). The MMHM, the JHCWC and the SJJHM root the Jewish communities in Montreal, Winnipeg, and Saint John firmly into the fabric of the city by displaying artefacts, stories and photos from local holocaust survivors and members of the Jewish community. In this way the MMHM attempt to make the story of the holocaust a Canadian Jewish story rather than simply a Jewish story. Aviv and Shneer (2005) have argued that there is a new understanding of diaspora among younger generations of Jews who do not see themselves as in a diaspora from Israel, but that the conceptual, physical and imagined homeland exists in the communities created outside of Israel by their Jewish ancestors. While Aviv and Shneer argue that the Diaspora is at an end, I believe they are overstating their case. Instead, we are observing a paradigmatic shift, a change in the conception of homeland of which we do not yet know the outcome.

South Asian

South Asians are a culturally, ethnically, and religiously diverse group that have a long history in Canada. South Asia encompasses India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. South Asian Canadians are immigrants or descendants of immigrants from these

countries. However, as a result of British colonial rule, South Asian communities established themselves in East and South Africa, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Fiji, Mauritius, Britain, the United States and other European countries. This means that South Asian immigrants to Canada may not come directly from South Asia, but from all over the world (Buchignani, Indra and Srivastava 1985).

The first south Asians arrived in Vancouver in 1903, Most of whom were Sikh and had heard of Canada from British troops they had fought alongside in Hong Kong. Immigration thereafter increased quickly and totalled 5209 by the end of 1908; all of these immigrants were men who had temporarily left their families to find employment in Canada. Perhaps 90% were Sikhs, primarily from Punjab farming backgrounds. Virtually all of them remained in British Columbia. White Canadians feared South Asians and Asians who were willing to do the same jobs as them but for less pay. This resulted in a series of race riots that targeted visible minority groups working on the Canada Pacific Railway. As well, immigration restrictions (a quota of 100 South Asians per year), a rule that said immigrants had to travel directly from their country of origin with no stops in between when no such trips existed from India prevented further immigration. The immigration ban was directly challenged in 1914, when the freighter Komagata Maru sailed from Hong Kong to Canada with 376 prospective South Asian immigrants. The continuous-ticketing requirement that was enacted to prevent immigration from ships such as the Komagata Maru had the desired effect and, because the ship had not arrived directly from India but had come to Canada via Hong Kong, where it had picked up passengers of Indian descent from Shanghai, Moji and

Yokohama, prevented immigration of its passengers. Immigration officials isolated the ship in Vancouver harbour for 2 months, and it was forced to return to Asia (Buchignani, Indra and Srivastava 1985).

In 1947 the South Asian community in Canada was granted the right to vote and the continuous journey provision was removed from the law. As racial and national restrictions were removed from the immigration regulations in the 1960s, South Asian immigration mushroomed. It also became much more culturally diverse; a large proportion of immigrants in the 1950s were the Sikh relatives of pioneer South Asian settlers, while the 1960s also saw sharp increases in immigration from other parts of India and from Pakistan. By the early 1960s, two-thirds of South Asian immigrant men were professionals - teachers, doctors, university professors and scientists. Canadian preferences for highly skilled immigrants during 1960-70 broadened the ethnic range of South Asians and hence decreased the proportion of Sikhs. Non-discriminatory immigration regulations enacted in 1967 resulted in a further dramatic increase in South Asian immigration. In 1967 all immigration quotas based on ethnicity groups were scrapped in Canada (Buchignani, Indra and Srivastava 1985).

In 1972 all South Asians were expelled from Uganda. Canada accepted 7000 of them (many of whom were Ismailis) as political refugees. Thereafter a steady flow of South Asians have come to Canada from Kenya, Tanzania and Democratic Republic of the Congo, either directly or via Britain. The 1970s also marked the beginning of migration from Fiji, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Mauritius. During 1977 to 1985 a weaker Canadian economy significantly reduced South Asian immigration to about 15

000 a year. Starting in the 1970s thousands of immigrants arrived yearly from South Asia increasing to tens of thousands in the 1980s and 1990s. Those of a south Asian background are religiously diverse and consist of Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, and some with no religious affiliation (Buchignani, Indra and Srivastava 1985). According to data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey done by statistics Canada, 83% of South Asians say their religion is important or very important to them compared with 53% of all Canadians. The importance of religion is maintained by second generation South Asians, 76% of whom said that their religion was important to them, compared with 55% of all second generation Canadians. As of 2001 there were 963 190 South Asian in Canada, 579 645 of whom identify as Muslim, 300 345 of whom identify as Buddhist, 297 200 of whom identify as Hindu, 278 415 of whom identify as Sikh, and approximately 77 055 of whom identify as Catholic (Tran, Kaddatz and Allard 2005) (Lindsay 2007).

The ROM contains the only South Asian Gallery in Canada. The gallery is divided into nine thematically organised areas that present religious objects and sculpture, decorative arts, arms and armour, miniature paintings, and textiles spanning over 5000 years and originating from countries including Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Tibet. The gallery begins chronologically with a section titled *Material Remains* and displays material culture of the Indus Valley Civilization. Another section discusses include images of the Buddha, tracing the birth and development of Buddhist art from the 3rd to 5th centuries, especially focusing on the region of Gandhara. The next section focuses on *The Goddess* and explores icons of the

feminine divine represented in both benevolent and wrathful forms. The section titled *Visualizing Divinity*, shows how gods from several religions are visually represented. A section titled *Passage to Enlightenment* focuses on the cultures of the Himalayas and that region's effects on Buddhism. Finally the section *Courtly Culture* examines the luxury items of the Mughal and Rajput courts. An exhibit on the modern period titled *Cultural Exchange* focuses on Dutch, Portuguese, and British commercial interaction with South Asia between the 16th and 19th centuries. The final section, *Home and the World,* presents modern and contemporary art of South Asia and of the South Asian Diaspora.[70]

During the interview with Linda, a worker at the ROM in the South Asian Gallery, in response to the question about her museum discussing religion, she explained that the context of the ROM is very important to understand. Most of the galleries have recently undergone serious restructurings and prior to the restructuring, the South Asian Gallery followed a very fixed and traditional narrative starting with the Indus valley Civilization and ending with the Taj Mahal. Throughout that exhibit there were text panels on the different religions of Buddhism, Jainism, Hinduism and Islam. Linda wanted to entirely re-think the categories of religion, culture and what it meant to be South Asian, particularly in the context of Toronto which has a large South Asian population. The previous gallery tried to do equal representations of all religions and was often organised by religious categories. This caused problems as some South Asian religions have a more prominent visual culture such as Hinduism, than other religions,

[70] Descriptions are taken from my own visits to the ROM and their website description of the gallery at http://www.rom.on.ca/exhibitions/wculture/southasia.php

such as Islam, where the representations tend to be more historical because of the taboos on images.

Linda decided early on that it was not in the best interest of the gallery to have religion as an organizing factor, nor was it the responsibility of the ROM to explain thoroughly every religion it represented. Instead, she focused on visual expressions and attempted to answer the question "[h]ow did artists through the whole history of south Asia get presented with various challenges, and then decide on visual solutions? How did they figure out a visual language for a whole array of abstract concepts?" In this approach, the museum is a source of some knowledge, and visitors are welcome to go learn more about the specific religions if they so desire. Limited by space and artefacts the museum only tells the stories and answers the questions it thinks it can do properly, acknowledges these limitations, and puts some responsibility in the hands of the visitor.

Interestingly, Linda did not work closely with the South Asian community in Toronto to create this exhibit. She felt that the old gallery tried to appease everyone and represent everyone's voice, a task she believes is impossible with a finite collection. To deal with the fact that the narratives in her gallery are finite and limited, she communicates the narratives she can, but also questions them and is open about the fact the gallery uses a curatorial voice rather than a community voice. She also tried to question stereotypes about the Asian community, mostly by including contemporary South Asian art; she believes hers may be the only gallery that covers the entire history from the Indus-Valley to the contemporary world.

During our interview, Linda discussed the overlap between religion and culture and brought a very unique insight to the discussion.

> When I see a question like that, what I think about a lot is where did the categories of religion and culture come from? Because I think it's important that I try to in all my work, both academic research and public things, to remember that these aren't categories that are somehow naturally occurring in our environment. These are categories that were constructed through a certain academic discourse from the late 18th century onwards, through enlightenment thinking and the creation of academic disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, as per Foucault's order of things ... when I teach my students I talk a lot about culture being a product of colonialism, and colonial discourse, which is kind of mind blowing for them, and kind of also mind blowing when thinking about a museum ... The museum is a product of colonial discourse too ... So we acknowledge that museums are colonial institutions, a lot of their collections were built because of the colonial predicament that most of the world was in.

This raises several important insights about power in the museum. Linda recognises that the categories in the museum are colonial creations, and the power to use those categories in a museum affects our understanding of history. Religion, anthropology, and sociology students eventually learn that the separate category of religion is a western invention. The fact that it is a category we now use to discuss South Asian culture in the museum is an imposition of colonial discourse onto a community's self representation and understanding. However, it is further complicated because, as pointed out in the statistics above, the South Asian community has embraced religion as something important to their culture, and as such, it is likely something they want discussed within the museum.

The power of the museum to define and regulate sacred space is also evident in the South Asian Gallery. While Linda does not consider a museum to be sacred space, she acknowledges there are some segments of the population who do. In regards to South Asian display she brings an interesting point forward:

> Or someone could consider a part of the South Asia Gallery that has an image of Shiva, sacred because it's an image of Shiva, and it once was in a temple, so in some ways, wherever Shiva is, the temple is around him. And there are certainly instances in other galleries that I know of from my colleagues who will walk through the gallery find some type of some coins at the base of a statue of a god or goddess, so obviously someone has seen this object not simply as an aesthetic object but as a religious object so suddenly a sacred space is created.

The museum has the power to regulate these behaviours and the meaning of the objects. A curator can put barriers up between the statue and the visitors that would prevent devotees from leaving objects at the base of the statue. Linda further argues that the museum and the temple are two different contexts.

> So if someone decides to go and splash milk over the Shiva statue, which you could to in a temple, it wouldn't work here. So it wouldn't work here because it's a different context, I think museums that try to re-create temple spaces run into a lot of problems because those sort of spaces get the division between the museum space and the religious space, gets really murky then. I think there are more problems there, again it's about acknowledging what we are and what our limitations and going forward from there.

Here the museum takes an authoritative stance on what can and cannot be done to an artefact. The purpose of a museum it to preserve artefacts, however, in the case of the statue of Shiva, this may conflict with the purpose of the object. Grimes (1992) has reflected on sacred objects and how they are affected and transformed by the spaces they inhabit, arguing that an object can inhabit more than one space at a time. Grimes

argues that the exegetical meaning of an object can stay the same when moved from a sacred space to a museum space, but the spatial and conceptual relationship to other objects will change. To illustrate these changes Grimes uses the example of a goddess who, when removed from her context, is no longer adored or worshipped. Instead, "she is placed in a case and stared at by hopefully curious but often bored visitors who see the art and history of her design but never the sacrality of her existence. The most she can hope for from the visitor is admiration, knowing she will never have our devotion." For Grimes, the object is sacralised by its inclusion in religious ritual. When this ritual tops upon entering the museum the object becomes nothing more than a piece of religious art. He encourages museums to remember and acknowledge that objects, like people, have biographies, life spans, and histories. The ROM draws its line in the sand by allowing some forms of worship as long as they are not detrimental to the objects. Whether this is right or wrong, it is still a form of power, particularly if an object is made knowing it has a life span that will one day end. Religions usually have rituals for dealing with the death of an object (burning it, burying it). A museum, by choosing to indefinitely preserve an object, denies a sacred object the final ritual in its life. The museum also follows some basic tenants of respect however by not putting important religious artefacts on the floor; the museum decides where the line between respect and preservation lies.

Japanese

While the first known Japanese immigrant arrived in Canada in 1877, most first generation Japanese Canadians, or *Issei*, arrived during the first decade of the 20th

century, settling primarily in Vancouver and Victoria (Adachi 1976). Most of the immigrants were males, but they were followed by their wives and children in the subsequent years. Like all visible minorities in Canada, Japanese Canadians faced extensive racism in Canada enduring riots, personal prejudice, and systematic exclusions by the government from participation in civil life. The *Issei* concentrated in ghettos, primarily Powell Street in Vancouver and developed their own schools, hospitals, temples, churches, unions, cooperatives, and groups. The second generation, or *Nisei*, were Canadian born, fluent in English, and well educated. This group considered themselves Canadian, but were still denied the vote until 1949 (Adachi 1976).

When Japan entered WW2 in December of 1941, Japanese Canadians were forced into internment camps by the Canadian government, had their land and possessions seized and sold, and many men were removed from their families and sent to work camps. The War Measures Act affected over 21 000 Japanese Canadians. Those who resisted and challenged the orders of the Canadian government were rounded up by the RCMP and treated as prisoners of war. However, the Canadian government did not follow the Geneva conventions concerning prisoners of war and Japanese Canadians were forced to pay for their own internment (Adachi 1976). At the end of the war, about 4000, half of them Canadian-born , Japanese Canadians were exiled to Japan. The Japanese community did not receive the full rights of citizenship until 1949.

The internment of Japanese Canadians caused a cultural disruption and psychological damage to much of the community. The *Sansei*, or third generation, grew

up speaking English and little or no Japanese. Immigration law did not change until 1967, and the first new immigrants in fifty years arrived from Japan. These new immigrants revived many Japanese traditions provided a way for many *Sansei* to connect with their lost heritage. As the *Sansei* learned more about the internment the National Association of Japanese Canadians was formed and officially resolved to seek an acknowledgement of the injustices endured during and after the Second World War. The community achieved redress and acknowledgement in September of 1988 (Roy 2007).

According to the 2001 census there are 85 230 Canadians of Japanese descent (Statistics Canada 2010). The high rate of intermarriage means many Japanese Canadians now have multiple ethnic roots, and 77% of the Japanese Canadian population was born in Canada. Japanese Canadians live mostly in British Columbia, Ontario and Alberta. The majority of Japanese Canadians report English as their mother tongue. Most relevant to this thesis is the fact that the majority of the Japanese Canadian population reports that they have no religious affiliation. "In 2001, 46% of Canadians of Japanese origin said they had no religious affiliation, compared with 17% of the overall population. Among Canadians of Japanese origin with a religious affiliation, 24% belonged to a Protestant denomination of Christianity, 16% were Buddhist and 9% were Catholic" (Lindsay 2007). According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, a majority of Canadians of Japanese origin feel a strong sense of belonging in Canada. In 2002, 68% said they had a strong sense of belonging in Canada. At the same time, 42% said they have a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group.

I was only able to find one Japanese Canadian museum in Canada, the Japanese Canadian National Museum (JCNM) in British Columbia that is part of the National Nikkei Museum and Heritage Centre in the Nikkei Place complex. The museum relates the history of Japanese Canadians from their arrival in 1870 to the present day with a focus on the Japanese Canadian experience and contribution as an integral part of Canada's heritage and multicultural society. When I visited the museum in 2009 the exhibits were still under construction and the Nikkei Place complex was closed because of a visit by Japanese heads of state. However, the museum's website provides a description of their permanent and travelling exhibits. *Tales of Powell Street (1920-1941)*, is a look at the pre-war business centre of the Japanese community in Vancouver. *Pow! The art of the festival* displays the poster art that advertises and celebrates the Powell Street Festival. *Minoru: Memory of Exile*, is the story of Minoru Fukushima who spent time in the internment camps and was eventually exiled to Japan. *Memories of Japan* is an interactive exhibit where visitors can try to match descriptions goes objects. Finally, *Vancouver Asahi Team*, is about the Japanese Communities famous baseball team and has a matching online exhibit.[71]

The JCNM was included in this study in the hopes of providing a unique story about religion in Canadian. As mentioned above, 46% of Japanese Canadians claim no religious affiliation. Despite this, many aspects of Japanese life resemble religious practice as it would be defined by Geertz or practices that could be described as spirituality, Shinto, ancestor worship, or Folk religion (Kaneko 1990). However, it soon

[71] http://virtualmuseum.ca/Exhibitions/Asahi/

became clear that this is not discussed in the Nikkei museum. The only overt references to religion I could find were in an exhibit on the VMC called *Aya's Story* [72] that contained a few pictures of local churches and women's Buddhist associations. The role or significance of these organizations in the community was never discussed. I asked Emily, a worker at the JCNM if the museum discussed religion, her response was: "Right now the museum does not talk a lot about religion, I think that we are the Japanese Canadian museum, so we are talking about Japanese Canadian experience in history and the role of Japanese Canadian people in Canada." She went on to explain that there were church groups, and some people practiced religion in their home, so it is a part of the internment experience, but that it is not really discussed in the museum.

I would hypothesise that there are two inter-related processed occurring in the JCNM around the discussion of religion. The first is very similar to Linda's remarks about South Asians. The separation of religion and culture is not intrinsic to Japanese understandings of the world, so it is somewhat unfair to expect a museum run by the Canadian Japanese community to discuss religion as a distinct category. Second, as indicated by Emily and other scholars, much of Japanese religion takes place in the home, as such, it is likely that the imposed separation of the public and private sphere traditional to modern museums is being upheld.

Muslim

The first recorded Muslims in Canada appeared in the 1871 census which recorded only thirteen Muslims. Their number increased to 645 by 1931, mostly due to

[72] http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/CommunityMemories/AEEG/00ba/Exhibits/English/index.html

immigrants from Lebanon, Albania, Syria, Yugoslavia, and Turkey. At this time, most Muslims settled in Ontario and Alberta, however this shifted to a preference for Quebec after the 1930s. The influx of immigrants after the Second World War raised the number to 33 370 by 1971. The majority of this wave comprised highly educated, westernised professionals who came to settle in Canada to share in its economic prosperity. They were mostly from Lebanon, Syria, Indonesia, Morocco, Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and the Indian-Pakistani-Bangladeshi subcontinent. From 1966 to 1970, thousands of unskilled labourers of Indo-Pakistani background immigrated to escape discrimination in East Africa and Britain. More recently, Muslim immigrants have included unskilled workers from southern Lebanon, Somalia and the Balkans fleeing their war-torn countries, as well as political refugees from Iran and Afghanistan. Muslims are the fastest growing religious group in Canada with 579 640 Muslims throughout the country. Since arriving in Canada, Muslims have faced racism and discrimination, but possibly due to their later arrival in Canada, they missed much of the systemic discrimination endured by Asians, Jews, and South Asians. Strains with the non-Muslim Canadian community have risen over accommodating religious practices such as daily prayers in school or the workplace, or wearing the Hijab to sporting events (Yousif 2008). As well, Statistics Canada reported that in 2006, among the 220 hate crimes motivated by religion, 21% of offences were against Muslims. More Muslims live in Toronto than in all the provinces and territories. According to the 2001 Census, there are 254 110 Muslims living in Toronto. Often, Muslims and Arabs are conflated when discussed in the media, but the reality is that the Arab community in

Canada is evenly split between those who report they belong to a Christian religious group and those that report they are Muslim (Lindsay 2007).

As of yet, the only existing museum of Islam in Canada is in Canada's oldest mosque, the Al Rashid Mosque in Edmonton, however I was unable to confirm the existence of this museum. There is also a Gallery of Islam at the ROM, the CMC ran an exhibit called *The Lands Within Me: Expressions by Canadian Arab Artists*, the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia ran an exhibit called *The Spirit of Islam*, and the Aga Khan Museum is set to open in 2013 in Toronto (Aga Khan Development Network 2007). This thesis will only examine *The Lands Within Me: Expressions by Canadian Arab Artists*, and *The Spirit of Islam* as they are the only two exhibits that examine modern Muslim identities in Canada.

The Lands within Me: Expressions by Canadian Artists of Arab Origin, was displayed at the CMC from October 19th, 2001 to March 9th, 2003.[73] This exhibit featured the features the art of twenty-six Canadian artists of Arab origin in order to explore the immigrant experience and cultural intermixing between their Arab background and their art. The exhibit had the goal of de-exoticizing the art by focusing on the hybrid identity of the artists. Curated by the same woman who created the online exhibit *Portraits of Women of African Descent*, Aida Kaouk, the theme is very similar. The Individual artist and their experience is profiled through their work. Religion does not play a large role in this exhibit despite some of the artwork, such as

[73] As this exhibit was shown before I began my thesis research I am using http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/cultur/cespays/payinte.shtml and the exhibit catalogue (Kaouk 2003).

Yasser Badreddine who uses calligraphy, an art form heavily influenced by the development of Islam. Sometimes listed as an aesthetic influence for the artist, religion is rarely mentioned as a spiritual influence. The exhibit does not make it clear if these omissions are the choice of the artists or the curator.

The second exhibit, *The Spirit of Islam*, likewise ran before I started this research began; however it maintains a virtual presence, which provides the descriptions of this exhibit.[74] The exhibit was a joint venture between the University Of British Columbia Museum Of Anthropology and the Muslim community in the Vancouver area. The exhibit explored Islam through the concepts of knowledge, unity and diversity, as expressed through calligraphy. These concepts were expressed through the installation of a prayer space, a Madrassa (learning space) for school and public programming, and a gallery of objects each of which served as a portal to ideas about Islam. These three spaces are common to all sects of Islam and were intended to explore and enhance those common values that reflect the interconnected nature of spiritual and secular life in the Muslim community. The exhibit began with an entrance way that included a carved sculpture that served as a metaphor for water, a poem thought to have been written by Rumi, and photographs of Muslims and places of prayer. The exhibit then moved the visitor into the prayer space designed by architect Farouk Noormohamed, entered through a portal decorated with stylised calligraphy on the entry panel reads *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim* (In the name of God, the most Beneficent, the Most Merciful). As the online description says: "[t]he design of this prayer space draws on the

[74] http://www.moa.ubc.ca/spiritofislam/index2.html

rich heritage of Islam. It is expressed in a western contemporary idiom through its use of local materials and modern technology. It is a place of peace, of understanding and respect."

The visitor then moves into the *Madrasa* and explored the importance of education and knowledge in Islam. This gallery explores the transmission of knowledge through the art of Calligraphy and the role of Arabic as a sacred language. The visitor then moves to an object gallery with artefacts from all over the world and a variety of time periods. All the objects are decorated with calligraphy which serves as the unifying factor in a diverse collection of objects. The exhibit explains that objects with religious significance are decorated with calligraphic quotes from the Qur'an, while secular objects are decorated with poetry, portions of a famous epic, or perhaps good wishes to the owner in calligraphy. The exhibit also contained voices and photos of people in the local Muslim community. I interviewed Kelly and Erin, two workers at the museum who participated in the creation of this exhibit.

One of the goals of the exhibit was to invite people into a mosque, as most would never go in on their own. Kelly's argument was that the museum resembled a mosque, but was also a place of knowledge and therefore a place that could dispense knowledge within a framework. The Muslim community in Vancouver consists of Shia, Ismāʿīlī, Sunni, and Persian Muslims, and to create a complex picture of who the Muslims were, the exhibit was filled with pictures of Muslims, from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Europe. It was also an exhibit where the various communities had to work together with the museum to create the exhibit. Kelly and Erin wanted the exhibit to show a

variety of ways of being Muslim, without arguing that one was more right than the others. Kelly said she remembered the exact moment that the advisory committee began to take ownership of the display

> I think also that a really important moment for me anyway in the exhibit was when the designer put together this model of how the gallery would be, it was a very crummy model, and it was full of bits of cardboard and stuff. And that was the moment when that advisory committee took ownership, and that was the moment where we had to ... In the museum world as you know, relinquishing authority and ownership is a fairly recent phenomenon. Maybe it is a trickle or wave or whatever, and from that moment I found that they were so engaged in it...

On the opening night the members of the committee were there to give tours to their communities and other visitors and were able to speak beyond the labels. Muslim volunteers also led tours who added a very personal element to the story. For example, in a part of the exhibit that discusses the Hajj the Muslim tour guide would tell of her personal experiences while the non-Muslim tour guide could talk about the history of the ritual. It is important to note that the even participation between the museum and the Muslim communities there were still power dynamics at work. The members of the advisory committee gained prestige and social capital by being affiliated with the museum and the University.

Erin felt that the themes of unity, diversity and knowledge allowed more complex discussions about faith instead of focusing on Islam only as a belief system, providing both historical and spiritual insight. This type of display of lived religion in a museum is often difficult to communicate. Dissolving the separation between the western secular and sacred spheres was a challenge for the exhibit, but the

participation of individuals, and the combined discussion of history and spirituality shoed the reality of Islam in the everyday life of Vancouver Muslims.

A piece of context is also necessary when discussing these two exhibits on Islam. Both exhibits were slotted to open after the tragedies of September 11th. Initially, the CMC cancelled *The Lands Within Me*, but eventually back tracked on their decision. *The Spirit of Islam* opened with security beyond anything the museum had ever seen. Both cancelling and continuing the exhibitions were political statements and evidence that museum will always be affected the politics of the society it inhabits. However, both exhibitions could not have been timelier. Education about Islam and Arabs was necessary after September 11th to counteract the stereotypes and negative images being communicated in the media.

First Nations, Inuit and Métis

This final section on Aboriginal people and museums in Canada will examine both the story of Aboriginal contact with Christianity and the discussions of Aboriginal spiritual beliefs. This chapter begins with a short discussion of Aboriginal People in Canada and their long history with Canadian museums. This analysis is performed in the context of three types of museums that tell the story of Aboriginal people, general interest museums with an Aboriginal hall or section, living history sites, and Aboriginal run cultural centres. While these categories are primarily a convenience for organizing a large amount of data, there are also some themes that appear when we examine the different levels of Aboriginal People's participation in each type of museum.

History

Aboriginal history in Canada is so long and varied that it is impossible to tell one story that encompasses every Aboriginal group's experience accurately. Instead, this introduction touches on a few key experiences that are common to most Aboriginal peoples in Canada, including those portrayed in the museums described herein. Archaeologists have traditionally looked for scientific evidence confirming the belief that several thousand years ago a land bridge was created over the Bering Strait between the Americas and Asia. However, origin myths which are foundational to Canada's Aboriginal peoples tie them more intimately to the land than Archaeological evidence of first arrival. In Salish myth people physically arise from the land, the Iroquois believe that Aataentsic, the mother of humanity fell from the sky and landed on the back of a great tortoise (North America), and the Tsimshian have themes of migration of migration over a bridge to land that would be given to them for all time. In all of these myths, whether by migration or through creation, if not the land becomes the progenitor, and land of origin for Canada's Aboriginal peoples (Dickason 2006).

Archaeology traces the presence of Aboriginal people possibly as far back as 50 000 years ago, through which people underwent cultural, linguistic and technological developments.[75] Contact with Europeans in the 1500s was actually a process that took over 900 years and did not cause an immediate stop to Aboriginal culture. There were at least ninety languages spoken in what is now Canada, translating into some fifty-

[75] I include this point because there have been many museums that portray pre-contact Aboriginal culture as static, never developing or changing, an idea which is insulting when we consider the adaptations that the early Aboriginal people made to the land in Canada.

seven distinct contemporary Aboriginal nations in Canada, the ancestors of whom were affected by and responded to French and British colonialism. Even as the first years of contact and trade unfolded, wars and imported disease decimated the populations causing unprecedented cultural and demographic turmoil. Later, residential schools run by the government and churches and population displacement contributed in many cases to an unprecedented loss of culture (Dickason 2006). In the 2001 census a total of 1 172 790 people identified themselves as an Aboriginal person, of these 50 485, reported that they were Inuit and 389 785 reported that they were Métis (Statistics Canada 2010). The sheer variety of distinct cultures and groups in Canada helps explain why the CMA has over fifty museums listed that are in some way affiliated with Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

Canada's museums are inextricably intertwined with the post-contact history of Aboriginal people. Members of religious orders who collected "curiosities" on their missionary travels ran the first museums and archives in Canada (Bazin 2004). As such, Aboriginal culture has always had a place in Canada's museums, but until the 1970s Aboriginal people have had very little opportunity to participate in their own representation. Until the late 1970s and early 1980s, museums in Canada tended to work from the point of view of white settlers or missionaries (Peers 2007). Until this time, Aboriginal people were often unable to have input on museum exhibits some people argued that the Aboriginal point of view would interfere with objectivity (Peers 2007). However, in the last twenty years there has been a movement to incorporate both Aboriginal people and their oral histories into museum displays through years of

Aboriginal groups lobbying museums and governing bodies. This movement was given an impetus following a significant event, the uproar created around the exhibit *The Spirit Sings* at the Glenbow museum in Alberta.

The Spirit Sings has been analysed by several scholars, especially McLoughlin, as such I will only give a surface introduction. *The Spirit Sings* was a museum exhibit created to go along with the 1988 Calgary Olympics at the Glenbow museum. The exhibit consisted of a variety of Aboriginal artefacts from Canada and around the world with the goal of attesting to "the richness, diversity and complexity of Canada's Native cultures" (Harrison 1988, 12). However, the exhibit did not speak of the pains of colonialism or the problems faced by Aboriginal peoples in Canada. It also became the object of a boycott by the Lubicon Lake Cree of Northern Alberta for two reasons. First, the exhibit focused on the period of contact and ignored contemporary Aboriginal voices. Second, the exhibit was sponsored by Shell Canada, which has been drilling since the 1950s in what the Lubicon believe are their traditional lands, a claim they are fighting with ongoing land claim dispute. Many museums and scholars joined the Lubicon Lake Cree in their boycott. The museum claimed that they could not address the problems of the Lubicon as it fell into the realm of politics and would compromise the unbiased nature of the museum. However, this museum has shown that museums are both biased and political.

As McLoughlin (1993) says about the exhibit:

> The Lubicon boycott made clear that the arm's length space which stands between the museum discourse and the many sites of what might be called contemporary practice is that in which the other is constructed: a space that allows the museum image

> to ultimately depoliticise and delegitimize those created outside it. The symposium and the disciplinary debates that have been engendered by these questions, make painfully obvious that exhibits are constructs, representations which reflect not only particular and situated interpretations of history, but more importantly create a particular vision of contemporary Canada which has the potential to defuse much of what may seem to threaten it.

She then cites Bourdieu (1984, 479) argue that: "[w]hat is at stake in the struggles about the meaning of the social world is power over the classificatory schemes and systems which are the basis of the representations of the groups and therefore of their mobilization and demobilization." She argues that museums do not end the struggle about the meaning of an object; they merely open it up to a new set of dimensions about meaning. She further quotes Dictator (1988, 26) who said: "[t]he ethnographic museum gallery was born in the 19th century when, at the heart of `Indianness,' was the belief that Indian cultures were technologically and intellectually inferior and incapable of surviving in competition with Euro-Canadian society." She argues that the power to decide what objects are special enough to be kept is part of an "ideology of conquest." McLoughlin's analysis, while harsh, adequately shows why Aboriginal people were angry about the way they were represented as museums. On their own lands, their own objects were being used by a powerful hegemonic structure to portray them as in the past, irrelevant, and othered.

As a response, the CMA Task Force on Museums and First Peoples in 1992 asserted that Aboriginal peoples have moral and legal rights to both the stewardship of their material heritage and in the representation of their cultures and histories. Its report, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples*,

was ratified by the CMA and The Assembly of First Nations. It establishes a model of partnership between aboriginal people and museums, and makes recommendations in three major areas, repatriation, access and interpretation, and implementation (Grimes 1988). These documents brought First Nations, Inuit and Métis people into an active role in museums in a variety of capacities as advisors, curators and interpreters.

Aboriginal Alternative Discourses

This paper has already discussed the ROM and CMC. However there are many regional museums both at the provincial and the municipal level that display Aboriginal artefacts. Some museums, usually provincial, will have entire halls dedicated to regional First Nations history, and some will only have a few artefacts on display on one shelf. Rather than provide detailed descriptions of all these museums, I will examine the interviews with relevant curators for themes. I was fortunate enough to be able to interview two curators who self-identify as Cree and work in two different regional museums and will analyse their interviews separately to point out their distinct observations and point of view.

In regards to history, curators across the board acknowledged that understanding the First Nations history of an area was as crucial as the history of any other group. That being said, when asked about founding communities, not every curator brought up the topic of First Nations people independently. Most of these museums however are aware of the shortcomings in their museums. Many exhibits concerning Aboriginal peoples in Canada were created prior to the 1990s, and the language and display reflects the representational styles of that time. Cheryl reflected

other curators when she mentioned that she wanted to eliminate the sense of separation between First Nations history and Vancouver history. The curators who have the funds and opportunities to change these antiquated displays are working with Aboriginal communities whenever possible in varying levels of partnership. Some museums are completely relinquishing ownership of the narrative as Nancy explains: "[i]t is not about consulting them, I want to involve them, I want it to be their voice, and I want us to be talking about the things, ... that are important to First Nations for our visitors to know, not what they tell us, because then it is our version of what." Others meanwhile others are seeking advice from the local Aboriginal community. Mark, a curator in Newfoundland, also explains that he wants to communicate that Aboriginal people have been here for thousands of years and that Inuit and Mi'kmaq were capable of defending themselves against the British and the French, even to the point of being defenders and aggressors. The dialectic in the case of museums is between their role as a voice for anthropology in public learning and the movement to cede decision-making power to Native peoples represented in collections, exhibits and programs. Voice and power are inextricably intertwined in museums and both are subjects of intense and sometimes disconcerting dialogue in museums of anthropology (Haas 1996, 21).

In regards to spirituality, the origin stories of First Nations people often cause museums some issues. While there is some archaeological evidence that supports the Bering Strait theories, many of the origin myths place the First Nations peoples as arising from the land of Canada. Robert, a Cree curator at the Manitoba museum says there is archaeological evidence both for and against the Bering Strait theory. He says:

"[t]o say we haven't been here since time immemorial, how can you not say that? Whether that time immemorial is 10 000, 12 000, thirty to forty thousand, who knows, but for me, I don't see it as conflicting, I can respect both and I would never fight anyone and say 'Nope, we definitely came over the Berring Strait.'" This is a very fair stance for a museum to take. Several museums have natural history collections that outright support evolutionist theories without attempting to de-legitimate the creation myths of other cultures display in the same museum.

Another conflict of religion that has arisen in museums that display Aboriginal artefacts is when the staff come from different religious traditions. Brenda, a Cree curator in Saskatchewan is very conscientious about performing rituals for some of the sacred objects displayed in the museum, including feastings, smudgings, and blessings. She said that some of the technicians in her museum are Christian and struggle with some of this Aboriginal belief. For now she has performed the rituals herself and never required a museum worker to participate who is not comfortable. It raises an interesting scenario however if the curator was him or herself a member of a religion that was uncomfortable with the rituals in the museum.

All the curators have had to think about First Nations objects in their museums. Wherever possible, the museums have followed the wishes of the community in, for example, displaying the bowls and stems of pipes separately, and not showing certain masks or artefacts. Most bones have been repatriated and re-buried or the local community has designated a sacred space for any bones left in a museum. However one museum still has a collection they did not want to talk about. The same museum worker

was also a little concerned about his objects being repatriated and did not know what would happen if the local Aboriginal community made that request. Berlo, Phillips, and Dun (1995, 7) have raised some relevant points regarding the display of Aboriginal sacred objects in museums:

> Who has the right to control American Indian objects, many of which are thought by their makers not to be art objects but instruments of power? Who has access to knowledge (even simply the knowledge gained from gazing upon an object of power), only those who have been initiated, or all who pass through the doors of a cultural institution? Who has the right to say what the objects mean, and whether and how they are displayed? And how will Native Americans, as they assume increasingly authoritative roles in museum representation, remake the museum as an institution?

From Robert's point of view, it is as big an issue. Many objects were given by First Nation's people as gifts or traded fairly for or purchased, and Robert does not think these things should be returned. However, objects that were stolen, or seized and bones that were dug up should be returned if they are asked for. In all cases, he advocates that Aboriginal communities should have a right to go in and study the objects and artefacts. Brenda has an interesting issue where a sweat lodge, a pipe, and a drum were installed in her gallery during the 1980s. Since the sweat lodge is sacred and involves sacred ceremonies, and a real pipe is in the lodge it is not appropriate to have in a museum. As well, women are not allowed near a sweat lodge during their menstrual period because that is when women are considered the most powerful. Brenda removed the pipe, and smudged the museum with an elder but was unable to move the drum (it is too securely fastened to the floor) and is thinking of changing the sweat lodge into another similar structure. What is interesting is that, aside from the

pipe, the Elders in the 1980s approved the exhibit, and it is the next generation of Elders who are uncomfortable with the sweat lodge. This is evidence as to why communities need to have ongoing relationships with museums, as lived religion changes over time.

Actually discussing First Nations religion and spirituality in a museum is often a bit of a conundrum for curators. For example, several curators mentioned that some Aboriginal nations have decided that museums and Universities could talk about Aboriginal "religion" but should not mention "spirituality". Knowing where to draw the line between religion and spirituality can be a tricky issue, however, many curators have often found it is best to let the language come from the community. For example, an exhibit in Brian's museum

> We also have recently had a borrowed exhibition relating to an early Wolastoqiyik canoe…you probably saw it on display in the lobby in the museum, and one of the aspects related to that has certainly been a spiritual component on behalf of the Aboriginal community in NB itself there when that object arrived was a welcoming ceremony when it was put up on display. There was consultation and participation and encouragement.

Brian's museum also created an Aboriginal exhibit that was a counter-perspective to history by working with a group of Mi'kmaq and Wolastoqiyik artists on the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Champlain, to discuss aboriginal views of the land and it dealt with Aboriginal spiritual conceptions about the landscape. Robert uses the term spirituality in the museum rather than religion as religion has connotations associated with it (he did not specify what connotations).

Mark and Robert both deal with archaeological artefacts where it is often difficult to ascertain if there is any spiritual significance about the artefact. As Mark says:

> I deal with some artefacts that are, in my opinion and in other people's opinion, very special artefacts that we would call sacred or highly charged with a kind of spiritual function even though I don't always know what that function is, I can tell from the archaeological context and from the look of those artefacts that they have a lot of spiritual significance."

For Robert, even as an archaeologist spirituality runs subconsciously through his work and the artefacts he works with "... we are talking about sacred sites and sacred places and things that are of cultural significance and stuff, and that has a huge spiritual connection to the land and to the cosmology of Aboriginal people and I see that coming through, even though it's not first and foremost ..."He goes on to explain how he uses archaeology as one way of telling stories about people, and that the integration of people, their identities, and their spiritualities creates a better understanding of those people. Both First Nations curators think about their own identities, and the identities they are representing all the time. They feel a responsibility to represent their communities and themselves.

The most important question is if Aboriginal people want their spirituality discussed in museums. In each case the museum should treat this as situation specific. Mark has had Aboriginal visitors to the museum who would like to see more spirituality in the displays, and has been asked by Inuit communities to create curriculums with a focus on spirituality. Sometimes, the demands of Aboriginal people are seen as unreasonable, but Haas (1996, 26) re-frames the problem in such a way that reveals the

hegemonic perspective. He argues that while Christianity may not have the same number or type of Taboos that Aboriginal spirituality does, "religion is also a highly sensitive subject when it comes to our own major churches." He uses the example of the practice of confession in the Catholic Church as a hypothetical case. Arguing that while it would not be difficult to study, it would be completely unethical by the standards set by the American Anthropological Association: "anthropologists must do everything in their power to protect the dignity and privacy of the people with whom they work, conduct research or perform other professional activities" (American Anthropological Association 1990).

Sacred space is a complex issue in museums that display Aboriginal art. For Robert, sacred spaces are in Nature rather than in buildings, and he argues that museums can try to reproduce it with large scale life-size dioramas. However he also says that museums can be sacred spaces in their own right:

> they are keeping houses of material for future generations, and these are such important things. Maybe it is not the museum, it's the material that makes them sacred and sort of as a landscape makes, and the stories on the landscape make it significant and sacred, the collections make this sacred. So if you were to remove the collections then museums are just another hollow building, and the same thing with some cultural centres, if a cultural centre has no collections, whether they are replicas or texts or whatever, I don't necessarily see that as sacred as some of these other places.

A final challenge faced by curators in these museums is how to discuss historically sensitive or difficult topics. First, because First Nations have historically been called savages or war-like, museums are often hesitant to discuss conflicts where First Nations people could be seen as aggressors. For example, one curator mentioned

how she was hesitant to discuss what are known as "the Native attacks of 1751." However, this could be dealt with by ensuring the full history is known, and that the Aboriginal community is consulted. A little research reveals that these attacks happened during Father Le Loutre's War which was a critical time in the history of Britain, France, the Acadians and the First Nations people (Patterson 1994) and referring to them as the Native attacks does not do justice to the complexity of the historical situation. The second issue in museums is discussing the repercussions of Canada's colonial policies. This covers everything from the story of Louis Riel, the extinction of the Beothuk, Tuberculosis outbreaks in Aboriginal communities, and residential schools. In all these cases, these museums were all in the process of changing their exhibits, and had plans to consult with the local First Nations and Métis communities. The only exception to this is the museum in Newfoundland that deals with the Beothuk. In this case there is a power struggle between the museum, the Innu and the Mi'kmaq over who gets to speak for the Beothuk. In this case, Mark acts mostly as an arbitrator using historical research to show that the Innu are the most closely related to the Beothuk, however he advocates that the Mi'kmaq have a space where they are able to voice their dissent with any opinions.

The next type of museum is a living history museum. Despite not obtaining an interview at Saint Marie Among the Hurons (Sainte Marie) situated in present day Midland, Ontario the museum and village are still worth examining. This village is a reconstruction of the original mission set up by the Jesuits in 1630. At its busiest point in 1648 and 1649, Sainte Marie housed approximately sixty European priests, donnés,

lay brothers, engages and accepted approximately 3000 Wendat[76] visitors. However, in the spring of 1649, in the light of numerous Iroquois attacks and the loss of Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalement the decision was made to abandon the mission and burn it so it would not fall into Iroquois hands (Trigger 1987). Fortunately, the story of Sainte Marie did not end on that fiery day in 1649. Between 1940 and 1960 the site was excavated by archaeologists and reconstructed as a Canadian Centennial Project (Hawkes 1974). Sainte Marie was opened to the public in May of 1967 as a living history site and currently includes approximately sixteen structures including two longhouses, two tepees, residences for soldiers and Jesuits, bastions for fortification, a chapel, a church and a hospital. Also within Sainte Marie is a graveyard for both Wendats and Europeans, and the gravesite of Brébeuf and Lalement. The site uses interpreters to act as Jesuits, traders, donnés and Wendat to interact with visitors by answering their questions, demonstrating crafts and performing skits to illustrate what life may have been like in the 1600s.

When Sainte Marie opened its doors in the 1960s there was almost no Aboriginal participation in the museum. However, in the 1980s there was a strong shift towards including Aboriginal voices, with two prominent examples. First, Sainte Marie began to hire Aboriginal people to portray the Wendats, a role that previously had been performed by white interpreters in Aboriginal costumes (Lunman 1995). The second example of Aboriginal inclusion is in the introductory video all visitors watch before entering the actual mission. This video was changed in the 1980s because it initially

[76] While the name of the Museum is Sainte Marie among the Hurons, as it is referred to in the *Jesuit Relations*, I use the term Wendat to describe the First nations people who occupied the area surrounding the mission.

portrayed the Iroquois as evil and bloodthirsty savages, and the Wendat as primitive children who were in awe of the Europeans (Lunman 1995). The Wendat were portrayed with more agency as equal participants with the Europeans and the motivations for the aggression of the Iroquois are explored while moving away from portraying the Iroquois as inherently savage. Increased Aboriginal participation, combined with the continued contribution of white interpreters allows us to conclude that Sainte Marie is working towards a collaborative approach in their narrative.

However, this collaborative approach has not necessarily been well received or understood by all the stakeholders. Sainte Marie's unique position next to the Martyr's Shrine and as the home of the graves of Brébeuf and Lalemant make collaboration a possible challenge because Sainte Marie is also a site of cultural patrimony to Catholics, particularly Jesuits. In media portrayals of the mission, the Iroquois are still portrayed as evil and the nuances of inter-tribal warfare are not fully understood. For example, George M. Anderson (1998), a writer for America, a Catholic magazine, re-told the story of Sainte Marie in 1993 and demonised the Iroquois as violent people who were "bent on destroying the Huron nation forever" with no attempt to examine the historical, social , and political circumstances that influenced Iroquois warfare. Anderson continued to venerate Sainte Marie and the Jesuits stating "[t]here is no doubt, however, that their motivation in coming to New France was to serve, not to exploit, the people whose lives and hardships they shared. And it was the Hurons themselves that wanted the bonds to continue." This statement ignores the paternalistic and colonial motivations of the Jesuits and ignores that some entrepreneurs did actively exploit the

Wendat people. While this statement could be unpacked more using postcolonial theory, at this time I only want to use it as an example of the Catholic Church's historical investment in this site. The Catholic claims to this church were further re-affirmed by a Papal visit to Sainte Marie and the Martyrs Shrine in 1984. As such, we can expect that telling the story of Sainte Marie will be a continuing negotiation between Aboriginal people, curators and members of the Catholic Church. It is also important to remember that these groups are not mutually exclusive, but that any one person could potentially belong to any number of these three groups.

The hagiographic perspective sees missionaries as benevolent saints and martyrs as heroes. This narrative has been dominant until recently, and is still influential at Sainte Marie. Their close connection with the Catholic Church, their proximity to the Martyrs Shrine and the fact that their compound holds the bones of two martyrs' means that hagiography will always have some influence on the narrative. As long as the history of Sainte Marie is tempered by examinations from the other perspectives listed below, the hagiographic analysis will still add a beneficial historical point of view. The ROM on the other hand, has almost no hagiographic perspective. However, although missionaries are not held up as heroes within the ROM, there seems to be a mild if unintentional inclination to venerate the white traders, settlers, and collectors who gathered and preserved artefacts, while at the same time critiquing their colonial motivations. The sometimes-unfair dealings between white settlers and Aboriginals are briefly mentioned but rarely explored in-depth.

Peers (2007) relates the story of an Aboriginal interpreter working at Sainte Marie who was using a pair of 17th century scissors to cut the hide for a drum in front of a group of visitors. The visitors asked if Wendat people actually used scissors and the interpreter explained how the Wendat had adapted many useful aspects of French culture. The visitors were clearly agitated and argued with the interpreter until he pulled out a bone handled stone knife and asked sardonically "There, now are you happy?" There is a similar trend in the ROM to avoid the topic of Aboriginal cultural evolution, only two artefacts, a horse whip and a canoe, are used to symbolise cultural interdependence and adaptation. Sainte Marie uses multi-media presentations and well-trained interpreters to explain and illustrate the complexity of interaction between white settlers and Aboriginal people, both Christian and non-Christian (Peers 2007).

There are three disadvantages faced by living history sites such as Sainte Marie when creating a narrative of Aboriginal history. First, it is difficult to display all the nuances of traditional Aboriginal life, the power dynamics between missionaries, converts and traditionalists, and all the other the social forces that were at play in 17th century New France. Second, according to Peers (2007) one of the biggest problems still faced by living history sites is that the relationships between Aboriginals and Europeans are ignored, to the point where both groups are presented, but rather than portrayed as interacting, the site tends to have Aboriginals operate in adjacent but separate circles. It seemed that at Sainte Marie the curators and interpreters have worked to overcome this by showing the dependence of early settlers on the Aboriginal

people for food, travel, and shelter. The introductory video explains facets of everyday life including those that would be incommunicable in a static museum exhibit. Third, living history sites must work very hard to ensure that their portrayals of Aboriginals are authentic and respectful while working not to fall into the trap of essentialism (Peers 2007). Sainte Marie did a good job of avoiding essentialism by hiring knowledgeable Aboriginal staff who understand the complexities of Wendat life.

The biggest advantage held by Sainte Marie is its ability to interact and communicate with visitors. Studies have shown that increased interaction and multi-sensory stimulation causes visitors to learn and remember more from their visits. As well, the best way to overcome racial stereotypes and understand Aboriginal history is to interact with Aboriginal people, which can only be done in a museum when there are interpreters available to the public. Sainte Marie has also managed to avoid an over emphasis on biography. It would have been very easy to make the site completely focused on the lives of Brébeuf and Lalemant. However, doing so would have created an entirely Catholic oriented narrative (Albano 2007).

The final types of Aboriginal museum this thesis will discuss are Aboriginal–run cultural heritage centres. I have studied and visited three such centres, The Ksan Historical Village and Museum, Dänojà Zho, Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, as well as the Musée des Abénakis.[77] I was able to interview curators at two of these museums, one of whom was an Elder and Pipe Carrier in his community. The Ksan

[77] All the descriptions of these museums are from a combination of my notes and the museum websites with the exception of The Ksan Historical Village and Museum which I was never able to visit but has an excellent online tour and sent me a variety of materials including a taped audio tour of the centre.

historical Village and Museum (Ksan) is a cultural centre, located in Hazelton, British Columbia dedicated to illustrating Gitxsan culture and history. The Skeena Treasure House was Hazelton's first museum where artefacts of Gitxsan material culture were displayed between 1959 and 1969. The term "Treasure house" was chosen because community members felt that the term "museum" implied collections of lifeless and unused items. As the museum outgrew its original building, plans were laid for the creation of an entire replicated Gitxsan Village, which today includes the museum and gift shop, a House of Carving that teaches traditional carving techniques, a Silkscreen Studio, The Eagle House where a visitor can try local and traditional foods, The Treasure House that displays items of ceremonial clothing worn by those attending a Feast., The Feast House where ceremonial feasting occurs and The House of the Distant Past which focuses on the lifestyles of the Gitxsan people before contact with the outside world. As well, the village contains six unique totem poles.

Dänojà Zho is located in Dawson city, Yukon; a town that usually evokes images of gold miners, wooden sidewalks, and Klondike era structures. In fact a local by-law requires all buildings in the city to have Klondike like exteriors. The one exception to this is the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in cultural centre, Dänojà Zho. Dänojà Zho is a cultural centre dedicated to preserving and teaching the history, language, and culture of the group of Hän speaking people known as Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in who live in the area of the Yukon River Valley spanning the Yukon-Alaska border.

Exposure to Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in culture and way of life begins as soon as you see the building, evokes images of salmon drying racks and the winter shelters. The

location of the centre was chosen because it allows the visitor to see several prominent landmarks and vistas including Moosehide Village, the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in home community. The cultural centre includes a permanent gallery as well as an activity centre and a space for travelling exhibitions. The permanent gallery, known as the Hammerstone Gallery demonstrates what life would be like at a traditional fishing camp, including the living structures and the implements used for catching and preserving fish. Farther on in the room the visitor is exposed to a different narrative about the Gold Rush, how on the onslaught of missionaries, gold miners, government, and entrepreneurs affected the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. The gallery then tells the story of Chief Isaac and how the community managed to regain their sovereignty. The gallery ends with an exhibit on life among the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in today. The centre is entirely Aboriginal-run and is a source of pride for the community. The website for the centre quotes Jackie Olson (2011), the centre's heritage director, as saying "[t]he Cultural Centre is a symbol of our history, our perseverance, pride and hope. It rose from the desire to make a strong presence in the traditional territory of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in that would speak to and for us and would not be bound to the "gold rush" era. The Centre would show that we are a strong people."

Dänojà Zho is unique among these three museums in that it is fully Aboriginal run and relies entirely on Aboriginal voices to the story of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in. The centre faces an interesting challenge. Dawson city is most well known for its role in the Yukon gold rush and the story is retold at almost every tourist attraction. However, stories about the local Aboriginal people were almost non-existent or tangential. They

were present in the Dawson city museum, but it was definitely not the focus of the exhibit. Dänojà Zho provides a counter-perspective to the dominant gold rush narrative. The cultural centre tells the stories of contact from the perspective of the elders. Also, unique about the centre is how community oriented the narrative. All the artefacts in the exhibit were either created or donated by members of the local community. Also unique is the way that the cultural centre addresses difficult issues faced by the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in including exhibits on the residential schools and the tuberculosis epidemics. At the same time however, the museum discusses when the community worked hand in hand with the white settlers as equals. Being a cultural centre allows Dänojà Zho to expand their activities far beyond those of a traditional museum. Among those events hosted by the museum include community events such as Discovery Day when the centre helps Dawson city celebrate the days of the Klondike Gold Rush by telling another part of the gold rush story; National Aboriginal Day; and Remembrance Day. Temporary exhibits have included exhibits of artwork by local artisans, displays on prominent Elders and members of the community, and exhibits such as The K'änächá Scrapbook Project which was compiled by Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in residential school survivors as part of their own healing journey. The exhibit opening was a healing ceremony welcoming residential school survivors into the heart of their own community. The centre also offers performances of dancers and singers, and workshops on traditional crafts.

Xá:ytem is an important Salish spiritual site, home to a significant Transformer Rock, one of the 'Stone People' (Stó:lo) found throughout coastal British Columbia.

Sacred to the First Nations people of the area, this rock is a physical manifestation of Salish spirituality. The Stó:lo tell of the legend of three respected Stó:lō leaders who were transformed into this stone by Xexá:ls – the Transformers – as a penalty for not sharing the knowledge of written language given to them by the 'Great Spirit'. Xá:ytem contains the shxweli ('life force', 'spirit') of these three transformed people, and exemplifies the importance of Stó:lō oral tradition and teachings. Today, at Xá:ytem, you walk into the past to wonder and learn about life long ago and experience the living culture of today. The centre is designed to resemble a traditional Salish cedar longhouse, and also has two pit houses (underground cedar-timbered circular dwellings), an archaeology sifting shelter, and hands-on activity stations and labs in the longhouse.

Xá:ytem prides itself on being one of the few cultural centres that blends science and oral tradition by discussing archaeology and showing the archaeological sites and finds to visitors. The Archaeology is meant to demonstrate long term Stó:lo presence, and that their ancestors were a socially developed sedentary society of people who fished for salmon, systematically harvested the forests, traded over great distances, and practiced a life rich in ceremony.

The Musée des Abenaki is a small museum that discusses spiritual and cultural traditions of the Abenaki people. Visitors to the museum are encouraged to begin their visit with a multi-media presentation about the creation myths of the Abenaki. The visitor then tours a hall with a number of Abenaki artefacts from the history of the community, including ancient artefacts, information about spiritual traditions, stories

from the time of residential schools and profiles of the community today. A tour guide brings the visitor through and adds a very personal dimension to the story. The museum also contains room for temporary exhibits

I was able to interview Jacob at the Musée des Abenaki and Janet at Xá:ytem. Jacob stated that his museum did not discuss religion except to give context to the history of the museum which was organised by a Priest, Father Doman, who Jacob says "was really a big asset to the community, and he saw to protect our culture." Interestingly, he also says there is spirituality in the way he greets visitors. He greets all guests in the Abenaki language out of respect for his own ancestors and for his. For Jacob, the difference between religion and spirituality is the difference between the Catholic Church and his Abenaki traditions. He says this comes up in the multimedia presentation of the creation story. Some people see it as spiritual, some people sees it as religious, and the museum allows everyone to make their own interpretation of it. Janet has a similar perception where religion is thought of in terms of organised religion, whereas spirituality is imbued into every part of their lives. Spirituality is only discussed at her museum at site of the sacred transformer stone, where they tell the stories of the stone.

In terms of a relationship to Canada, Jacob talks about how the Abenaki were allied with the French, and how the Abenaki territory was not confined by the borders of the United States and Canada. He also talked about how the Abenaki were allies to the French, fighting in many wars and even fighting against the second deportation of the Acadians. Janet on the other hand has taken a unique tactic, she wants the centre to

discuss only the Stó:lo story, as such her museum does not really address contact with missionaries, traders or any other colonials. Likewise the museum does not discuss the residential schools because she wants the museum to be a positive place for her community. Janet also thinks a lot about the individual Stó:lo identity, trying to differentiate her community from the Plains community that is often the Aboriginal stereotype.

In regards to sacred space, Jacob says anywhere is sacred, if you respect it, because of this a museum could be sacred. Janet's museum does not hold rituals onsite, other than a burning twice a year t commune with the ancestors. She sees rituals as something that should be done in the community. As a space, Janet says while everything is sacred and has a spirit, the museum is not treated as sacred space. However the area around the transformer stones and the archaeological sites is treated sacredly. I was interested if Stó:lo who had converted to Christianity would feel comfortable in a centre so dedicated to traditional beliefs, according to Janet, most Stó:lo who embraced Christianity also kept their spirituality because they have similar stories. The rituals and the ceremonies now often include elements of both.

In this area Dänojà Zho has both challenged the stereotype and filled in the gaps by having a complete narrative that traces all the challenges and developments in Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in history. As well, coming from a First Nations perspective the idea of the Noble savage is challenged, instead we are exposed to fully developed human characters who work to preserve traditional ways and worked with governments and modern technology when it served them.

Dänojà Zho, and other similar cultural centres face a new set of disadvantages or challenges. The first challenge is that by having a cultural centre affiliated with one group, people who are not members of the group sometimes feel like there is no reason for them to go there and that they will not be able to participate in the narrative or activities. Dänojà Zho combats this by aggressively marketing itself and most of its events as open to everyone in the community. A second disadvantage is that a community centre may still leave out some narratives of sub groups in the community, as has been the case in other museums, a native community centre is just as likely to not tell the stories of children, different socioeconomic classes, homosexuals or people with differing gender identifications. Traditionalists may be uncomfortable with Christian converts and Christians may be uncomfortable with some aspects of traditional culture. There also may be a political division in the community that is glossed over in an effort to make the community seem more unified.

The main advantage for Dänojà Zho is that it creates a space for Aboriginal narratives to flourish and challenge the hegemonic European narratives. Unlike Saint Marie where the narrative must compete, Dänojà Zho allows the visitor to see a completely different point of view and explore familiar stories from an entirely different worldview. Another advantage of a cultural centre is that it is more likely to allow ongoing engagement with between the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and the rest of the community of Dawson city. Cultural and social events, particularly in a place like Dawson city where the winter makes people crave a variety of indoor activities, allow those visitors who wish it to come to the cultural centre repeatedly, expand their

learning and build social bonds with the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in, thereby working to eliminate feelings of otherness. This ongoing engagement also means that delicate issues such as residential schools and the tuberculosis epidemics can be given real, in-depth, and sensitive treatment by the community, rather than just a cursory overview.

Museums no longer have an excuse for using the generic term natives when discussing the First Nation's peoples represented in their museums. A museum is supposed to be a place for research, its personnel they should be able to find the name of the nation that lives in the local area. Too often in museums Aboriginals are portrayed as peripheral to Canadian culture both spatially and conceptually (McLoughlin 1999). Spatially, Aboriginal groups have been placed in separate halls for Aboriginal history that are distinct from Canadian history. Conceptually the story of Canada has always been told from the perspective of white settlers and missionaries rather than allowing Aboriginal peoples to have their own voice. Both the ROM and Sainte Marie attempt to overcome this by discussing the story of contact which Aboriginals portrayed as active participants in history rather than as passive victims. While in the ROM the focus is on the collectors' individual stories, the aboriginal characters in those stories are always portrayed as participatory agents. Even the conceptualization of the exhibit involved Aboriginal advisors who ensured that Aboriginal voices were heard. At Sainte Marie, Aboriginal peoples are hired as interpreters to explain the interactions between Jesuit missionaries and the Wendat people. The large cast of characters ensures that multiple voices are heard.

Just as Aboriginal peoples have been excluded and their voices left out of Canadian history, they have traditionally had understandings of homeland imposed upon them that are either essentializing or overtly discriminatory, both of which have occurred in the context of land claim disputes. According to Grim (1996), essentializing occurs with outsiders attempt to determine inner authenticity, such as when scholars attempt to decide if a ritual is really authentic and intimately connected to a particular piece of land. When a community is not permitted to speak for itself and create its own understanding it quickly becomes the subject of interpretation and presentation by those who are not members. This is how Aboriginals end up faced with stereotypes such as the lone Indian crying in front of a clear cut forest, or vague allusions to a relationship with 'Mother Earth' that are never developed to anywhere near the complexity of actual Aboriginal conceptions of homeland. Likewise, outsiders will bring in terms of analysis that are not useful to Aboriginal people. Grim (1996) argues that words such as "wilderness" are not only non-existent in many Aboriginal languages, but that they imply a separation where none exists and are therefore almost useless as terms of analysis. The Ksan village combats essentialism and misunderstandings by repeatedly calling the visitors attention to specific geographical features and the cultural adaptations made by the Gitxsan to those features. These include different fishing hooks for fishing in different locations and catching different fish, to the development of art such as totem poles that made use of the towering cedar trees available on the West Coast.

Mithlo (1995 , 743) has looked at Aboriginal museums and theorised that indigenous knowledge is often perceived as subjective and restricted while Western knowledge is seen as scientific, objective, and free of restrictions and casts an indigenous knowledge system as a religious endeavour in opposition to a scientific pursuit results in the characteristic of indigenous nations as anti-science. However, both indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge systems are subjective (Mithlo 1995). The museum's belief in the value of collection and preservation is not universal, but is a specifically modern pursuit. As such, museums that attempt to include Aboriginals place the burden on the Aboriginal person to conform to the traditions of the museum. "Museums are self- perpetuating institutions that generally maintain authority, despite efforts to "give Natives a voice." (Mithlo 1995). As such, museums such as the cultural centres run by Aboriginal communities are essential places where Aboriginal people can move beyond the traditional narratives, paradigms and techniques of the museum to create their own methods of display unburdened by adherence to foreign knowledge systems.

Like other minority groups, First Nations people in Canada must deal with a Christian hegemony in Canada. According to Beaman (2002) there are three reasons why Aboriginal groups do not receive the same protection of their religion as other Canadians. First, the religious landscape is predominantly Christian resulting in a narrow interpretation of religion and religious freedom. Second, legal claims are framed in the language of individual rights which ignores the systematic disadvantages of Aboriginal peoples, and third, legal construction of Aboriginal spirituality is done

through colonizing forces and treats Aboriginals as an "abnormal group" that can either be tolerated or accommodated by a benevolent majority. Museums , prior to *The Spirit Sings*, often did not recognize Aboriginal demands for respect of their spirituality as it was so different than the standard conception of religion in the museum. As well, museums were seen as benevolent places that could accommodate Aboriginal beliefs, if they so desired. Both of these helped frame Aboriginal peoples as "other" because they were different from the majority.

Two schools of scholarship have risen as a response to the new roles of Aboriginal people in museum settings, particularly as interpreters at living history sites (Peers 2007). Rossel (1988) and MacCannell (1984) have argued that forms of cultural tourism, especially those where visitors witness cultural artefacts and performances, reinforce both stereotypes and traditional power dynamics between majority groups and ethnic minority groups. Tourists are placed in a position of power and demand stories that they recognise and that do not challenge their pre-conceived ideas about Aboriginal people, if they do not like what they are told, they will likely not pay to enter the museums. On the other hand, Kapchan (1995) sees the participation of Aboriginals in historic reconstruction sites as a form of "ethno-protest" that critiques long-established relationships and stereotypes held by visitors. She argues that this is one socially viable way for members of Aboriginal communities to resist authority and challenge the status quo. Rather than seeing Aboriginal self-representation as an either/or scenario, it is better to re-frame the debate by examining museums as multi-layered contact zones. Aboriginal people have the opportunity to participate in their

own representation. Aboriginal visitors can hear about their own story from people they recognise, and non-Aboriginal people have the opportunity to interact with Aboriginal people and view their own self-representations.

Scholars have begun to define and think about the liminal spaces between cultures that act as meeting grounds see (Gilman (1982); and Clifford (1997)). Pratt (1992) has referred to these liminal meeting places as contact zones museums where different cultures can "meet, clash and grapple with each other." Museums such as Sainte Marie among the Hurons, the ROM, and Dänojà Zho Cultural centre are places of encounter, between Aboriginal people and White European culture, and between Aboriginal culture and multi-cultural Canadian society in the contemporary setting. Anthropologists Harrison (2003) and Bruner (2005) argue that the contact zone is particularly pertinent to indigenous groups when analysing structures of representation, particularly in tourist settings such as museums.

Another way to think about contact zones is in terms of Foucault's (1984) idea of the heterotopia. For Foucault, heterotopias are real physical places that can enact either an ideal or an inverted version of society. In this way, Aboriginal museums have a space where they can display a version of society that contradicts or reinforces the stereotypes and narratives that were traditionally expected in the museum. When entering a museum, the visitor has an idealised version of society they carry with them that includes stereotypes and assumptions about Aboriginal people, their culture, and their history (Evans-Pritchard 1989). The museum can then affirm these perceptions or challenge them through inversion. For example, a visitor may enter Sainte Marie

expecting to see Aboriginal interpreters who are bitter towards Christianity for destroying their culture. Instead, visitors are confronted with an inverted perspective where there are a variety of Aboriginal perspectives, which include both converts to Christianity and traditionalists.

Conclusion

In the introductory chapter of this thesis asked if increased awareness of the museums' ability to shape and critique identity, particularly religious identity, is causing groups to make conscious use of museums as a tool for communicating those identities. This chapter has shown minority groups are indeed making use of museums either by creating their own or working in tandem with local museums. In comparison to broader Canadian history, it seems that religion plays a more personal role in the stories of these Canadians, both on institutional and on individual levels. As well, all of these groups work to have their own unique stories incorporated into the Canadian story. This chapter has shown that while museums are sacred powerful spaces that can present identities, this understanding of museums can be appropriated and complicated and challenged by minority voices in Canada. However, it is important to continue this research as these stories are constantly changing and developing, and the creation of ethnic museums in Canada raises an entirely new set of challenges for scholars.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

This dissertation set out to gain an understanding of how religion is displayed in Canadian museums and what challenges are faced by the museums that choose to undertake this endeavour. After visiting over fifty museums and performing thirty-one semi-structured interviews, this thesis created an extensive snapshot of religion in museums across Canada. This exploratory research model is valuable as it illuminates specific areas that require further examination in future research. The benefit of this thesis is it provides original data on a topic that has not been well-researched in the Canadian context. The findings showed two exciting ways religion emphasises its presence in Canadian museums. First, through the creation of sacred space and second, through the discussion (or lack thereof) of the role religion plays in the histories of Canadians. Both of these situations take place within a complex web of power relations embedded in the museum. This concluding chapter will attempt to summarise and bring together the findings from the remainder of this essay.

Museums in Canada are not inherently sacred spaces for society, but they have the potential to become so for some groups and individuals. Understandings of sacred space in museums are dynamic, negotiated and fluid. People bring their own unique perceptions into a place and that affects how the sacred space is created. The understandings of sacred space are negotiated by those involved in the web of power relations within the museum including those in power, those being represented, the objects inhabiting the space and those visiting the museum. Visitors use museums as sacred places to seek out numinous experiences by seeking a connection to a historical community or narrative, by finding a place for remembrance, and by seeing sacred or

numinous objects. They also use museums as memorial spaces in Canada to recognise the pain of a tragedy or war. Ritual can also transform the meaning of a space. Finally, the ability of a museums narrative to communicate across time and locations can also make it a sacred space.

Another reason museums in Canada are sometimes considered sacred spaces is because the narratives communicated within them can be contested. This cultural understanding of sacred space implies that all places with power to define and create meaning are sacred spaces; people will contest the definitions and meaning acknowledging the authority vested in that space. The location of a museum, either on a sacred site or a place important to history can also play a role in whether or not a museum is treated as a sacred space. These spaces have power in and of themselves because of the stories and narratives associated with them. Museums are also often treated as sacred in Canadian society because of their architectural similarity to other sacred buildings or places of worship. For example, the grandeur of the ROM or the CMC can bring to mind the grandeur of Christian cathedrals. Museums are often also housed in or affiliated with a place of worship, causing people to behave with etiquette usually reserved for sacred places.

The last chapter on alternative discourses also drew out some interesting issues of space. The section on space outlined three ways museums can become sacred spaces: through the numen-seeking experiences of visitors; through the presence of conflict; and finally, through the human actions that create sacred space. There are museums in Canada that become sacred in each of these ways, but the research showed that numen

seeking experiences were by far the most common. First, through a search for heritage and connection to community, such as when visitors come to see family artefacts at a local museum and second, through pilgrimage, exemplified by those who visit the Marguerite Bourgeoys Museum and the Notre Dame de Bon Secours Chapel as pilgrims. Museums as pilgrimage sites resulted in a complication of the artificial separation between sacred ideas of pilgrimage and secular ideas of tourism. Both tourism and pilgrimage enhance and solidify group identities by providing a connection to an "authentic" history.

Space in museums is further complicated by instances that challenge the dialectic of public and private space. In western culture, religion is a supposedly private endeavour while museums are inherently public spaces. Places of worship that become museums are private sacred places made public while museums that display religion are public spaces displaying the private. The assumed separation of religion and public life is a detriment to the representation of history as it is a projection of a modern understanding of religion on the past, or on individuals to whom this might not apply. Many smaller museums help fill the lacuna that exists in the larger general-interest museums. For example, the Mennonite Heritage Village shows how religion entered every aspect of town life from the set up of the village, to the lack of decoration in the home. Viewing the houses allowed people to see the domestic space and the religion that took place there, and the public nature of the museum gave legitimacy to an understanding of sacred space that is different from those in other museums. This is

more evidence that sacred space in museums is complex and negotiated between the institutions, the invested parties, and the communities being represented.

The power relations that occur in Canadian museums were difficult to pin down. There are several things that make the museum a place of power. First the museum holds power by its very nature as a place that produces and defines knowledge. Several factors play into this. The first is a language used by people in museums that one must know in order to communicate using the museum as a platform, a particular type of discourse with its own symbols, interpretations of those symbols, and assumed set of shared values (preservation, collection, dissemination of knowledge). The second factor is the museum's claim to objectivity gives it power, the assumption of the objectivity of the museum leads people to believe it is a trustworthy source of information without political motivations. However, as was shown through the review of the literature and using examples from museums, the museum can never be entirely politically neutral. The third factor is the power of the museum to define things, particularly in the case of this thesis, what is and is not religious, and whether or not the religious aspects of an artefact, object, or culture are interesting or valuable enough to be put on display. The final factor is the paradigm of progress, intertwined with chronology, that places certain objects and groups in the past and therefore somehow inferior to and different from the attitudes, beliefs, objects, and societies that exist in the present day. The second place where power is embedded in the museum is in the structures necessary for the day to day functioning of the museum. Structural power exerts itself in the competing demands and limitations of money, experts, special interest groups and staff,

all of whom play a role in making the museum function on a day to day basis, as such all have a stake in what happens in the museum. While these power relations are important, the research showed they seem to have little effect on the discussion of religion in the museum.

The most relevant aspect of power in museums is the role the museum plays in the politics of recognition. Representation is a critical aspect of the politics of recognition. Groups gain recognition by portraying a version of themselves in the public eye and a museum makes their first decision about recognizing a group when they decide to, or to not portray that group. The museum is then faced with more choices: which sub-groups to portray, whose voices are prominent in the museum. The museum can also run the risk of exoticizing and essentializing a group. Museums do sometimes have trouble representing sub-groups because of a lack of objects and a lack of space. Representations are changing but they are still works in progress. Sometimes curators want to change but lack of funds and other barriers stand in their way.

The politics of recognition are also affected by how a museum creates history. Museums participate in creating a version of history that is palatable to the public and acceptable for the public narrative. Groups are often excluded from this narrative, or relegated to side stories rather than seen as integral. As well, negative aspects of history can be downplayed and contradictory narratives ignored. Authenticity is the final aspect of the politics of recognition that a museum can be involved in. People want to have their authentic identity (their identity as they understand it) represented in and validated by museums, and often religious practice and belief is a fundamental aspect of

an individual's or a group's identity. An example of this is the spirit of Islam exhibit at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology. This exhibit was created in collaboration with members of almost all the Muslim communities in the Vancouver area. This exhibit communicated an understanding of Islam that was educational and accurate, while still communicating the importance of religion in the everyday life of a Muslim.

Power and space in the museum set the stage for a discussion of the portrayal of religious groups in Canada and how the religious aspects of their identities are communicated, if at all. On a general level, the research showed that most museums in Canada use Christianity as the assumed underlying religious identity, indicating a hegemony. More specifically, a theme of negotiation became evident when examining different museum's understandings of space and identities. The Anglican and Catholic Church museums have not fully acknowledged their hegemonic and privileged place in Canadian society. It seems that these museums are often unaware that the history they communicate is seen as authoritative, and therefore when discussing difficult topics such as the Church's relationship to First Nations people, there should be an attempt to show the full complexity of these relationships, even when doing so may challenge the power structure of the museum and the church. Church, and general interest museums are not yet fully allowing these "counter histories" (Alonso 1988, 50) into the museum, as evidenced by the need for museums run by marginalised groups. This research supports Macdonald's (2004) assertion that museums are sites for bringing together significant 'culture objects', and have been readily appropriated as 'national'

expressions of identity. These groups use museums to argue that they do indeed 'have a history' in Canada, an act which creates the collective equivalent of personal memory. Regional museums are particularly adept at tying their individual stories into the greater Canadian narrative. However, museum display is always reliant on having objects around which to tell a story, and several interviewees indicated that they were uncomfortable taking on national or religious narratives if they did not have an object around which to adequately build the story.

Museums have an enormous amount of potential, for example, they can be used to de-exoticise groups by normalizing practises that may seem odd or different among mainstream Christians, both through education, and emphasizing the common nature of life experiences such as birth, celebration, sickness, and death. Museums can also be a platform for a group to communicate their unique understanding of their Canadian identity. For example, the MHV allows Mennonites to communicate their distinct religious and cultural identity while maintaining a Canadian identity. Mennonite museums serve to show how military service and unilateral support of the military does not have to be a defining factor of Canadian identity. However, these museums also run the risk of marginalizing members of their own community by presenting a falsely unified identity that excludes certain sub groups, or does not address issues of inequality within the group.

One issue that came up repeatedly was the difficulty many museums had communicating the embeddedness of religion in everyday life. Complexity is difficult to communicate in a static medium, but social history requires an understanding of the

broader picture. However, while it is important for museum workers to explore different aspects of identity (including religious, ethnic, national, or cultural aspects), they must also remember that these categories are constructs of a certain modern philosophical worldview, and that they are not naturally occurring. Categories are a roadblock for museums on several levels. Not only are the categories used by museums constructed, they have real consequences in the world. Categories can recognise an identity as authentic or inauthentic; they can confirm or deny citizenship and belonging by othering or including. For example, a museum could focus on the most radical group of Doukhobors, the sons of freedom, without providing a context showing that their protests were a reaction against the unfair treatment of the government. This type of exhibit would inadvertently communicate the idea that these extreme practices are normative for the entire group and a sign of their inherent inability to fit into Canadian society.

One assumption underlying this thesis is that groups want the religious aspects of their identities displayed. The reality is that each community varies in how large of a role they wish to give religion in the identities they display in museums. For example, concerning Aboriginal people, some curators have had requests for more discussions of spirituality and some for less. Some First Nations groups are happy to display their traditional beliefs, and some would prefer to keep knowledge of their practices limited to those in their community. Either way, Aboriginal people will continue to create museums and cultural centres where their voices can be heard and challenge the dominant European narratives. These museums will help validate indigenous

knowledge systems by putting them on the same authoritative grounds as western science.

This research was successful in its goal of illuminating themes that need to be further examined in Canadian museums. As museums move through the 21st century, they will have to continue to change. The effects of globalization and diversity will only become more prominent as the years roll on. Research such as this will reveal where Canadian museums are improving and where there is continued room to improve. Ultimately, museums will help the public understanding of Canadian identity become more complex, inclusive, and most importantly, meaningful to more Canadians.

Appendices

Appendix A: Recruitment Letter/E-mail

Dear ____,

Thank you for contacting me about participating in my research. Please allow me to provide you with some extra information.

My name is Shelly Nixon and I am a PhD Student at the University of Ottawa. I am currently doing research for my dissertation on religion in Canadian museums and a large portion of my data will come from interviews with museum workers who have been directly involved in designing and creating museum exhibits that concern religion and spirituality. I contacted your museum as I believe you may address topics of religion and/or culture that are relevant to my research.

If you are willing, I would ask you to take part in a semi structured interview. If you are interested, the interview will take approximately one hour and occur between January and April of 2009 at a time that is convenient for you, either in person or over the phone. I will send you the interview questions in advance and within one month after the interview I will provide a transcript for your perusal (via secure mail) and amendment as you see fit. After this, you can at any time ask to see how I am using what you say in my dissertation, until I submit it to my thesis committee. The interview is confidential as per the specifications that will be outlined in the consent form that I will ask you to read and sign (I will provide the postage in the case of a phone interview) before the interview takes place. You will have the right to refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the interview at any time without fear of negative consequences.

If you are interested in helping me with my research please send a response e-mail indicating your willingness to participate and your contact information. At this point I will arrange a time to do the interview. If the interview is to be conducted over the phone, I need to mail you a consent form and have you return the form to me (signed) before we complete the interview.

If you know anyone else in the museum who may qualify for my research, please feel free to pass this e-mail on to them.

If you have any questions or would like to learn more about my research you can feel free to contact me or my supervisor _____ at any time.

Thank you in advance for your help.
Sincerely,
Shelly

Appendix B: Museum Descriptions

Prov.	Museum	Category	Curator (Pseudonym)	Description[78]
AB	(A)	5	Timothy, Senior Historian	Est. 1971, an open-air museum depicting the pioneer life of early Ukrainian immigrant settlers (between 1899 and 1930). Reconstructed Historical Village.
	(B)	6	Christina, Manager (volunteer)	Est. 1986, a museum celebrating the history of a local county and the surrounding area (mostly pioneer). It also features exhibits on Swedish, Chinese and Hutterites immigrants, with a discussion of contemporary Hutterite life, and an exhibit on local military history.
BC	(C)	1	Janet, Director	Est. 1992, an Aboriginal run museum that uses both science (mostly archaeology) and Native oral tradition to provide physical testimony of long term Aboriginal presence, cultural traditions and spirituality. Also a National Historic Site.
	(D)	4	Emily, Director-Curator	Est. 2000, a museum that discusses the Japanese Canadian experience in history and the role of Japanese Canadian people in Canada. Large focus on the internment.
	(E)	3	Kelly, Curator and Erin, Curator	Ran 2001-2002, the interview examined one exhibit put on as a collaborative between the museum and the Muslim community. The exhibit maintains an online presence.
	(F)	5	William, Curator	Introduces introduce you to Doukhobor culture with from 1908 to 1938. Historical village on an original settlement site.
	(G)	6	Cheryl, Director	Est. 1894, a cross-disciplinary municipal museum with a goal of engaging the community in dialogue about contemporary local issues.
MB	(H)	5	Thomas, Senior Curator	Est. 1967, the museum examines the history of Mennonites immigrants. It is a historical village with a main hall for housing artefacts and approximately 25 buildings and several memorials.
	(I)	3	Robert, Curator	Est. 1970, a large museum that contains exhibits on natural and human history with a focus on how the two worlds interact.
	(J)	4	Scott, Director	Est. 1999, a Jewish museum and community centre with a research library, an archive, and a holocaust resource and education centre, all of which are dedicated to advancing and promoting knowledge, understanding and preservation of Jewish cultural and religious life, mainly in western Canada, and advocating for tolerance and anti-racism.
	(K)	4	Rachel, Executive Director	Est. 1944, this is a museum and archive dedicated to preserving the culture and telling the history of Ukrainian Canadians.

[78] The information for describing the museum comes both from the interviews and from the museums websites when available.

NB	(L)	7	Amy, Director and Miriam, Summer Student	Est. 1998 and housed in the local legion, the museum provides a place of honour for artefacts from veterans of the First and Second World Wars, and current armed forces, and peacekeepers. As well as the stories of the town and the people left home during times of war.
	(M)	6	Jessica, Executive Director and Michael, Board Member	Est. 1934, the museum exhibits the history of the city and surrounding areas with exhibits on Acadians, Loyalists, and Aboriginal people (Maliseet).
	(N)	6	Matthew, Curator and Stephanie, Curatorial Assistant	Est. 1967, the museum exhibits the history and culture of the county beginning with prehistoric archaeological artefacts, then tracing the development of Micmac culture, the arrival of Acadian, French, Scottish, British and Irish settlers and the development of logging, ship building and paper industries to the present day.
	(O)	4	Elizabeth, Curator	Est. 1986, displays the history of the local Jewish community. The museum is housed in a synagogue and has a library and archives.
	(P)	3	Brian, Curator	Est. 1842, the museum is a provincial museum that contains exhibits on art, history, and natural sciences from New Brunswick and around the world.
	(Q)	5	Daniel, Historian	Est. 1977, a living museum with actual Acadian buildings that tells the story of Acadian history and culture between 1770 and 1949.
NL	(R)	3	Mark, Curator	Est. 2005, the museum focuses on the natural and cultural history of Newfoundland and Labrador and is housed with an art gallery and an archive. The Rooms is also affiliated with smaller subsidiary museums scattered throughout the province and is also the place where all archaeological artefacts in the province must be stored.
NS	(S)	5	James, Manager	Est. 1979, it is a living history museum and folklore centre mandated and dedicated to the interpretation of the history of Scottish Gaels in the Province of Nova Scotia.
	(T)	6	Sarah, Curator	Est. 1967, the museum consists of two historic houses, the 1867 Evergreen house, and the 1785 Quaker house. The actual collections of artefacts are in storage as the museum is currently trying to find a new home. The focus of the museum is the history and culture of the Dartmouth area.
	(U)	4	David, Chief Curator	Est. 1982, the museum protects, preserves and promotes Black culture.
ON	(V)	3	Linda, Curator	Est. 1912, A large museum that exhibits both natural and cultural history from around the world. Includes seventeen cultural galleries which examine groups from various regions.
PQ	(W)	7	Gregory, former Co-Curator	Est. 2003, the museum is devoted to remembering and displaying the experience of the Jewish people before, during and after the holocaust.
	(X)	1	Jacob, Interpreter	Est. 1962, one of the first museums in Canada to be owned and operated by Native people. Explores the spiritual and

				cultural universe of the local Aboriginal people.
	(Y)	2	Judy, Curator	Est. 1998, the museum chronicles the life of a nun who was active in missions to the Aboriginal people at the time of the founding of Montreal and helped found the adjacent Chapel.
SK	(Z)	3	Brenda, Head Curator	Est. 1906, the museum has a mandate to address three areas of research: Aboriginal history, ethnology and archaeology.
	(AA)	6	Theresa, Communications Co-coordinator.	Est. 1960, the museum is a collection of artefacts, minor art and archival material from the local district, focusing on the city's famous people and its history.
	(BB)	2	Adam, Curator	Est. 2001, the museum shows the history of a local school, and the history of a local priest.
YK	(CC)	2	Mary, Director/Curator	Est. 1962, the displays the role that the church played in the Yukon from 1861 to the present.
	(DD)	6	Nancy, Executive Director	Est. 1950s, a museum with a regional mandate, with geology, pre-history, First Nations, early exploration, the gold rush, gold mining and the birth and development of Dawson City and the Klondike Region collections.

Appendix C: Consent Form

Title of study: Religion in a glass case: the display of religion in Canadian museums

Name of researchers:

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted ___ from the University of Ottawa.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the study is to examine how religion is addressed in Canadian museums, particularly through the perspective of the museum worker. How do they balance the expectations of visitors, with the requirements of museum policy makers and the needs of the groups being represented?

Participation: My participation will consist of partaking in one in-person interview lasting approximately 1 hour. The session has been scheduled for (place, date and time of session). I understand that notes will be taken by the researcher, and that all dialogue during the interview will be tape recorded.

Risks: My participation in this study will entail that I discuss the creative and decision-making processes involved in the creation of exhibits that may discuss religion in my institution. There is no more risk entailed in participating in this research than I would encounter or incur in my everyday professional life.

To mitigate these already minimal risks the researcher will give the participant the questions in advance so they can carefully consider their answers and the ability to vet and reconsider their answers to questions after the interview has taken place through the distribution of the interview transcript. Also, the data released in the final project will not contain any real names, initials or identifying information; although certain types of identifiers (such as descriptions of the museum exhibit, the name of the museum or the title of the exhibit) may be preserved in light of the project's goal, details will be masked as much as possible; all electronic recordings will be erased within 24 hours from the digital recorder and then on the researchers password protected computer, and no additional copies of these recordings will be made.

Anonymity and Confidentiality: Given the public nature of museum work my anonymity cannot be guaranteed, however the researchers have assured me that they will do everything to protect the confidentiality of the interview itself.

Benefits: I will receive no direct personal benefit from participating in this research. However, my participation in this study will benefit society through its contribution to the advancement of knowledge about the ways in which museums are addressing the topic of religion and may contribute to social scientific theory by contributing to

scholars understanding of the connection between institutions, such as museums, and group religious and ethnic identities and representation.

Conservation of data: The data collected will be in both hard copy (written anonymous notes) and electronic (tape-recording) form. Transcripts will be made of all dialogue and will be stored electronically on a password-protected computer media. Only ____ will have access to this information. All data will be kept for a period of 5 years, after which point all paper-materials will be destroyed via paper shredding and all electronic data (and back-ups) will be electronically erased.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate in this study and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative repercussions. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be destroyed via shredding (for paper documents) or electronic erasing (for emails, document files, or any other files).

Acceptance: I, _____ agree to participate in the above research study conducted by ___.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or her supervisor. I may request a copy of the transcript to be delivered by secure mail one month after the interview and I may ask to see a copy of ____ dissertation at any time before its submission to the thesis committee.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the ____

There are two copies of this consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature:
Date:

Researcher's signature:
Date:

Appendix D: Interview Questions

1. Please say your name and describe your exhibit or museum, your position and responsibilities for me.

2. Do you ever get the opportunity to adjust or change your displays? What usually prompts a change?

3. What is the primary message you try to communicate with your exhibit?

4. Do you think that your exhibit or museum addresses religion? Directly, indirectly or not at all?

5. Do you believe that religion and culture are two different or overlapping categories?

6. Do you use the term religion at all or do you use any other term, like spirituality, when discussing traditional beliefs and practices. What led you to pick one term over the other?

7. Do you think your museum is or could be a tool for religious or cultural diversity?

8. Have you witnessed any visitors performing what you might define as acts of devotion in your museum (Praying, meditating etc)? Do you encourage these rituals either directly or indirectly?

9. If one of the primary goals of your museum is to remember or memorialise, do you incorporate religion into your acts of remembrance in any way?

10. Do you display objects in your museum that might be deemed sacred to the group being represented? If yes, do you do anything different with these objects than you do with other objects in your museum?

11. Do you display any religious, ceremonial or liturgical objects? Are these treated any differently?

12. Was there a particular religious institution or ethnic community that was influential in the founding and development of this city? Do you discuss this group in your museum?

13. How would you define sacred space? Do you consider your museum to be a sacred space?

14. Museums such as yours around the world are generally built on or near the sites they are commemorating, or near another relevant site. Does this site have any

significance to the event you are commemorating? Has anyone ever discussed how we can remember an event "over here" that happened "over there"?

15. Does your museum or exhibit participate in acts of remembrance or memorialisation outside of the museum, or encourage events here in the museum space?

16. Have you actively tried to create or discourage sacred space in your museum?

17. Is there a building onsite that might once have been used for religious purposes (e.g. a church building)? Do people behave any differently in this building?

18. Do visitors to your museum ever leave personal effects? If so what do you do with the objects once the visitor has left?

19. Are you an academic expert on you topic or have you ever consulted an academic professional about your exhibit?

20. How do you decide if an object is a sacred object or an object of "cultural patrimony"?

21. Do you use actors or interpreters in your museum? How much leeway is given to them to explain the history and the museum in their own words? Are they members of the group being represented?

22. Have you collaborated with (other) members of the group being represented in your museum?

23. What expectations do you think visitors have when entering your museum?

24. Have you ever been asked by members of the public to change your display methods? What were their requests? Did you make the requested changes?

25. Are there any objects in your museum that have not made it on to display because they are too controversial?

26. Are there any delicate topics in the history of this group (e.g. colonialism)? If yes, how do you handle such delicate topics?

27. Are there any sub-groups in the group you are representing? How do you talk about these groups?

28. Was there a First Nations community here before the current town? Is their history included in the museum? Were they consulted in creating this portion of the museum?

29. What would you say is the role of survivors in this museum?

30. Have you ever had to choose between historical accuracy and telling the story in a way that is meaningful to either visitors or the group you represent in your museum? If yes, what did you choose and how did you come to that decision?

31. As much as you feel comfortable telling me, where does some of the funding for your museum come from? Do you think this affects your displays/exhibits?

32. Do you ever consciously think of identity when creating a display/exhibit? Do you think museums can change public perception of a group?

33. Are you a member of the group being represented in your museum/exhibit? Do you think this affects the way you create your displays? How?

34. Does your museum address the relationship of the community being represented with Canada or their place in Canadian history? How do you tell this story?

35. Do you ever think of yourself as a storyteller? Whose voice do you think tells the story in your exhibit?

36. Do you try to avoid essentialism or exoticism in your displays?

37. Do you think Globalization has changed the way you create your exhibit or run your museum on a daily basis?

38. There is some research that says many First Nations, Inuit and Métis people do not identify with the concept of multiculturalism. Is this true in your museum and could you explain why? Does this affect the way you create your exhibits?

39. What do you think the museum means for yourself, the group it represents and the larger community?

Works Cited

Achinstein, Peter. "General Introduction." In *Science Rules: A Historical Introduction to Scientific Methods*, edited by Peter Achinstein, 1-5. John Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Adachi, Ken. *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

Aga Khan Development Network . *The Aga Khan Museum Online Gallery.* 2007. http://www.akdn.org/museum/ (accessed July 25, 2011).

Ahuvia, Aaron C. "Beyond the Extended Self: Loved Objects and Consumers' Identity Narratives." *Journal of Consumer Research* 32, no. 1 (2005): 171-184.

Airhart, Phyllis D. "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism, 1867–1914." In *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760–1990*, edited by George A. Rawlyk, 98-138. Burlington: Welch, 1990.

Albano, Caterina. "Displaying Lives: The Narrative of Objects in Biographical Exhibitions." *Museum and Society* 5, no. 1 (2007): 15-28.

Alexander, Edward P., and Mary Alexander. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums.* 2nd Edition. New York: Altamira Press, 2008.

Alexander, Victoria D. "Pictures at an Exhibition: Conflicting Pressures in Museums and the Display of Art." *The American Journal of Sociology* 101, no. 4 (1996): 797-839.

Allen, Garth and Caroline Anson. *The Role of the Museum in Creating Multi-Cultural Identities: Lessons from Canada.* Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005.

Alonso, Ana Maria. "The Effects of Truth: Re-Presentations of the Past and the Imagining of Community." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, no. 1 (1988): 33-57.

Alonso, Ana Maria. "The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism and Ethnicity." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 379-405.

Ames, Michael M. "Biculturalism in Exhibitions." *Museum Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (1991): 7-15.

Ames, Michael M. *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1983.

Anderson, Emma. *The Betrayal of Faith: The Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Anderson, George M. "Two Martyrs Remembered: Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant." *America* 178, no. 8 (1998): 13-14.

Anderson, Margaret. "Collecting and Interpreting the Material Culture of Migration." In *Proceedings of the Council of Australian Museums Association Conference*, edited by Patricia Summerfield. Perth: Western Australian Museum, 1987.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Araeen, Rashid. "From Primitivism to Ethnic Arts." *Third Text* Autumn, no. 1 (1987): 6-25.

Asad, Talal. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity (Cultural Memory in the Present).* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association. "Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples—Task Force Report." Ottawa, 1992.

Association of Manitoba Museums. http://www.museumsmanitoba.com (accessed March 3, 2011).

Azoulay, Ariella. "With Open Doors: Museums and Historical Narratives in Israel's Public Space." In *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, edited by Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, 85-109. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Bal, Mieke. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Bamforth, Douglas B. "Indigenous People, Indigenous Violence: Precontact Warfare on the North American Great Plains." *Man, New Series* 29, no. 1 (1994): 95-115.

Barth, Fredrike D. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1969.

Basalla, George. "Transformed Utilitarian Objects." *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 4 (1982): 183-201.

Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialised Nation-States.* Basel: Gordon and Breach, 1994.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *City of Hopes - City of Fears: Urban Life in the Double Bind of Individualization and Globalisation.* London: University of London Press, 2003.

Bazin, Germain. "From the Museum Age." In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, edited by Bettina Messias Carbonell, 15-22. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

Beaman, Lori G. "Aboriginal Spirituality and the Legal Construction of Freedom of Religion." *Journal of Church and State* 44, no. 1 (2002): 135-149.

—. *Defining Harm: Religious Freedom and the Limits of the Law.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.

—. "The Myth of Plurality, Diversity and Vigour: Constitutional Privilege of Protestantism in the United States and Canada." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42, no. 3 (2003): 311-325; and 341-346.

Belk, Russell W. "Possessions and the Extended Self." *Journal of Consumer Research* 15, no. 2 (1988): 139-68.

Bell, Catherine. "Paradigms Behind (And Before) the Modern Concept of Religion." *History and Theory* 4, no. 45 (2006): 27-46.

Bellah, Robert N. "Civil Religion in America." *Daedalus* 96, no. 1 (1967): 1-21.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Origin of German Tragic Drama.* London: New Left Books, 1997.

Bennett, Tony. *Culture: A Reformer's Science.* London: Sage, 1998.

—. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics.* New York: Routledge , 1995.

—. "The Exhibitionary Complex." *New Formations* 4, no. 1 (1988): 73-102.

Berdoulay, Vincent. "Place, Meaning and Discourse in French Language Geography." In *The Power of Place*, edited by John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, 124-139. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing.* London: Penguin Books, 1972.

Berger, Peter L. *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective.* New York: Anchor Books, 1963.

—., Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner. *The Homeless Mind: Modernization and Consciousness.* New York: Random House, 1973.

Berlo, Janet Catherine, Ruth B. Phillips, and Carol Dun. "The Problematics of Collecting and Display, Part 1." *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (1995): 6-23.

Beyer, Peter. "Globalization and Glocalization." In *The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, edited by James A. Beckford and N. Jay Demerath, 98-117. California: Sage Publications, 2007.

—. "The Religious System of Global Society: A Sociological Look at Contemporary Religion and Religions." *Numen* 45, no. 1 (1998): 1-29.

Bokser-Liwerant, Judit. "Globalization and Collective Identities." *Social Compass* 49, no. 2 (2002): 253-271.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

—. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

—, Alain Darbel, and Dominique Scnapper. *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public.* Translated by Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997.

Bramadat, Paul, and David Seljak. *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

—. *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Brandon, Laura. "History as Monument: The Sculptures on the Vimy Memorial." *The Battle of Vimy Ridge: April 9-12 1917.* August 19, 2009. http://www.civilization.ca/cwm/exhibitions/vimy/sculptures_e.shtml (accessed July 9, 2011).

Branham, Joan R. "Sacrality and Aura in the Museum: Mute Objects and Articulate Space." *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 52/53 (1994/1995): 33-47.

Brown, Alison K. "Collecting Material Folklore: Motivations and Methods in the Owen and Hasluck Collections." *Folklore* 109 (1998): 33-40.

Bruner, Edward M. *Cultures on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Brym, Robert J., William Shaffir, and Morton Weinfeld. *The Jews in Canada.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Buchignani, Norman, Doreen Indra, and R. Srivastava. *Continuous Journey.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985.

Buckmaster, Henrietta. *Let My People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, published in cooperation with the Institute for Southern Studies and the South Caroliniana Society of the University of South Carolina, 1992.

Burcaw, Ellis G. *Introduction to Museum Work.* Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1997.

Burns, John F. "Pillagers Strip Iraqi Museum of Its Treasure." *The New York Times.* April 13, 1993.

Calhoun, Craig. "Nationalism and Ethnicity." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19 (1993): 211-239.

Cameron, Catherine M., and John B. Gatewood. "Seeking Numinous Experiences in the Unremembered Past." *Ethnology* 42, no. 1 (2003): 55-71.

Cameron, Duncan F. "The Museum, a Temple or a Forum." *Curator: The Museum Journal* 14, no. 1 (1971): 11-24.

—. "The Museum's Ethical Challenges in the Public Interpretation of Enterprises in Ethnoecology." *Canadian Museums Association.* March 2000. www.museums.ca/filestorage/museum_dcameron.pdf (accessed July 11, 2011).

Canada, Statistics. *Canada's Population Estimates.* December 22, 2010. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/101222/dq101222a-eng.htm (accessed March 3, 2011).

—. *History of the Census of Canada.* May 16, 2005. http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Info/history.cfm (accessed June 7, 2010).

Canadian Heritage. *The Federal Government and Museums.* May 7, 2010. http://www.pch.gc.ca/special/jim-imd/canada_fed-eng.cfm (accessed August 1, 2011).

Canadian Museum of Civilization. "Affirmation: Veterans." *Arrival of Strangers - The Last 500 Years.* April 30, 2010. http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/aborig/fp/fpz4g01e.shtml (accessed July 9, 2011).

—. *Annual Report 2009|2010: Canadian War Museum Canadian Museum of Civilization.* Annual Report, Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2009/2010.

—. *The Virtual Museum of New France.* n.d. http://www.civilization.ca/virtual-museum-of-new-france/introduction/ (accessed July 1, 2011).

—. *Written In Stone: An Architectural Tour of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.* July 30, 2010. http://www.civilization.ca/cmc/exhibitions/cmc/architecture/tour02e.shtml (accessed July 3, 2011).

—. *Summary of the Corporate Plan: 2010-2011 to 2014-2015.* Corporate Plan, Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation, 2010.

Canadian Museums Association. "A Survey of Canadians and Their Views About the Country's Museums." *Canadian Museums Association.* March 2003. http://www.museums.ca/?n=15-23 (accessed July 11, 2011).

—. "Canadian Views on Museum Funding." *Canadian Museums Association.* January 2008. www.museums.ca/filestorage/IRG_Survey_Results_08.pdf (accessed July 10, 2011).

—. *Canadians and Their Museums: A Survey of Canadians and Their Views About the Country's Museums.* Report of Findings Prepared for Canadian Museums Association, Canadian Museums Association, March 2003.

—. *Canadians and their Museums: A Survey of Canadians and their view's about the Country's Museums.* Report of Findings, Ottawa: Canadian Museums Association, 2003.

—. *CMA History.* 2009. http://www.museums.ca/en/about_cma/history/ (accessed May 12, 2010).

—. *CMA History: The 1970s at the CMA: 1970-1979.* 2009. http://www.museums.ca/en/about_cma/history/1970/ (accessed June 07, 2010).

—. *CMA History: The 1980s at the CMA: 1980-1989.* 2009. http://www.museums.ca/en/about_cma/history/1980/ (accessed June 7, 2010).

—. *CMA History: The 1990s at the CMA: 1990-1999.* 2009. http://www.museums.ca/en/about_cma/history/1990/ (accessed June 7, 2010).

—. *Communiqué .* June 30, 2011. http://www.museums.ca/Newsroom/News_releases/?n=13-112 (accessed August 1, 2011).

—. *Museum Definition.* 2009. http://www.museums.ca/en/info_resources/reports_guidelines/museum_definition/index.php (accessed June 08, 2010).

Canadian Museums Association/Canadian Jewish Congress. "A Matter of Justice: Recommendations of the Canadian Symposium on Holocaust-era Cultural Property, CMA 2001." *Canadian Museums Association.* November 14-16, 2001. http://www.museums.ca/?n=15-23 (accessed July 11, 2011).

Canadian Tourism Commission. "Canada's Museum Tourism Enthusiasts A Special Analysis of the Travel Activities and Motivation Survey (TAMS)." *Canadian Tourism Commission.* 2004. http://en-corporate.canada.travel/sites/Corporate/images/pdf/Research/Product-knowledge/TAMS/Canadian%20Travellers%20Culture%20and%20Entertainment/TAMS_cda_museum_tourismEN.pdf (accessed July 12, 2011).

Cannon-Brookes, Peter. "The Nature of Museum Collections." In *Manual of Curatorship: A Guide to Museum Practice*, by John Thompson. London: Butterworth, 1984.

Casey, Edward. *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History.* California: University of California Press, 1996.

Chidester, David. *Christianity: A Global History.* San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000.

—. "Colonialism." In *Guide to the Study of Religion*, by Willi Braun and Russel T. McCutcheon, 423-437. London: Cassell, 2000.

—, and Edward T. Linenthal. *American Sacred Space.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.

Clifford, James. *Museums as Contact Zones. Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

—. *The Predicament of Culture.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Clunas, Craig. "Oriental Antiquities/Far Eastern Art." In *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, edited by Tani E. Barlow, 413-446. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.

Cohen, Anthony P. "Culture as Identity: An Anthropologist's View." *New Literary History* 24, no. 1 (1993): 195-209.

—. *The Symbolic Construction of Community.* London: Tavistock, 1985.

Cohn, Bernard S., and Nicholas Dirks. "Beyond The Fringe: The Nation State, Colonialism, and The Technologies of Power." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, no. 2 (1988): 224–229.

Conkey, Margaret W., and Janet D. Spector. "Archaeology and the Study of Gender." *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7 (1984): 1-38.

Conn, Steven. *Museums and American Intellectual Life: 1876-1926.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Crane, Susan, Ed. *Museums and Memory.* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Crerar, Duff. *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

Crook, J. Mordaunt. *The British Museum.* London: Praeger, 1972.

Csikszentmihalyi, Mihlay, and Eugene Rochberg-Halton. *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Davies, Alan, and F. Nefsky. *How Silent Were the Churches? Canadian Protestantism and the Jewish Plight during the Nazi Era.* Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1997.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Practices of Everyday Life.* Berkeley: Unversity of California Press, 1984.

Devine, Heather. "After the Spirit Sang: Aboriginal Canadians and Museum Policy in the New Millenium." In *How Canadians Communicate III: Contexts of Canadian Popular Culture*, by Bart Beaty, Derek Briton, Gloria Filax and Rebecca Sullivan, 217-239. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2010.

Dickason, Olive Patricia. *A Concise History of Canada's First Nations.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Dorais, Louis-Jacques, and Edmund Searles. "Inuit Identities." *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 25, no. 1-2 (2001): 17-35.

Doxtator, Dennis. "The Home of Indian Culture and Other Stories in the Museum." *Muse* 6, no. 3 (1988): 26-31.

Driedger, Lee. *Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Dubin, Steven C. *Displays of Power: Controversy in the American Museum from the Enola Gay to Sensation.* New York: NYU Press, 2001.

—. *Displays of Power: Memory and Amnesia in the American Museum.* New York: NYU Press, 1999.

Dueck, Peter. "'The Sword of the Lord': Honorary Captain Waldo E. L. Smith and the Second World War." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 48 (2006): 55-84.

Duncan, Carol, and Allan Wallach. "The Universal Survey Museum." *Art History* 3, no. 4 (1980): 447-469.

Duncan, Carol, Ivan Karp, and Steven D. Lavine. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1991.

Dunne, Joseph. "Beyond Sovereignty and Deconstruction: The Storied Self." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 21 (1995): 137-157.

Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* New York: The Free Press, [1915]1965.

Durocher, Rene. "Henri Bourassa, les évêques et la guerre de 1914–1919." *Canadian Historical Association Papers*, 1971: 254-269.

Eco, Umberto. *Travels in Hyperreality.* San Diego: Harcourt, Inc., 1983.

El-Abbadi, Mostafa. *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria.* Paris: UNESCO, 1990.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion: The Significance of Religious Myth, Symbolism, and Ritual within Life and Culture.* Translated by William R. Trask. New York: Harper and Row, 1961.

Ens, Adolf. *Subjects or Citizens? The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994.

Epp, Frank H. *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974.

Evans, Matthew T. "The Sacred: Differentiating, Clarifying and Extending Concepts." *Review of Religious Research* 45, no. 1 (2003): 32-47.

Evans, Wendy, and David Maines. "Narrative Structures and the Analysis of Incest." *Symbolic Interaction* 18 (1995): 303-322.

Evans-Pritchard, Deidre. "How 'They' see 'Us': Native American Images of Tourists." *Annals of Tourism Research* 16 (1989): 89-105.

Ezzy, Douglas. "Theorizing Narrative Identity: Symbolic Interactionism and Hermeneutics." *Sociological Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (2005): 239-252.

Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Farrar, Max. *The Struggle for 'Community' in a British Multi-Ethnic City Area: Paradise in the Making.* Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2002.

Faulkner, Charles Thomas Sinclair. "'For Christian Civilization:' Churches and Canada's War Effort, 1939–1942." University of Chicago, 1975.

Findlen, Paula. *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.

Fitzgerald, Timothy. *Discourse on Civility and Barbarity: A Critical History of Religion and Related Categories.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Fleras, Augie, and Jean Leonard Elliott. *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic and Aboriginal Dynamics in Canada.* Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada, 1996 [1992].

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punishment.* London : Tavistock, 1977.

—. "Historical Discourse and its Supporters." In *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*, edited by Mauro Bertani and Alessandro Fontana, translated by David Macey, 65-86. New York: Picador, 1997.

—. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1984): 22-27.

—. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

—. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction.* Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon, 1978.

—. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences.* London: Routledge, 1989.

Fourmille, Henrietta. "Who Owns the Past? – Aborigines as Captives of the Archives." *Aboriginal History* 13, no. 1 and 2 (1989): 1-8.

Fowler, Michelle. "Faith, Hope and Love: The Wartime Motivations of Lance Corporal Frederick Spratlin, MM and Bar, 3rd Battalion, CEF." *Canadian Military History* 15, no. 1 (2006): 45-60.

Frantz, Nadine Pence. "Material Culture, Understanding, and Meaning: Writing and Picturing." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 66, no. 4 (1998): 791-816.

Friedman, Thomas, and Robert Kaplan. "Techno Logic." *Foreign Policy.* March 1, 2002.

Fyfe, Gordon. "Sociology and the Social Aspects of Museums." In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, by Sharon Macdonald (Ed.), 33-49. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Fyfe, Gordon, and Sharon Macdonald. *Theorizing Museums.* Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

Gable, Eric and Richard Handler. "After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site." *American Anthropologist, New Series* 98, no. 3 (1996): 568-578.

Gaorian, Charles R. "Performing the Museum." *Studies in Art Education* 42, no. 3 (2001): 234-248.

Geertz, Clifford. *Religion as a cultural system. Anthropological approaches to the study of religion.* London: Tavistock, 1985.

Gellius, Aulus. "Attic Nights." *published in Vol. II of the Loeb Classical Library edition, 1927 (Public Domain).* Translated by John C. Rolfe. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

—. *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion.* London: Routledge, 1992.

Gergen, Kenneth J. *An Invitation to Social Construction.* London: Sage, 2000.

Gibbon, Edward. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* New York: Routledge, 1901.

Gibbons, Jacqueline A. "The Museum as Contested Terrain: The Canadian Case." *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 26, no. 4 (1997): 309-314.

Gibson, James J. *The perception of the visual world.* Oxford: Houghton Mifflin, 1950.

Giddens, Anthony. *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

—. *The Consequences of Modernity.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Gieryn, Thomas F. "A Space for Place in Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 463-496.

Gillam, Robyn. *Hall of Mirrors: Museums and the Canadian Public.* Banff: The Banff Centre Press, 2001.

Gilman, Carolyn. *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade.* St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982.

Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel P. Moynihan. *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Goa, David J. *Working in the Fields of Meaning: Cultural Communities, Museums and the New Pluralism.* Unpublished manuscript. Received by email, May 2009.

Goffman, Erving. *Asylums.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1961] 1976 .

—. *Strategic Interaction.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969.

—. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1959.

Government of Canada. "Task Force on Military History Museum Collections in Canada." 1991.

Graburn, Nelson H. "The Sacred Journey." In *Hosts and Guests*, edited by Valene Smith, 21-36. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.

Granburn, Nelson. "The Museum and the Visitor Experience." In *The Visitor and the Museum*, edited by L. Draper, 21. Seattle, 1977.

Grant, Edward. *A History of Natural Philosophy: From the Ancient World to the Nineteenth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Greenberg, Reesa. "Constructing the Canadian War Museum/Constructing the Landscape of a Canadian identity." In *(Re) Visualizing National History: Museums and National Identities in Europe in the New Millennium*, edited by Robin Ostow, 183-199. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Grim, John. "Cultural Identity, Authenticity, and Community Survival: The Politics of Recognition in the Study of Native American Religions." *American Indian Quarterly, Special Issue: To Hear the Eagles Cry: Contemporary Themes in Native American Spirituality* 20, no. 3/4 (1996): 353-376.

Grimes, Ronald L. "Breaking the Glass Barrier: The Power of Display." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 4, no. 2 (1990): 239-261.

—. "Desecration of the Dead: An Inter- Religious Controversy." *American Indian Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1988): 305-318.

—. "Sacred Objects in Museum Spaces." *Studies in Religion* 21, no. 4 (1992): 419-430.

Gubrium, Jaber and James Holstein. "Grounding the Postmodern Self." *The Sociological Quarterly* 35 (1994): 685-703.

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson. *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

—. "Beyond Culture: Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference." *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 6-23.

Guthrie, Carl E. and Grace M. Guthrie. *The Canadian Museum Movement.* Toronto: Canadian Museums Association, 1958.

Haacke, Hans. "Museums, Managers of Consciousness." *Art in America* 72 (1983): 9-17.

Haas, Jonathan. "Power, Objects, and a Voice for Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 1, Supplement: Special Issue: Anthropology in Public Space (1996): S1-S22.

Hale, John. *A Concise Encyclopaedia of the Italian Renaissance.* Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity: Community, Culture*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford, 222-237. London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 1990.

—. "Culture, the Media and Ideological Effect." In *Mass Communication and Society*, edited by James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Wollacot, 315-348. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979.

—, Ed. *Modernity and its Futures.* London: Polity, 1992.

Handler, Richard. *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

Harris, Neil. *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Harrison, Julia. *Being a Tourist: Finding Meaning and Pleasure in Travel.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.

—. "Museums and Politics: The Spirit Sings and the Lubicon Boycott--Co-ordinating Curator's Statement." *Muse* 6, no. 3 (1988): 12-13.

Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.

—. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.

Hawkes, Christopher. *Sainte Marie Among the Hurons.* Toronto: Ginn and Company, 1974.

Haynes, Jeff, Ed. *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World.* Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1999.

Heath, Gordon L. *A War with a Silver Lining: Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899–1902.* Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.

—. "Canadian Churches and War: An Introductory Essay and Annotated Bibliography." *McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry* 12 (2010-2011): 61-124.

Heidegger, Martin. *Being and Time.* Translated by J. Macquarie and E. Robinson. Oxford: Blackwell, 1962.

Hein, George E. "Museum Education." In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, 340-352. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Limited, 2007.

Heller, Ena Giurescu. "Religion on a Pedestal: Exhibiting Sacred Art." In *Reluctant Partners: Art and Religion in Dialogue*, 122-141. Gallery at the American Bible Society, 2004.

Hermanowicz, Joseph C. *The Stars Are Not Enough: Scientists-Their Passions and Professions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

—. and Harriet P. Morgan. "Ritualizing the Routine: Collective Identity Affirmation." *Sociological Forum* 14, no. 2 (1999): 197-214.

Higham, Carol L. "Saviors and Scientists: North American Protestant Missionaries and the Development of Anthropology." *The Pacific Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (2003): 531-559.

Hill Strategies Research Inc. "Museums and Art Gallery Attendance in Canada and the Provinces." *Research Series on the Arts* 1, no. 3 (2003): 2-18.

Hindle, Brooke. "How Much is this Piece of the True Cross Worth?" In *Material Culture and the Study of American Life*, edited by Ian Quimby, 5-6. New York: Norton, 1978.

Hirst, Paul Q. "Power/Knowledge—Constructed Space and the Subject." In *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 380-400. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality. Wiles Lectures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger. *(The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Hoelscher, Steven D. "Heritage." In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, by Sharon Macdonald (Ed), 198-218. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Hollenberg, Donna Krolik. "At the Western Development Museum: Ethnic Identity and the Memory of the Holocaust in the Jewish Community of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan." *The Oral History Review* 27, no. 2 (2000): 85-127.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge.* London: Routledge, 1989.

Hudson, Kenneth. "Museums for the 1980s: A Survey of World Trends." Paris and London: UNESCO and Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997.

Huff, Toby E. *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China and the West.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Hull, David L. "The Effect of Essentialism on Taxonomy—Two Thousand Years of Stasis (I)." *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* 15, no. 60 (1965): 314-326.

Hume, Stephen. "The Spirit Weeps." *Edmonton Journal.* February 14, 1988. B1.

Hutcheon, Linda. "The Post Always Rings Twice: The Postmodern and the Post Colonial." *Material History Review* 41 (1994): 205-238.

Inden, Ronald B. *Imagining India.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.

Inikova, Svetlana A. "Spiritual Origins and the Beginning of Doukhobor History." *Doukhobor Genealogy Website.* October 22-24, 1999. http://www.doukhobor.org/Spiritual-Origins.htm (accessed July 17, 2011).

International Council of Museums. *Museum Definition.* 2010. http://icom.museum/who-we-are/the-vision/museum-definition.html (accessed September 30, 2010).

International Federation of Library Associations. "Proceedings of the Open Session co-organised by PAC Core Activity and the Section on National Libraries." *A Blue Shield for the Protection of Our Endangered Cultural Heritage.* Glasgow: International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions Core Activity on Preservation and Conservation (PAC), 2003. 1-37.

Irving, Abells and Harold Troper. *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948.* Lester: Lester Publication Limited, 1997.

Isajiw, Wsevolod. "Ethnic Identity Retention." In *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*, edited by Raymond Breton, Wsevolod Isajiw, Warren E Kalback and Jeffery G. Reitz, 31-94. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Isajiw, Wsevolod W. "Definitions of Ethnicity." In *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada: A Book of Readings*, edited by Rita M. Bienvenue and Jay E. Goldstein, 5-17. Toronto: Butterworth, 1985 [1974].

Isajiw, Wsevolod, and Andrij Makuch. "Ukrainians in Canada." In *Ukraine and Ukrainians Throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Its Diaspora*, edited by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko, 322-369. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Jacobs, Janet. "From the Profane to the Sacred: Ritual and Mourning at Sites of Terror and Violence." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 43, no. 3 (2004): 311-315.

Janzen, William. *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite and Doukhobor Communities in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Jenkins, Timothy. *Religion in English Everyday Life: An Ethnographic Approach.* New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1999.

Kahn, Miriam. "Heterotopic Dissonance in the Museum Representation of Pacific Island Cultures." *American Anthropologist* 97, no. 2 (June 1995): 324-338.

Kaneko, Satoru. "Dimensions of Religiosity among Believers in Japanese Folk Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29, no. 1 (1990): 1-18.

Kaouk, Aida. *The Lands Within Me: Expressions by Canadian Artsist of Arab Origin.* Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003.

Kapchan, Deborah A. "Performance." *Journal of American Folklore* 108, no. 430 (1995): 479-509.

Kaplan, Flora. *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity.* New York: Leicester University Press, 1994.

Karim, Karim H. "Reconstructing the Multicultural Community in Canada: Discursive Strategies of Inclusion and Exclusion." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 7, no. 2 (1993): 189-207.

Karp, Ivan. "How Museums Define Other Cultures." *American Art* 5, no. 1/2 (1991): 10-15.

—. “Introduction.” In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, edited by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Stephen D. Lavine, 1-17. Smithsonian, 1992.

—, and Steven D. Lavine. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Kearney, Michael. “The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 547-565.

Kemp, Peter. “Ricoeur between Heidegger and Levinas.” *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 21 (1995): 41-61.

Key, Archie F. *Beyond Four Walls: The Origins and Development of Canadian Museums.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973.

Kim, Andrew E. “The Absence of Pan-Canadian Civil Religion: Plurality, Duality, and Conflict in Symbols of Canadian Culture.” *Sociology of Religion* 54, no. 3 (1993): 257-275.

Kinnvall, Catarina. “Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security.” *Political Psychology* 25, no. 5 (2004): 741-767.

—. “Nationalism, Religion and the Search for Chosen Traumas: Comparing Sikh and Hindu Identity Construction.” *Ethnicities* 2 (2002): 79-106.

—. “Analyzing the Global-Local Nexus.” In *Globalization and Democratization in Asia: The Construction of Identity*, edited by Catarina Kinnvall and Kristina Jönsson, 3-18. London: Routledge, 2002.

Knott, Kim. “Community and Locality in the Study of Religions.” In *Secular Theories on Religion*, edited by Tim Jensen and Mikael Rothstein, 87-105. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2000.

—. “From Locality to Location and Back Again: A Spatial Journey in the Study of Religion.” *Religion* 39, no. 2 (2009): 154-160.

—. *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis.* London: Equinox, 2005.

—, and Myfanwy Franks. “Secular Values and the Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis of an English Medical Centre.” *Health and Place* 13 (2007): 224-237.

Kong, Lily. “Religion and Technology: Refiguring Place, Space, Identity and Community.” *Area* 33, no. 4 (2001): 404-413.

—. "Re-presenting the Religious: Nation, Community and Identity in Museums." *Social and Cultural Geography* 6, no. 4 (2005): 495-513.

Kopytoff, Igor. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Kozakavich, Stacy C. "Doukhobor Identity and Communalism at Kirilovka Village Site." *Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 1, Daring Experiments: Issues and Insights about Utopian Communities (2006): 119-132.

Kurien, Prema. "Multiculturalism, Immigrant Religion, and Diasporic Nationalism: The Development of an American Hinduism." *Social Problems* 51, no. 3 (2004): 362-385.

Lamont, Michèle, and Marcel Fournier. *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Lane, Belden C. *Landscapes of the Sacred: Geography and Narrative in American Spirituality.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Laub, Dori and Daniel Podell. "Art and Trauma." *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 76 (1995): 991-1005.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991.

Lessa, Lara. "Discoursive Struggles Within Social Welfare: Restaging Teen Motherhood." *British Journal of Social Work* 36, no. 2 (2006): 283-298.

Levin, Amy K. "Irish Museums and the Rhetoric of Nation." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 38, no. 2 (2005): 78-92.

Lieber, Robert J. and Ruth E. Weisberg. "Globalization, Culture and Identities in Crisis." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 16, no. 2 (2002): 273-296.

Lindsay, Colin. "Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada: The African Community in Canada, 2001." *Statistics Canana.* 2007. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007010-eng.pdf (accessed July 24, 2011).

—. "Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada: The Arab Community in Canada, 2001." *Statistics Canada.* 2007. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007009-eng.pdf (accessed July 24, 2011).

—. "Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada: The South Asian Community in Canada, 2001." *Statistics Canada.* 2007. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007006-eng.pdf (accessed July 24, 2011).

—. "The Japanese Community in Canada." *Statistics Canada.* 2007. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007013-eng.pdf (accessed July 24, 2011).

Linenthal, Edward T. *Preserving Memory: the Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum .* New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

—. "Violence and the American Landscape: The Challenge of Public History." *OAH Magazine of History* 16, no. 2, Public History (2002): 10-13.

Lipset, S. M. *Continental Divide: The Values and of the United States and Canada.* New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1990.

Lord, Beth. "Foucault's Museum: Difference, Representation, and Genealogy." *Museum and Society* 4 , no. 1 (March 2006): 11-14.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Luke, Timothy. *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

Lunman, John. "From Motion Picture to Audio-Visual Presentation as an Orientation Technique at Sainte Marie Among the Hurons." *Annual relations from Sainte Marie: The Magazine of Sainte Marie Among the Hurons* 1, no. 1 (1995): 20-22.

Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge.* Translated by Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

MacCannell, Dean. "Reconstructed Ethnicity: Tourism in Third World Communities." *Annals of Tourism Research* 11, no. 3 (1984): 375-391.

—. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

Macdonald, George F. and Stephen Alsford. *A Museum for the Global Village.* Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1989.

Macdonald, Sharon J. *Exhibitions and the Public Understanding of Science Paradox .* January 2004. http://www.pantaneto.co.uk/issue13/macdonald.htm (accessed September 29, 2010).

—. "Introduction." In *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, by Sharon J Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, 1-20. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.

—. "A People's Story? Heritage, Identity and Authenticity." In *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, edited by Chris Rojek and John Urry, 155-157. London: Routledge, 1997.

—. "Introduction." In *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, edited by Sharon J. Macdonald, 1-24. London: Routledge, 1998.

—. "Museums, National, Postnational and Transcultural Identities." *Museum and Society* 1, no. 1 (2003): 1-16.

— and Gordon Fyfe. *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Machin, Rebecca. "Gender Representation in the Natural History Galleries at the Manchester Museum." *Museum and Society* 6, no. 1 (2008): 64-67.

MacMillan, Margaret. *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World.* New York: Random House, 2001.

—. *The Uses and Abuses of History .* Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008.

Maines, David. "Narrative's Moment and Sociology's Phenomena." *Sociological Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1993): 17-38.

Maines, David, and Jeffery Ulmer. "The Relevance of Narrative for Interactionist Thought." *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* 14 (1993): 109-124.

Maines, David, Noreen Sugrue, and Michael Katovich. "The Sociological Import of G. H. Mead's Theory of the Past." *American Sociological Review* 48 (1983): 161-173.

Maines, Rachel P. and James J. Glynn. "Numinous Objects." *The Public Historian* 15, no. 1 (1993): 8-25.

Mason, Rhiannon. "Cultural Theory and Museum Studies." In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon J. Macdonald, 17-32. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Massey, Doreen. "Politics and Space/Time." In *Place and the Politics of Identity*, edited by Michael Keith and Steve Pile, 141-161. London: Routledge, 1993.

—. "Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place." In *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, edited by Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson and Lisa Tickner, 59-69. London: Routledge, 1993b.

—. *Space, Place and Gender.* Cambridge: Polity, 1994.

Matas, David. *Aftershock: Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism.* Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2005.

Mathur, Saloni. "Social Thought and Commentary: Museums and Globalization." *Anthropological Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (2005): 697-708.

Mayo, Edith P. "New Angles of Vision." In *Gender Perspectives: Essays on Women in Museums*, by Jane R. Glaser and Artemis A. Zenetou, 57-62. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.

McBeth, Sally. "Layered Identity Systems in Western Oklahoma Indian Communities." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, 1989.

McCoy, Bruce. "Monumentality, Identity, and the State: Local Practice, World Heritage, and Heterotopia at Swayambhu, Nepal." *Anthropological Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2002): 269-316.

McCrone, David. "Cultural Capital in an Understated Nation: The Case of Scotland." *The British Journal of Sociology* 56, no. 1 (2005): 65–82.

McGowan, Mark G. "Sharing the Burden of Empire: Toronto's Catholics and the Great War, 1914–1918." In *Catholics at the 'Gathering Place': Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991*, edited by Mark G. McGowan and Brian P. Clarke, 177-207. Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993.

McLoughlin, Moira. *Museums and the Representation of Native Canadians: Negotiating the Borders of Culture (Native Americans: Interdisciplinary Perspectives).* New York: Routledge, 1999.

—. "Of Boundaries and Borders: First Nations' History in Museums." *Canadian Journal of Communications* 18, no. 3 (1993): Retrieved May 31, 2011, from http://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/view/761.

McMaster, Gerald. "Museums and the Native Voice." In *Museums After Modernisation: Strategies of Engagement*, by Griselda Pollock, 70-79. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Mead, Margaret and Preston McClanahan, Eds. *Peoples of the Pacific. Natural History Magazine, Supplement.* 1971 .

Miedema, Gary R. *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

Miers, Sir Henry and S. Frank Markham. *A Report on the Museums of Canada.* New York: Carnegie Corporation , 1932.

Milroy, Sarah. "What's a Dead White Guy Doing in the Middle of our Gallery?" *Globe and Mail.* Toronto, January 21, 2006. 5.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

—. "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order." In *Colonialism and Culture*, edited by Nicholas Dirks, 289-317. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.

Mithlo, Nancy Marie. ""Red Man's Burden": The Politics of Inclusion in Museum Settings." *American Indian Quarterly, Special Issue: The Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge* 28, no. 3/4 (2004): 743 - 763.

—. "History is Dangerous." *Museum Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (1995): 50-57.

Mulder, Karen L. "Specifying Sacred Space: The Anno Domini Experience." *Religious Studies and Theology* 21, no. 1 (2007): 28-49.

Nagel, Joane. "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture." *Social Problems, Special Issue on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America* 41, no. 1 (1994): 152-176.

Nahachewsky, Andriy. "New Ethnicity and Ukrainian Canadian Social Dances." *The Journal of American Folklore, Special Issue: Folklore in Canada* 115, no. 456 (2002): 175-190.

Nash, Manning. *The Cauldron of Ethnicity in the Modern World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Nelson, Louis P., Ed. *American Sanctuary: Understanding Sacred Spaces.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Newman, Andrew and Fiona McLean. "Architectures of Inclusion: Museums, Galleries and Inclusive Communities." In *Museums, Society, Inequality (Museum Meanings)*, edited by Richard Sandell, 56-68. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Nochlin, Linda. "Museums and Radicals: A History of Emergencies." *Art in America* 59 (1971): 26–39.

Nora, Pierre and Lawrence D. Kritzman. *Realms of Memory.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

O'Leary, De Lacy. *How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949.

Oliver, Bette Wyn. *From Royal to National: The Louvre Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale.* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007.

Opp, James. "Exhibiting the Sacred: Material Objects, Religious History, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 30 (2001): 3-4.

Orsi, Robert. "Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion." In *Lived Religion in America: Toward A History of Practice*, edited by David D. Hall, 3-21. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Owen, Janet. "Collecting Artefacts, Acquiring Empire: Exploring the Relationship between Enlightenment and Darwinist Collecting and Late-nineteenth-century British Imperialism." *Journal of the History of Collections* 18, no. 1 (2006): 9-25.

Pachter, Marc. "The Impact of Feminist Scholarship in Collections, Exhibitions and Publications." In *Gender Perspectives: Essays on Women in Museums*, by Jane R. Glaser and Artemis A. Zenetou, 56. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.

Paige, Karen Ericksen and Jeffery M. Paige. *The Politics of Reproductive Ritual.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

Paine, Crispin, Ed. *Godly Things: Museums, Objects, and Religion.* London: Leicester University Press, 2000.

Parsons, Talcott and Gerald M. Platt. *The American University.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Patterson, Stephen E. "1744-1763: Colonial Wars and Aboriginal Peoples." In *The Atlantic Region to Condferation: A History*, edited by Phillip Buckner and John Reid, 125-155. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Pearce, Susan M. "Museums of Anthropology or Museums as Anthropology?" *Anthropologica* 41, no. 1, Anthropologie et musées (1999): 25-33.

Peers, Laura. *Playing Ourselves: Interpreting Native Histories at Historic Reconstructions (American Association for State and Local History).* Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007.

Peterson, Richard A. "Revitalizing the Culture Concept." *Annual Review of Sociology* 5 (1979): 137-166.

Pettigrew, A. M. *The Politics of Organizational Decision Making.* London: Tavistock, 1973.

Pollock, Griselda. "Un-Framing the Modern: Critical Space/Public Possibility." In *Museums after Modernism: Strategies of Engagement*, by Griselda Pollock and Joyce Zemans, 1-39. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Porter, Gaby. "Gender Bias: Representations of Work in History Museums." *Continuum: The Australian Journal of Media and Culture* 3, no. 1 (1990).

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* London: Routledge, 1992.

Preus, J. Samuel. *Explaining Religion: Criticism and Theory from Bodin to Freud.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Preziosi, Donald and Claire Farago. "Introduction: Observing Subjects/Disciplining Practice." In *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 363-368. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Prior, Nick. "A Question of Perception: Bourdieu, Art and the Postmodern." *The British Journal of Sociology* 56, no. 1 (2005): 123–139.

—. *Museums and Modernity: Art Galleries and the Making of Modern Culture.* Oxford: Berg Publishing, 2002.

—. "Postmodern Restructurings." In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, by Sharon Macdonald, 509-524. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Pucci, Ed. "Review of Paul Ricoeur's Oneself as Another." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 18 (1992): 185-209.

Rectanus, Mark W. "Globalization: Incorporating the Museum." In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, by Sharon Macdonald, 381-397. Malden: Blackwell, 2006.

Reiss, Timothy J. "Mapping Identities: Literature, Nationalism, Colonialism." *American Literary History* 4, no. 4 (1992): 649-677.

Rice, Danielle. "Museum Education Embracing Uncertainty." *Art Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (March 1995): (Vol. '77, No. 1,. March 1995), pp. 15-20.).

Ricoeur, Paul. "Can There Be A Scientific Concept Of Ideology?" In *Phenomenology and the Social Sciences*, edited by J. Bier. The Hague: Martinus Nijhof, 1978.

—. "Narrative Identity." *Philosophy Today* 15, no. 1 (1991): 73-81.

—. *Oneself as Another.* Translated by K Blarney. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

—. *The Course of Recognition.* Translated by David Pellauer. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005.

—. *Time and Narrative, vol. 1.* Translated by K McLaughlin and D Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

—. *Time and Narrative, vol. 2.* Translated by K McLaughlin and D Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

—. *Time and Narrative, vol. 3.* Translated by K Blarney and D Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Riviere, Georges Henri. "The Ecomuseum, an Evolutive Definition." *Museum* 148, no. 4 (1985): 182-183.

Rodman, Margaret. "Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality." *American Anthropologist* 94, no. 3 (1992): 640-656.

Rossel, Pierre. *Tourism: Manufacturing the Exotic.* Copenhagen: International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, 1988.

Roth, Lorraine. "Conscientious Objection: The Experiences of Some Canadian Mennonite Women during World War II." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (1992): 539-545.

Roy, Patricia. *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941-67.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.

Royal Ontario Museum. *Our History.* http://www.rom.on.ca/about/history/index.php (accessed June 7, 2011).

Rushdie, Salman. *Luka and the Fire of Life.* Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2010.

Sadlier, Rosemary. *Black History Canada: Events.* http://blackhistorycanada.ca/events.php?id=21 (accessed July 22, 2011).

Seip, Lisa P. "Transformations of Meaning: The Life History of a Nuxalk Mask." *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2, The Cultural Biography of Objects (1999): 272-287 .

Sen, Swadhin. "Community Boundary, Secularised Religion and Imagined Past in Bangladesh: Archaeology and Historiography of Unequal Encounter." *Community Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 346-362.

Sherman, Daniel J. and Irit Rogoff. *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Shiner, Larry E. "Sacred Space, Profane Space, Human Space." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40, no. 4 (1972): 425-436.

Simpson, Moira. "Cultural Reflections." In *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 628-635. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

—. *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Smith, Janet Farrell. "A Critique of Adversarial Discourse." In *Defending Diversity: Contemporary Philosophical perspectives on Pluralism and Multiculturalism*, edited by Lawrence Foster and Patricia Herzog, 59-82. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1994.

Smith, Jonathan Z. *To Take Place: Toward a Theory of Ritual.* Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987.

Somers, Margaret. "The Narrative Constitution of Identity." *Theory and Society* 23 (1994): 605-649.

—, and G. Gibson. "Reclaiming the Epistemological 'Other'." In *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, edited by C. Calhoun, 37-98. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. "A Feminist Theoretical Approach to the Historical Archaeology of Utopian Communities." *Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 1, Daring Experiments: Issues and Insights about Utopian Communities (2006): 152-185.

Stark, Rodney. "Reconceptualizing Religion, Magic, and Science." *Review of Religious Research* 43, no. 2 (2001): 101-120.

Statistics Canada. "Aboriginal Peoples in Canada in 2006: Inuit, Métis and First Nations, 2006 Census." *Statistics Canada.* 2008. http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/pdf/97-558-XIE2006001.pdf (accessed July 24, 2011).

—. *Ethnic Origin (232), Sex (3) and Single and Multiple Responses (3) for Population, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas 1 and Census Agglomerations, 2001 Census - 20% Sample Data.* March 9, 2010. http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/ListProducts.cfm?Temporal=2001andAPATH=3andTHEME=44andFREE=0 (accessed July 24, 2011).

—. *History of the Census of Canada.* May 16, 2005. http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Info/history.cfm (accessed June 7, 2010).

—. *Religion (95A), Age Groups (7A) and Sex (3) for Population, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas 1 and Census Agglomerations, 1991 and 2001 Censuses - 20% Sample Data.* March 9, 2010. http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/ListPr

oducts.cfm?Temporal=2001andAPATH=3andTHEME=44andFREE=0 (accessed July 24, 2011).

Steiner, Christopher B. "Museums and the Politics of Nationalism." *Museum Anthropology: Journal of the Council for Museum Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (1995): 3-6.

Stier, Oren Baruch. "Virtual Memories: Mediating the Holocaust at the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Beit Hashoah- Museum of Tolerance." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion: Thematic Issue on Religion and American Popular Culture* 64, no. 4 (1996): 831-851.

Sullivan, Lawrence E. and Alison Edwards. *Stewards of the Sacred.* Cambridge: American Association of Museums with the Center for Study of World Religions, Harvard University, 2004.

Sullivan, Robert. "Evaluating the Ethics and Consciences of Museums." In *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*, by Gail Anderson, 257-268. Oxford: Altamira Press, 2004.

—. "Trouble in Paradigms." *Museum News* 71, no. 1 (1992): 41-44.

Swidler, Ann. "Culture as Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986): 273-286.

Swyripa, Frances. "Ancestors, the Land, and Ethno-religious Identity on the Canadian Prairies: Comparing the Mennonite and Ukrainian Legacies." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 21 (2003): 43-70.

Task Force on Military History Museum Collections in Canada. Task Force, Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1991.

Tataryn, Myroslaw. "Canada's Eastern Rite Christians." In *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, edited by Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, 287-329. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Taylor, Carole Anne. "Positioning Subjects and Objects: Agency, Narration, Relationality." *Hypatia* 8, no. 1 (1993): 55-80.

Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

—. *The Malaise of Modernity.* Concord: Anansi, 1991.

Teelucksingh, Jerome. *The Lost Gospel The Lost Gospel: Christianity and Blacks in North America.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010.

Tilley, Christopher. *Reading Material Culture.* London: Blackwell, 1990.

Tivy, Mary Elizabeth. "The Local History Museum in Ontario: An Intellectual History 1851-1985." Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2006.

Tolia-Kelly, Divya P. "Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-memory Through Artefacts in the British Asian Home." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29, no. 3 (2004): 314-329.

Tran, Kelly, Jennifer Kaddatz, and Paul Allard. "South Asians in Canada: Unity Through Diversity." *Statistics Canada.* 2005. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/studies-etudes/11-008/feature-caracteristique/5018785-eng.pdf (accessed July 24, 2011).

Trigger, Bruce G. *Children of Atanentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1600, 1st Edition.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987.

—. "American Archaeology as Native History: A Review Essay." *William and Mary Quarterly* 40 (1983): 413 - 452.

—. "Who Owns the Past?" *Muse* 6, no. 3 (1988): 13-15.

Turner, Victor. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1969.

— and Edith Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Tylor, Edward B. *Primitive Culture.* Gloucester: Smith, [1871] 1924.

UNESCO. "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage." *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.* Paris: UNESCO, 1972. 1-17.

—. "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." Paris: UNESCO, 2003. 1-15.

—. "Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property 1970." *unesco.org.* 11 14, 1970. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13039andURL_DO=DO_TOPICandURL_SECTION=201.html (accessed June 7, 2010).

—. *World Heritage.* September 13, 2010. http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/ (accessed September 13, 2010).

Urry, John. "How Societies Remember the Past." In *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, edited by Sharon J. Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, 45-68. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

—. "The Sociology of Space and Place." In *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology*, edited by Judith R. Blau, 3-15. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Vaessen, Jan. "The Inflation of the New: Art Museums on Their Way to the Twenty-first Century." In *Art Museums and the Price of Success*, edited by Truus Gubbels and Annemoon van Hemel, 115-122. Amsterdam: Boekman Foundation, 1993.

Van Der Leeuw, Gerardus. *Religion in Essence and Manifestation, a Study in Phenomenology, Volume Two.* Translated by J.E. Turner and Hans H. Penner. New York: Harper and Row, 1933 [1963].

Van Dijk, Teun A. "Structures of Discourse and Structures of Power." In *Communication Yearbook 12*, edited by James A. Anderson, 18-59. Newbury Park: Sage, 1989.

Vance, Jonathan. "Sacrifice in Stained Glass: Memorial Windows of the Great War." *Canadian Military History* 5, no. 2 (1996): 16-23.

Verdery, Katherine. "Whither 'Nation' and 'Nationalism'?" *Daedalus* 122, no. 3 (1993): 37-47.

Vergo, Peter. "Introduction and The Reticent Object." In *The New Museology*, by Peter Vergo, 1-5, 41-59. London: Reaktion Books, 1989.

Virtual Museum of Canada. http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca (accessed March 3, 2011).

Vodden, Christy and Ian Dyck. *A World Inside: A 150-Year History of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.* Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation, 2006.

Vogel, Susan. "Always True to the Object, in Our Fashion." In *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 653-662. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Wagner, Peter. *A Sociology of Modernity: Liberty and Discipline.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Waters, Malcom. *Globalization.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Webb, Todd. "How the Canadian Methodists Became British: Unity, Schism, and Transatlantic Identity, 1827–54." In *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America*, edited by

Nancy Christie, 159-98. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.

Weber, Jean. "Images of Women in Museums." In *Women's Changing Role in Museums*, by Ellen Cochrane Hicks, 21-22. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986.

Weinfeld, Norman. "Myth and Reality in the Canadian Mosaic: "Affective Ethnicity" . In *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada: A Book of Readings*, edited by Rita M. Bienvenue and Jay E. Goldstein, 65-86. Toronto: Butterworth, 1985 [1981].

Wiebe, Donald. "Modernism." In *Guide to the Study of Religion*, edited by Willi Braun and Russel T. McCutcheon, 351-364. London: Cassell, 2000.

Wiley Hardwick, Susan. *Russian Refuge: Religion, Migration, and Settlement on the North American Pacific Rim.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Wineburg, S. *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts; Charting the Future of Teaching the Past: Critical Perspectives on the Past.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001.

Winks, Robin W. "Slavery, the Loyalists, and English Canada, 1760-1801." In *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, edited by Barrington Walker, 27-40. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2008.

Wolfart, Johannes C. "Postmodernism." In *Guide to the Study of Religion*, by Willi Braun and Russel T. McCutcheon, 380-395. London: Cassell, 2000.

Wotton, Ernest. "Let There be Light." *Canadian Museums Association.* www.museums.ca/filestorage/let_there_be_light.pdf (accessed July 10, 2011).

Yousif, Ahmed F. *Muslims in Canada: A Question of Identity.* Ottawa: Legas, 2008.

Zeller, Terry. "The Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Art Museum Education in America." In *Museum Education: History, Theory, and Practice*, edited by Nancy Berry and Susan Mayer, 10-89. Virginia: National Art Education Association, 1989.

Zolberg, Vera L. "Contested Remembrance: The Hiroshima Exhibit Controversy ." *Theory and Society, Special Issue on Interpreting Historical Change at the End of the Twentieth Century* 27, no. 4 (1998): 565-590.

Zubrzycki, Jerzy. *Ethnic heritage : an essay in museology.* Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 1992.

Zucker, Lynne G. “Institutional Theories of Organization.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 (1987): 443-464.