

Race Mindedness in the Physical Architecture of Winnipeg's Former Civic Auditorium

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(Image 1: photo by Timothy Maton)

Abstract (Chassis):ⁱ

Centred on the architecture of the Winnipeg Civic Auditorium, this thesis tangentially investigates the presence of Anglo-Saxon race mindedness in a place civic planners call the metropolitan centre of North America (Watt, 1932). The introduction situates the building tangentially in Manitoba's history. By thinking about the Civic Auditorium in a tangential manner I aim to attack the linear and sequential frameworkⁱⁱ found in Eurocentric historical accounts. Doing this, my thesis criticises western architectural history and welcomes Indigenous reinterpretations of civic planning and urban aesthetics. I aim to philosophically attack the informational rhetoric of the cultural turn (Fabian, 1983). My thesis participates in the production of a material turn discourse, wherein the important philosophical relationship between objects and occidental culture is demonstrated (Otter, 2010; Bennett & Joyce, 2010; Hamilton, 2013). It utilises the Civic Auditorium as a touch stone to demonstrate the important ways that architecture has agency in the production of racism.

Table of Contents

Abstract (Chassis)p3
Table of Contentsp5
List of Tablesp8
Introduction: Situating the Civic Auditorium in the Topography of Canada’s Historyp8
.....p8
i) Introducing the Relationship between the Civic Auditorium and Physical Determinism
.....p29

Chapter 1: Interviewing Taz Bouchier: A Traditional and Intersectional Academic Analysis of
Urban Repository Architecturep37

i) Indigenous Knowledge of the Meaning Embodied in the Architecture of Edmonton’s Urban
Repositories can be Utilised to Study Winnipeg’s Civic Auditoriump52

Chapter 2: The Civic Auditorium in Metropolitan Winnipeg.....p57

Chapter 3: The Built Fabric of the Civic Auditoriump68

i) The Auditorium’s Pageant Birth.....p70

ii) The Eurocentric Processes associated with Scientific Enlightenment Exhibited in Win-
nipeg’s Civic Corep93

iii) The Civic Auditorium History-Making Project.....p100

iv) The Architectural Symbolism of J. N. Semmens: Historical Context in Civic Planning
Theories of the Times, and a Concept of Built Personae.....p105

Conclusion: Architecture is a European Languagep119
Bibliography.....p123
i) Authors Note.....p136
End Notes.....p137
Appedix: **An Alternative Abstract in Tangential Form**.....p155

List of Tables

- Photo 1: Contemporary Picture of Former Auditorium p.1
- Photo 2: Picture of Civic Auditorium in 2015 p.5
- Photo 3: Map of Centre of North America p.5
- Photo 4: Industrial Window as Example of “Tangent” p.7
- Photo 5: Ammon Shell on Civic Auditorium p.18
- Photo 6: Free Press Example of Personae p.25-26
- Photo 7: Topography of Civic Centre Architecture p.37
- Photo 8: Image of Columbia from Columbian Exposition p.55
- Photo 9: Original Architectural Drawing of Civic Auditorium p.69
- Photo 10: Architectural Drawing of Civic Auditorium p.69
- Photo 11: Image of Architecture with Traveller Impersonation p.78-79
- Photo 12: City Planning Map of Hudson’s Bay Reserve (before Memorial Ave) p.84-85
- Photo 13: Image of Cenotaph p.97-98
- Photo 14: Image of Anglo- Saxon Inscriptions p.99
- Photo 15: Image of Cenotaph with Civic Auditorium p.101
- Photo 16: Entablature of Civic Auditorium with “Columbia” and “Indian” p.113
- Photo 17: Stationary of World’s Fair p.117-8
- Photo 18: Free Press Example of Personae p.117-8



(Photo 2: Timothy Maton; Photo 3: Keshavjee, 2006- Map)

“Architecture is the printing press of all ages, and gives a history of the state of society in which it was erected” - (Fletcher & Fletcher, 1896, p685- Quoting Morgan)

Situating the Civic Auditorium in the Topography of Canada's History

This Introduction is not ostensibly about the architecture of the Civic Auditorium itself, while much of the remainder of the thesis is. I will begin by characterizing and situating the argument in the pedagogical practices of the provincial and national history of Manitoba. It begins with my approach to thesis writing, then demonstrates larger trends from the beginning of the development of educational exhibitionary architecture in Manitoba's history. It describes large-scale political goals of government contemporaneous to establishment of the civic centre.

This thesis embraces a tangential view that came to me from meditating upon Gayatri Spivak's (1988) concept of 'the subaltern'. It also drew inspiration from Cornelius Castoriadis' (1987) attempt to promote a new up-to-date and self-reflexive and experimental form of Marxist critique that better penetrates the problems associated with contemporary post-Hegelian historical dialogues.ⁱⁱⁱ It does that without blind subscription to the authority of estab-

lished dogmas nor the Hegelian 'absolute idea' of scientific history. The work is critical of the authority structure found in traditional academic approaches to history writing.

Pertinent to the arrival of the new critique of new-Marxist materialism and relevant to my personal critique of western theory is Tony Bennett's post-Marxist analyses in *Outside Literature* (1990), Bruno Latour's very creative *We have Never been Modern* (1990), Herbert Muschamp's *File Under Architecture* (1974) and Charles Bernstein's *Attack of the Difficult Poems* (2011). I was particularly inspired by the creative effort in Bernstein and Muschamp's works although they are not referenced extensively. Bernstein encourages writers to write the wrong way and to keep writing the wrong way until they get writing wrong right. Muschamp encourages architects to experiment with knowledge and challenge the contemporary (and usually modernist) awareness of architectural convention and tradition. I also write in accord with architect Craig L. Wilkins in *The Aesthetics of Equity* (2007) wherein he attacks academic architecture while challenging the format of conventional academic testimony. Wilkins, Muschamp, and Bernstein use their voices to speak out against academic formality in a powerful and personal way I find inspiring because they are not afraid to utilise non-traditional medias of expertise, like that of poetry and music and personal experience to challenge the mediacy of traditional academia. While I have written this thesis in a formal tone, I also value forms of knowledge that resist this formality. (for further information see Hayes, 1994)

I term my conceptual approach to theory 'tangential' in reference to the word's more mathematical definition where it is described



as "a straight line touching a curve" (Oxford, 2007- "tangent"- the 'arch' or 'tangent'; Photo 4: Timothy Maton- Industrial Window belonging to Civic Auditorium).^{iv} In technological language a tangent is both physical object and mathematical concept. It is figuratively an architectural location where an arch (for example the arch at the top of an industrial window or a dome) meets a straight line (for example the line of a lintel, cornice, moulding or entablature or a figurative and mathematical one). In Greco -Roman influenced architecture this location would often be the place of a keystone, and this device is often given significance by historians as a technological invention or device thought to symbolise the 'Aryan' civilization being hierarchically superior to 'primitive' peoples due to their power of invention. The arch commonly represents civilized achievement, and it is described by architectural historians in terms related to technological evolution and succession (for an example see Walker, 1926). I use the word to subvert this hierarchical concept and introduce a temporality to the technologically determinist view. An additional context to how I intent the term tangential is with reference to Bernal's (2001) proposal that Aryan Revised Histories should return to a classical mode that is less racially centred and scientifically lineal.

The idea of the tangential came to me while working on my thesis at a study carol within the former Civic Auditorium's Manitoba Legislature Library. I was typing the introduction when it came to me, perhaps as an echo that bounced across the room. Upon hearing it, I immediately understood its use-value, and looked the term up in the library's dictionary. Perhaps that echo was produced by the large industrial windows there with their tangents. I see this approach being useful because the straight line can be imagined as a western linear world view and the curve as representative of a temporal and circular relationship with knowledge like that in Indigenous

cosmologies.

The word tangential allows me to symbolically intersect these two frames of mind in the writing method. I use this method to challenge the pejorative framing of non-linear approaches to knowledge.^v In no way do I intend to imply that Indigenous knowledge is whimsical or erratic by taking a tangential approach. This approach does not represent the nature of their view since I am not an Indigenous traditionalist and I am not seeking to embody Indigenous knowledge. I write as a western critic and a self-appointed facilitator of alternative ideas and world-views. The discussion in the body of the thesis will be different from the tangent presented here in the introduction. The purpose of this introductory tangent is to contextualise my argument and position the work in an already existent academic research literature. In accord with Johannes Fabian's view in *Time and the Other* (1983), I perceive the western concept of time as a pervasive and persuasive source of prejudice in contemporary and historical anthropologies. I see western depictions of the Anglo-Saxon's supposed cultural superiority over supposedly primitive or underdeveloped peoples^{vi} as holistically embodied by notions of time devised to exclude Indigenous peoples from the coeval. For example, when western theory calls Indigenous peoples primitive, the west is attempting to locate their culture holistically in the past, thereby excluding it from being existent in the present on an equal ground with the contemporary culture of the west.^{vii} Traditionally, the west portrayed people as animals when they were seen as 'prehistoric', while historic peoples who wrote histories were seen as fully human (Hegel, 1910; Smith, 2011- Referring to Hegel). The west utilises historical doctrine to make less linear and cyclical comprehensions of the natural world seem obsolete in comparison to its single track developmental view situated in the western agro-scientific frame of mind.

For example, Tony Bennett introduces his book *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*'s (2004) major theme utilising Fabian's idea of 'the denial of coevalness' (p1). This idea of the coeval is the place where I derived my theory about the way that racism works in relationship to a museal or scientific ideology of time. In accord with this approach, I believe that linear time-based formulations of testimony reinforce racist formulations of social hierarchies whose informational rhetoric have a tendency to value a concept of modernity that locates Indigenous culture in a theoretically contrived past. This pejorative formulation of the primitive utilises a Eurocentric notion of time to show that progress inevitably leads to the disappearance of non-industrial forms of culture. This succession-based concept is what I will be referring to as locomotive history. As an ideological framework imbued with a social-Darwinist racial prejudice, this concept of time dehumanises non-Industrial societies by devaluating the influence of traditional Indigenous world-views and history in a contemporary social context.^{viii}

To illustrate how this idea operates in Manitoban history, I will begin my thesis introduction with a quote from George Bryce's official *A History of Manitoba: Its Resources and People* (1887/1906). It shows that the exhibitionary and educational apparatus of the Canadian state had already begun to be racially contextualised utilising social-Darwinist visions of material development during the Edwardian and Victorian age. I propose an illustration of the way socially hierarchical western thought can be simultaneously pluralistic and cosmopolitan and racist. It will illustrate the way that the infrastructure of the state intended to facilitate racism while also utilising the language of equity and pluralism. I propose a way of disrobing these pretences of pluralistic equity. In my footnotes and references you will find additional materials that can also be analysed this way to support my thesis (see for example Kulchyski, 2005- concept of plural-

ism as racism).

Exemplifying this in official history of Manitoba, Bryce (ibid) writes,

“What then, is to be the future of this Canadian west? The possibilities are illimitable. The Anglo-Saxon race, with its energy and pluck, has laid hold of the land so long shut in by the (Chinese) wall built around it by the fur traders. This race, with its dominating forcefulness, will absorb and harmonize elements coming from all parts of the world to enjoy the fertile fields and mineral treasures of a land whose laws are just, whose educational policy is thorough and progressive, whose moral and religious aspirations are high and noble, and which gives hearty welcome to the industrious and deserving from all lands” (1887/1906, p306- parenthesis added).^{ix}

This quote clarifies the way Anglo-Saxons were thinking about agro-industrial pluralism. This statement makes it clear that the idea of pluralism is traditionally an embodiment of an Anglo-Saxon prejudice that seeks to devalue and destroy Indigenous forms of culture it portrays as the nemesis to industry. I believe this Eurocentric approach to developing industrial pluralism is fundamental to how Canada sought to develop the domestic national identity the Manitoban government intended to foster building civic institutions like the Civic Auditorium.^x

When reading the quote from Bryce, I find the Foucaultian lens proscribed by Tony Bennett (2004) interesting because he suggests an alternative way of reading historical bias. Rather than writing idiosyncratically about the development of prejudice in a biographical way like Maurice Bernal does, Bennett proposes rereading the historical intolerances of historical narrative through the lens of racialised ways of thinking.^{xi} If I were critiquing the racism of Bryce the way Bernal does it, I would have to read it by looking at biographical information. Like Bennett, I will analyse the power of this highly influential Manitoban's statement in the context of a larger western *l'esprit de temps*. Instead I will approach the racism of Bryce by looking at the academic fashions and contexts dominating the time period.

Bennett (2004) proposes reading architecture utilising the theoretical framework of Foucaultian 'microphysics of power'. Thereby he refocuses his readers attention upon the ideological

power of succession-based formulations of scientific history existing when colonial experts and agents were establishing colonial institutions. I am particularly fond of Bennett's approach to reading history because he encourages reading history by looking at the important role that material culture and architectural theories played in establishing ideologically linear and succession-based cultural hierarchies.^{xii} Like Lewis Mumford in *Technics and Civilization* (1934) and Christian Norberg-Schultz (1980/ 1974+ 1993), I am attempting to contradict modernist critics who have sought to discredit and ban studies that attempt to analyse the *esprit systemetique* and *l'esprit de temps* existing in how modern contemporary societies traditionally think about art, architecture, and design (Lampugnani, 1986). My aim is not to reconstitute the hegemony of these ideas the way it is authored in texts of the past, but to point out the influence that these kinds of ideas have had on the built environment. (Mumford, 1952)^{xiii}

The afore mentioned quote provided by Bryce (1887/1906) introduces the racist Anglo-Saxon *l'esprit de temps* in Manitoba. Its diametric contrast between the supposedly primitive mixed-race and Indigenous fur-trade business community and the Anglo-Saxon agro-Industrial milieu reflects a mentality in harmony with the spirit of the academic community. For my purposes, Bryce demonstrates how the Anglo-Saxon social hierarchy is built with a Darwinist intent to succeed, progress and replace the supposedly primitive formerly associated with the fur trade milieu.^{xiv} Bryce's view of the power of industrial Anglo-Saxon society presented here is not unlike a conceptual locomotive. It travels along a single track powered by a theoretically universal engine^{xv}. It is linear and social-Darwinist in tone. It utilises that single-track frame of view to argue for race-based notions of national property not unlike those presented by John Prince Sheldon and the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1886.^{xvi} Like Sheldon's

paper (which was the official locomotive travel account entitled *To Canada, and Through It with the British Association* (1886)) it demonstrates the way the British elite's technological determinist bias has been embodied in its economic goals while building Canadian agro-Industry. This development mentality is their *l'esprit de temps*.^{xvii}

Bryce's (1887/1906) vision conveys a race based message that synchroneshes the values I see embodied in the modern urban civic institutions founded at that time to support the growth of the Canadian agro-industrial society. My study of the auditorium will help explain what kind of identity the government and civic society constructed. Writing it I will equate the way pluralism, linear locomotion and race hierarchy are envisaged by settler-colonials in reference to modern material objects and infrastructures. I will reference throughout my work materially inscribed concepts of culture and literary ones. I hope this will help disrupt the solely abstract or literary pretensions I see dominating the present-day academic cultural turn.^{xviii}

During the 1930's and all the way up until the present day, materially determinist frameworks have been hegemonic in science (Ray, 1993). In contrast, today, the literary approach of the academic cultural turn tends to dominate the arts and humanities. The differences between the contemporary cultural turns' view of material objects and the traditional technologically determinist one present in literature and science is a problem to reconcile. For example, the vision of Canadian national identity promoted in William Morton's official history *Manitoba: A History* (1957/1967) is materially determinist throughout the text. Likewise, Canada's premier scholar Herald Innis' *The Fur Trade of Canada* (1927/ 1999) professes a technologically determinist relationship between history and the material world. Yet very few of Canada's top scholars writing in the past 20 years (when the cultural turn takes place) would argue that Canada's identity was

constituted through ‘things’ with the same gusto that these early historians do. Like Bennett and PatrickJoyce (2010) and Rodney Harrison (2013) I believe that a new material turn needs to happen so that scholars learn to emphasise the important relationship between things and literature, not in a deterministic manner, but in a way that is cognisant of the influence determinists have had on culture and abstract thought in arts to reproduce awareness of object-based meanings present today.

This work will realign scholarly understandings of racial prejudice with the way colonial historians utilise physical objects in scientific education. Doing this will help foster an understanding of why a newly mediated emphasis upon where scholarly attention is being directed is important. I will demonstrate the nature of the mediated problem represented by the division between materiality and idea government developed educational policy in Manitoba. In Manitoba I position the conflict happening at the turn of the 1900’s between the English School’s elite scientifically materialist outlook and the more abstract Scholastic outlooks of Winnipeg’s religious community (Smith, 1924). I will show that while determinism is not be a desirable outlook for scholars, its influence on how the Canadian identity has developed in scientific education programs can not to ignored and this is what material turn discourse can facilitate without refiguring and approbating essentialist doctrines among authors.

In Morton’s (1957/ 1967) history, the establishment of an agricultural and industrial society is equated with a racially contextualised form of civilisation comparable although different to the one Bryce (1887 /1906) wrote about. Like Bryce, Morton focuses on illustrating the modernisation of Manitoba by tracing the development of modern infrastructure, primarily in its Winnipeg metropolis, the same way many civic planners and architectural historians do today. Both Bryce

and Morton's books contain authoritative genealogical accounts of history that are not limited to literary accounts of the cognate social realm and I think it is important to underline the importance of these accounts. According to Ghislane Skinner (1986), for example, it was not until the late nineteenth thirties that Durkheimian technological determinism (and materialism) began to loose its hegemonic grip upon top British academies. This led to increasingly immaterial accounts of sociological history that began to break ground and led back to the book-based environment of formerly religiously based institutions where learning was acquired from scholars in university classrooms. (see for example 1989, p409- "Durkheim")

Contemporary authors and editors like Eileen Hooper- Greenhill and Viv Golding (2009), Ann Laura Stoler (1995) and Rodney Harrison (2013) and Tony Bennett (1995+ 2004) have written about the way the scientifically materialistic and evolutionist narratives of the Museum Age acted as the etymological precursors to present day attitudes about race. I think the objectification of race discourse operates in a way comparable to technological determinism because both posit that the materiality of the human body (whether that body be infrastructural or biological) determines the capabilities of a social group. Classic race- historian writers like William Stanton (1960) and W.E.B. Du Bois (1940) also establish the way positivist ideology is used to establish racial divides utilising what race-scientists believed to be a materially objective difference between races in their physical make-up and cognitive abilities.

The race divide was said to be embodied in both how the person looks (their bodily aesthetics) and in how that physical make-up determines their cognitive and personal abilities. Race-scientists utilise bodily aesthetics as a source of meaning up until contemporary times (Sekula, 1989; Keith, 1948). These object-based ideas about human worth embodied a hege-

monic approach to the stratification of human abilities, and it was taught civilly through both the biologically social- Darwinist and Durkheimian philosophical traditions.

I believe these two traditions directly contributed to the construction and stabilisation of new national identities in colonies like Canada and that it is important to remember the way these ideologies constituted societal attitudes about both race and material culture. The pluralist hierarchies found in the racialising scientific categorisation systems, like those that defined racial identities, illustrate them through museum exhibits used to encourage colonial agents to see Indigenous people as scientifically infra- or proto- human, or simply closer evolutionarily to the ape (1948). The evidence used to support these ideas about human hierarchy is usually based upon both the aesthetic physiology of peoples biological make -up and their supposed failure to produce a recognizably western way of life before their becoming portrayed as having been colonized by the Anglo-Saxon nation (Jenness, 1932; Kulchyski, 1993 + 2015). (Keith, 1915; Sekula, 1989)^{xix}

It is not a coincidence, then, that the museum mobilized scientific materialist ideologies when erecting exhibition architecture intended to educate the British Dominion's civic body. The hegemonic Durkheimian and Darwinist ideals were formulated in continuity with a physically-premised western tradition that sought to preserve the validity of religious and humanistic discourses by divorcing physical forms of truth from literary ones (Beaudry & Hicks, 2010; Bindman, 2002; Durkheim, 1914).

This bifurcated approach to understanding 'truth' and 'reality' in the English School is also present in the German and French School, thus it is generally a wide-ranging European approach to understanding the world. In French and German traditions the scientific reality of an object is

determined by “‘the meaning of its conception’ whereas metaphysics argues the reverse” (Shaviro, 2014, p44- Quoting Brassier). Their conception states,

“The world is meaningless; but through science ‘it is possible to understand the meaninglessness of existence. That is to say, science is able to understand this meaninglessness without turning it into yet another source of meaning’” (2014, p44- quoting Brassier).

and in this abstract literary discourse the metaphysical conception of aesthetics is considered formal perfection, the grounds of the soul, an absolute aesthetic striving for truth, the first grounds for truth. In context of the nineteen thirties, this concept is challenged by Norbert Elias in his highly regarded *The Process of Civilization* (1939/ 1978). (2014)

Today the religious view of aesthetics have transformed into a scientific discourse that commonly describes German philosophy as ‘inaesthetics’. This view also originates from French and German School academies, and is based in a criticism of Kantian analysis. Today, this continental theory has led artists and architects to believe that their work cannot express any truth about reality itself (2014, p19- From Badiou). This is a contemporary departure from the original context of aesthetics, whereas religiously contextualised determinist aesthetics consider it an absolute origin of all forms of truth “analogous to reason... (and having) the same truth conditions as reason” (2014, p10). By having divided literary meaning from physical reality during the early part of the century, continental contemporaries further a Eurocentric bifurcation of cultural reality consisting of meaningful conceptions that transcribe truths (Durkheim, 1914; Shaviro, 2014; Harries, 2002). For academics, therefrom, cognate meaninglessness of physicality could only be reattached meanings through western scientific processes. However, traditional Anglo-Saxon views tend to be based in empiricist dialogues and fail to distinguish between the experience of an artist and their scientific reality (Shaviro, 2014).

Utilising the philosophical and scientifically materialist method of the early century, the

Dominion government sought to mobilise new identities in agreement with scientific ideals constructed by civic laboratories like the Civic Auditorium and various National and Provincial Museums in accord with British aesthetic conceptualisations that were adaptations of French and European styles.^{xx} Colonial governments influenced by the British school built secular civic spaces in metropolitan colonies around the world with an invested interest in utilising them to further develop national identities useful to the material process. It aimed at building a youthful nation and sought to use unified industrial aesthetic conceptions to make it into a politically coherent cultural chassis (see for example Manitoba Legislature (N/A)- “Golden Boy”, also Bennett, 2005- Quoting Latour; Scott, 1995). (Bennett, 1995 + 2004)^{xxi}

A primary function of Winnipeg's Civic Auditorium was to facilitate scientific education programming in the form of modern Industrial exhibitions, societal conventions, as host to an art gallery and museum. Like other colonial and museal exhibition spaces, it was centrally located in a purposely -built colonial government and university centre. It was strategically located as a neighbour to the governmental and upper-class business offices, public works buildings and the University of Manitoba (Hosagrar, 2005). As



host to a museum it could be described as ‘a place for learned occupations’ (Hunter, 1985, p168), and the nautilus shell (which is an ammonoid) beside each entry way reinforces that conception

of the architecture (See Impey & Macgreggor, 1985- describes the nautilus as the most recognizable icon representing the natural history museum). (Photo 5: By Timothy Maton- Image of Ammon shell on Civic Auditorium)

The “exhibitionary apparatus” (1995) the Dominion sought to produce here is both civilisationally and moralistically linked to an agro-Industrial dialogue that sought to display material culture in a way that educated the general population utilising locomotive ideas of history that are the chassis of those western race -narratives. The physical formulation of these exhibitions demonstrated the moral and scientific superiority of the Anglo- Saxon milieu and this can still be seen in the inscriptions upon the walls. The physicality was constituted through curated comparisons between itself and what it frequently described as an immoral, primitive, underdeveloped and intellectually inferior Indigenous milieu.

My purpose for writing here is to locate the meaning of the Winnipeg facility in reference to the purpose it served in the newly independent colonial civic centre. To further qualify the dimension of the meaning I have given it, I wish to quote Bennett and Bruno Latour when they write that civic laboratories are conceptually linked to governmentality. This link between government and laboratory also applied to museums if they can also be considered qualified as a scientific laboratory.^{xxii} In Latour museal space, like the Civic Auditorium, could be qualified as a civic laboratory. Latour defines it when writing it is useful to

“(explore the) methods developed in the field of science studies for the study of laboratory practices (and it) can usefully be applied to the processes through which, in museums, new and distinctive forms of cultural objecthood are produced and mobilized in the context of programs of civic management which aim to order and regulate social relations in particular ways” (2005, p2- referring to Latour- parenthesis added).

Dominion civic laboratories like the Civic Auditorium are oriented toward the production of Civic identity utilising its Auditorium as a laboratory. Furthermore, the Federal government,

who funded more than half of its construction (Winnipeg Tribune, 1932; Winnipeg Free Press, 1932), has an invested interest in production of this identity. This view evidenced in the speeches of the Dominion politicians present at the auditorium's opening dedication (Winnipeg Evening Tribune, 1932; Winnipeg Free Press, 1932). It is also evidenced by the themes presented at its opening. I present these comments and themes later in the Introduction to show the locomotive context guiding the governments decision to dedicate the building to regulating social relations in a way reminiscent of the way these authors present it in their texts. (Bennett, 1995)

Before presenting dedicated statements from the Minister of the Interior (who was also head of the Department of Indian Affairs) L.T. Murphy, Manitoba's Premier John Bracken, and Dominion Prime Minister Robert Bedford Bennett in Chapter Three I will contextualise the Auditorium's opening within the actions of the government when it developed the general educational policies of Manitoba. I will do this here in the Introduction. I will then place this education policy in context of the process of nation building taking place at that time. I want to underline the importance of understanding the presence and power of secular ideals in Manitoba's history and their use-value to a government seeking to develop and enhance its national building program during an economic depression.

Manitoba's history is underwritten by scientific policy initiatives intended to fortify the secularisation of its social institutions in order that they may in turn help build the infrastructure of the state. I believe this approach intends to reduce the influence of religion upon its social chassis while developing its scientifically industrialized capacity for expansion. In light of this change, it is impossible to ignore the impact scientific materialism had upon definition of the identity of the civic milieu when the more religiously contextualised society was being synchro-

meshed into an increasingly scientifically minded nation. The literary technological determinism found in historical accounts from this time in Canadian history is also written into material culture (for example large architectural projects) and has a big effect on the way Canadians see their national identity.

In contrast to the almost exclusively lit-based theoretical formulations of today's cultural turn (Hicks, 2010; Joyce and Bennett, 2010), I believe that locomotive progress narratives reflect an Anglo-Saxon^{xxiii} reliance upon a German School cosmopolitanism that combines scientific materialism, aesthetic philosophy and proto-Darwinian formulations. It is in this context Tony Bennett quotes Immanuel Kant writing "Give me matter... and I will build the world" (2004, p38- Quoting Kant). Taking this sentiment even further, T. Bennett writes utilising Bruno Latour's estimation to say,

"(m)useum(s) have served as important sites for the historical production of a range of new entities (...) 'civic experiments' (...) brought to act on the social in varied ways (...) mapping out both social space and orderings of time" (ibid- parenthesis added).

He echoes Kant, writing "(g)ive me a laboratory and I will raise the world" (2005- Quoting Latour 1990 and parenthesis added). Bennett's sentiment takes Kant another step further implicating the newly influential writings of Latour who says,

"'Give me a museum and I will change society' in view of the museum's capacity... in a custom-built environment, to produce new entities that can be mobilized- both within the museum and outside it- in social and civic programmes of varied kinds" (1995, p2).

These sentiments jive well with what the Indian Affairs and Department of Interior officer L.T. Murphy and Prime Minister R.B. Bennett were indicating when dedicating the auditorium.

Along similarly material lines of thinking, founding historians like G. Bryce portray the first Provincial education bill strengthening secular sciences in accord with the wishes of the British elite, chagrining the Catholic community and Protestant clergy who believed this focus contradicts Biblical decree. In Reverend Bryce's text the new education system is portrayed be-

ing congenial towards studies of theology and philosophy (1886/ 1906). In contradiction to this, Morton depicts a conflict between the more scientifically oriented upper classes and religiously oriented lower classes having occurred when the education bill was fought in Manitoba's parliament. In Morton's (1957/1967) official text, the interests of the British elite are portrayed contrary to the interests of the religiously oriented local community. He shows it having led to a Legislative compromise that patronised the moral education system but privileged the more materialistic British scientific system over the purely theological one (Pringle- Pattison, 1910).^{xxiv}

xxv

I argue the secular nature of how British elites set up the public school system in accord to their desire for a scientifically materialistic educational exhibitionary apparatus that reflects the increasingly evolutionary and Durkheimian nature of their desired pedagogy. Secular values were institutionalised in public education and intended to reduce religious influence upon the general public, and meanwhile Durkheimian determinism reinforced the distinction between material and humanistic forms of dialogue. This was deemed necessary because science is instrumental to material process of nation building while religion is deemed important to the enforcement of civic morality and discipline. Christianity is taught to encourage students form etiquette and ethic its officials considered superior to those taught by 'primitive' religions (Durkheim, 1915) and technical trades are considered key to nation building. The University of Manitoba was established following the secular model exemplified by University College London. The university is primarily an "examining and degree granting body" no longer directly responsible for administering the educational programs the way the old centralised religious system had (Connor, 2009, p113). The secular system gives students the choice between scientifically mate-

realistic studies, arts, and study of religion and humanities, with colleges like St. Paul's, St. John's and St. Boniface being denominational. The resulting distancing of the awarding body from the administration of educational curriculum shows that the institution was implicitly condoning secular beliefs over religiously centred ones while it also preserved vestiges of the older religious-based educational system. This move away from religious dominance was achieved through the development of more distinctly specialized academic fields (Bennett, 2004; Mitchell, 2002) and was in following with the recognitions of the British Association in London (Connor, 2006- citing *Nature Journal*, (1909)). The development of a British scientific education is the product of processes of specialisation designed to be used for imperialistic purposes (Mitchell, 2002). (also see *Nature Journal*, 1932- "W. W. L."; Pringle -Pattison, 1910 for further contextual information)

In Canada, culturally formulated abstract forms of expression, like those found in art or music, are politically dwarfed by large material infrastructure projects like the railroad, the telegraph, the creation of highways, and eventually the renovation of buildings and entire city plans as a result of invention of the radio and telephone (Jacobs, 1996).^{xxvi} These material development projects have been the Canadian governments primary objective since the 1800's (Cartier, 1913). For many international nations, these materialistic developments are said to have defined the Canadian character, while the cultural aspects of the nation are often eclipsed by these deterministic views of its identity. This perception leads to a patronising view of the cultural constitution of Canadian metropolises, with many historians perceiving the Dominion as a culturally derelict though materially rich country. European countries often criticise Canada's historical political tendency to allow technology to determine how its culture is represented. In Europe,

culture attempts to portray itself being salient over technological processes. The Canadian nation ignored the impressive cultural richness of the Indigenous milieus, calling it primitive, utilising the technological development of Western Canada as a weapon linked to intellectual superlatives.

As a society, Canada is not known as an identity with deeply rooted cultural history. It is also imagined having very few rooted cultural traditions. This modernistic view would not have taken hold if Indigenous cultures were not excluded from being seen as a valid cultural tradition rooted in the land from time immemorial (Lockmillier, 1970; Blackstone, 1753). Recognition of that sort, however, could have contributed to strengthening of the conferred rights associated with Crown Dominion ownership of territory if the nation also recognized a rational basis for recognition of these rights grounded in culturally construed ideas of occupancy.^{xxvii} Rights of ownership could only be claimed by right of physical and cultural occupancy^{xxviii}, of which Architecture^{xxix} could be seen as incontestable evidence since it evidences both permanent occupation and environmental mastery.^{xxx} In a related fashion, the idea that Canada is culturally destitute can also be traced to the idea of *Terra Nullius* (a term that implies that it was also an un-owned land because it means empty or uninhabited land) and cultural *Tabula Rasa*. This view is Eurocentric because it ignores the influence Indigenous people had as sovereign partners and owners who aided in development Canada as a nation. The vernacular cultures are not merely obstacles to the development promised by the west (Jennings, 1975; Chamberlain, 1910- in reference to Turner). The reason for the exclusion of the Indigenous partnership is a result of the social- Darwinist ideological views of Dominion historians and civic governments (Russell, 2005, p31).^{xxxi}

The possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of historicist pluralism shows how different

western social values are today in comparison to the time when Bryce's book was written. Looking backwards, it might not be known that racial mindedness is thought to have facilitated cosmopolitan pluralism despite it having simultaneously expressed the social hierarchy found in Anglo-Saxon social systems and educational and imperialistic sciences. Looking backwards, we see a very different understanding of pluralism and cosmopolitanism in comparison to how it is conceived during the turn of the 20th century.^{xxxii} Patterns of settlement, civic and landscape surveys and planning, and territorial engineering projects all express the patterns of an Anglo-Saxon social framework (Mitchell, 2002; Porter, 2010; Scott, 1998; Weber, 1921/ 1958).

It is strange to think that Anglo-Saxon race-mindedness credits itself with being open and accepting to different cultures when today many theorists who are not partial to racially -based nationalist rhetorics are likely to equate it with a bias against cosmopolitanism. In my view cosmopolitanism and pluralism are essential aspects of race-based hierarchies and Anglo-Saxon prejudice against Indigenous peoples. These prejudices are said to be literally present in the physicalized conception of colonial landscapes and the economy they built to exclude racialised peoples.

In Bryce's (1887/ 1906) view, the perceived natural (and essential) superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture is thought to make it an ideal father to lesser societies because of objectified notions of



superiority. The essentialist typologies Bryce relies upon to do this come from objectivist science and the museal 'classifying house' (also see Bennett, 2004; Stanton, 1960- in Reference to the "American Golgotha" collection utilized by Samuel Morton to define the Indigenous race in America in *Crania Americana* (1839)^{xxxiii}). In opposition to this, I believe that race should be mindfully considered a thing that exists beyond the sociological binaries of both Durkheimian philosophy and scientific evolutionary perspectives (Holt, 1995, p3- Quoting Du Bois (1940)^{xxxiv}). Yet Bryce's perspective betrays an innate view that deterministically asserts a perceived natural superiority thought to be objectively present in the body, mind, and culture of the Anglo-Saxon race.^{xxxv} (Photo 6: From Winnipeg Free Press, 1932; Winnipeg Tribune, 1932)

Conversely. Bryce portrays mixed race primitives as the source of exclusionary politics in Canada, and he does it this way for educational purposes. Despite the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) being a London-based operation that directed the fur trade for its own profit and political pursuits (Simmons, 1995), Bryce depicts the fur-trade having been run by 'mixed breeds' with an agenda to exclude immigrants and other race groups. He writes metaphorically here about a wall built by fur-traders yet seems to ignore the physical walls built by British mercenaries at forts. It is the physical walls built by British merchant interests that came to symbolise the evolutionary progress from fur trade to modern city utilized by successive international exhibitions and the Hudson's Bay Company to advertise modern products to the local settler population. This advertising technique is characterised by the use of architectural imagery depicting Civilisational progress into the present day context in a linear sequence or single track locomotive history (for illustrations see FIU, 1932- 'Chicago Beautiful' + 'A Century of Progress'; Museum of Manitoba, 2014- "HBC Gallery"; Winnipeg Free Press, 1932- 'More History in the Making';).

Bryce's point of view is non-self-reflexive. It is a scientific gaze that looks outwards rather than inwards. Rather than recognise how British commercial interests bounded space, and thereby make claim to it, he declares the Anglo-Saxon system naturally inclusive and equitable father to a civilisation it curates in contrast to depictions of the primitive. To me those portrayals appear ironic since they ignore the way the fur trade was organised by the London HBC economically. I think the traditional assumption that the fur-trade industry had ceased to exist before Rupert's Land was absorbed by Manitoba (Eccles & Foster & Foot, 2014) also reflects a similar ideological view because it is also based on an economically constituted prejudice formulated in context of the agro-Industrial world-view. Histories like Bryce's are written as a reflection of deterministic^{xxxvi} assumptions and industrial exchange values rather than an evaluation of the activities taking place in the local territories already occupied by societies. Even though large profits were not being made by London capitalists at that time, those Indigenous cultures continue to be affluent in a manner ignored by these urban and metropolitan governing powers who consider themselves the authority upon whether or not fur trading still exists (Kulchyski, 2005; Sahlins, 1972).^{xxxvii}

As a universalistic world-view, Bryce's approach devaluates any recognition of the type of Indigenous culture actually resident within the territories and the western binaries prevent it from being recognised fairly by international capitalists. For historians, the political absorption of the Province was expedited by the fur trade having ceased making profit for London business interests. In contradiction to this, *Night Spirits* (1997) by Ila Bussidor and Ustun Bilgen-Reinart, relates the experiential fact that the fur trade does not end until the mid-1950's. To them, it stops when Dené peoples came to urban centres (p44). The lack of profit motive for a local population

did not indicate the end of exportation of fur in subsistent affluent local fur trade activities. For those who remain at home in their traditional territories that had not been forced into culturally genocidal industrial schools it is alive and well. (Eccles & Foster & Foot, 2013)

Bryce (1906) refuses to recognise the lifestyle and subsistence activities of the people inhabiting the region where the fur trade takes place. He favours metropolitan control of these territories.^{xxxviii} He writes the history of the Province from the perspective of a scholar who lives in the built urban Metropolitan context. His writing reflects the city-based perception that financial systems of exchange validate or invalidate the type of recognition due to domestic communities where fur trade is being practiced. Furthermore, his writing is contemporary to Max Weber's important and pervasive sociological understanding of cities as an Anglo-Saxon form of social order. Ian Angus (2012) writes that Max Weber's important contextualisation of history during and after the turn of the century is a pervasive bureaucratic, technological, and economic determinism privileging Anglo-Saxon positionality. His reclassification of human beings in accord to economic processes delegated by metropolitan bureaucrats act to exclude holistically non-European understandings of the world and the people living and working in those alternative realities (Angus, p37-38; Jary & Jary, 1991- explores Weberian influence on academy; Weber, 1958/1921). (Harris, 2001; Kulchyski, 2005; Stoler, 2006;)

To conclude this discussion of Bryce's role in Canadian history, I would like to iterate the idea that racial hierarchy in the history of science is very complex. It can be found within pluralistic and cosmopolitan societies alongside universal ideals of equity and universalism (Smith, 2011; Stoler, 1995; Wilkins, 2007). Many western scientists see the idea of a natural social hierarchy being complementary to democratic ideology. Examples of this are found in Bryce's

works, in the architecture of Bryce Hall, built in 1930 as a university hall. There can be misleading and confusing sentiments within architectural portrayals that can only be decoded with an understanding of the original situation of their chassis and I have attempted to provide an intro to this in the introduction. (1887/1906)

i) Introducing the Relationship between the Civic Auditorium and Physical Determinism

As a building, the auditorium is inscribed with iconic symbolism demonstrating a civilizational transition from the fur trade economic milieu to an agro-industrial one. The imagery illustrates disharmony between these two conceptually segregated civilizational eras. My thesis describes how the physical make-up of the Civic Auditorium building embodied a shift in the desires embodied by this civilizational narrative.^{xxxix} This approach is different from contemporary approaches to historicism proscribed during the cultural turn. In the cultural turn, postmodernism and subjectivism began dominating academic institutions to the exclusion of discourses that identify meaning in physical objects (Hicks and Beaudry, 2010; Otter, 2010). For Indigenous peoples, this orientation towards meaning can be counterproductive to the process of strengthening their ways of knowing the world because, for elder Taz Bouchier for example, Indigenous world-views involve a spiritual relationship with the world and the objects in it.

If one excludes these object-based forms of meaning you also exclude a story that conceives a different cosmological relationship with things, one that is not a binary or bifurcation between meaning and object (Shaviro, 2014- defines bifurcation of meaning). Unlike the scientifically western relationship with objects, non-Christian Indigenous peoples do not bifurcate their relationship to the meaning of things (Bouchier, 2014). Additionally, traditional non-Christian Indigenous culture does not seek to exclude or devalue western ways of knowing the same

way that the west seeks to exclude and devalue Indigenous forms of knowledge. (see Shivaro, 2014; 1887/190; and for insight into the religious conception of meaning in Hegel see Blanchot, 1980)

Winnipeg's auditorium was built in 1932 during an economic depression in the early formative years while Canada was still in the process of developing a national identity independent of Britain. It is born out of the shadow of the 1919 Winnipeg general strike, and was approbated by the government for a political reason; to pacify a workless population in a time of dire need. In Canada at that time, industrial engineering pursuits and the exhibition of these technological feats (For example Winnipeg Industrial Bureau's Fourth Annual Report (1911)) had become economically associated with domestic stability, it physically represents the unity of the nation. The construction of the Civic Centre occurred in the light of other large unification projects like the construction of national railroads, the telegraph, a trans-national highway, and radio broadcasts that could deliver the voice of the Queen as she spoke to an international audience from England (Winnipeg Tribune, 1932). As the expression of a politically motivated infrastructural projects intended to alleviate the effects of the great depression, the auditorium is exceptionally deterministic and deeply concerned with the suppression of civic dissent and maintenance of the status quo (Joyce and Bennett, 2010. p4; Mumford, 1933). In Europe, the rise of Communism and Socialism was a spectre haunting Europe threatening the established capitalist social order and a very real threat to the unity of the Commonwealth (Derrida, 1995; Winnipeg Free Press, 1932) even though Britain itself had become increasingly empathetic to the cause of socialism with its materialist rhetoric, with many of its top scientists believing in it (Rivers, 1923). Britain had adopted a revisionist materialism before World War Two that expressed revised Marxist princi-

ples (Cordell, 2010; Rivers, 1923).

But what exactly is determinism? And are there differences between religious determinism and scientific determinism? Today we have a very different view of it than they did in 1910 when Pringle -Pattison wrote an article to define it and scholasticism. Our view today also deviates from how it is defined in 1932 by *Nature Journal* when it also sought to address the reemerged debate long associated with scholasticism and determinism. Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett (2010) describe determinism as a view that gives objects and things themselves the power to depict human relationships, intelligence, and agency. For example, if the railroad gave the country national unity, how can this not be deterministic?^{x1} Is it possible for infrastructure to bestow cultural unity on a place without it also being a reflection of determinist ideologies? The Communist School of the 1930's certainly believed scientific determinism to be an essential tool capable of governing society and nature. Like the medieval scholasticists, the Communist School and British School envisaged the possibility that scientific methods could turn human society into a machine-like mechanism (1923). Today, Bennett and Joyce's (2010) book seeks to answer the contemporary question of "(h)ow are we to designate the material as something which exercises, but does not have powers, without courting the difficulties of deterministic positions?" (2010- parenthesis added).

This is not a new intellectual debate, and it was not new in the nineteen thirties either, as evidenced by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910) and *Nature Journal* (1932) when they critique the deterministic position of many natural scientists. At that time, like today, the deterministic point of view was not new nor foreign to intellectuals, and it would have been actively questioned by many scientists of the time (Nature, 1932; Pringle- Pattison, 1910- "Scholasticism" +

"Determinism") despite being an essential aspect of the earlier academic tradition of the Enlightenment (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972). With the publication of highly popular and respected books like Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization* (1934), it is difficult to ignore the influence technological determinism was having upon the nineteen thirty era's top intellectuals and politicians. For example,

"In 1932... the (British) discipline (of anthropology) moved from museum to university... (however) (b)y the late 1930's, the (Durkheimian) structural -functionalist school had gained 'virtually unchallenged control of the anthropological establishment throughout the British Empire.... (and scientists began to look instead to cognate social sciences (rather than material culture)'" (Skinner, 1986, p410- parenthesis added).

In this quote the deterministic and Durkheimian structural-functionalism is said to have gained hegemonic power in top academic institutions in Britain. It shows the power determinism have in association with material culture in 1932 and the way that the power associated with material culture had just begun to wane during the time period immediately preceding it.

Complementary to this view, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had just completed its railway line to Churchill in 1925, and this event is said by one of Canada's most important historians to have had a determining effect on the cultural development of the province (Innis, 1927/1999). When the Minister of the Interior and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Hon. T. G. Murphy acts as Master of Ceremony responsible for officially opening the auditorium this infrastructural project was fresh on the governments mind. At the Civic Auditorium opening the minister made an unequivocal statement pertinent to the role infrastructure projects are thought to play in the definition of national identity. L.T. Murphy states that Canada had until then been seen internationally as an exceedingly materialistic, commercial and industrial nation as the result of large infrastructure projects like the railroads. He clarifies the role infrastructure projects like this play in the definition of national identity with reference to a structurally-functionalist and technologi-

cally deterministic orientation whereby the auditorium is meant to encourage movement from a 'material people' culture to a more self-defined form of culture. (see Jennings, 1975; Keith, 1948- for more information on the intersectionality between 'race' and 'nation')

He introduces the Civic Auditorium as a notable achievement that will contribute to changing those views. Here Murphy describes the auditorium as,

"a notable step in the transition of Winnipeg from a small pioneer town to the leading commercial city of the West... "Who can say, standing on Memorial Boulevard and viewing the Cenotaph and this auditorium, that we are only a material people?"...(and continues) "The museum (will) help remove the general idea that Canada was a great country but an uninteresting one"." (Tribune, 1932, p11- quoting Murphy & parenthesis added).

Saying this, he ignores the fact that Winnipeg did not begin as a pioneer town, but a large international urban centre populated by Indigenous people from all around Turtle Island. His sentiment of material growth, to the exclusion of what he considers the prehistoric, describes the change from a material nation into a settled culture being mirrored and synchronised into the inauguration speech by Prime Minister Bennett who notes in particular that,

"(i)t also provides a great opportunity for cultural development. Here there will be a museum whose exhibits will reconstruct the history of the past, and record the romantic story of Manitoba" (ibid). Bennett again points to definitive role that the linking together of the nation *"by rail, highway, telephone, and radio"*. He emphatically states *"(the nations) greatest tie was the bond of citizenship representing the national consciousness"* (ibid- parenthesis added).

Both of these quotes mirror fashionable developments in the academic sciences where-in reliance upon material culture illustrate that a materially based civilizational narrative is commonplace and that they hope to influence it materially. The ceremony takes place at the apex of a time period when cultural power is materially constituted. Together these entrepreneurs aimed to demonstrate a locomotive will to travel forward into a more culturally cognate frame of national existence, imagining themselves emerging out of a more primitive and materially dependent world that preceded it. Some of the governmental circumstances for my view of these statements will be illustrated in the remainder of this introduction.

Law and Government Processes

In 1931, the legal process clarifying the existing legal apparatus finally affirmed the new Provincial boundaries in Manitoba in the eyes of investors, to whom the Auditorium's inauguration is primarily dedicated.^{xli} The Manitoba Act (1930) had simultaneously reaffirmed the decision to relocate Indigenous peoples on to reserves and industrial schools and it claims possession of territories granted to those groups despite the tenements of the 1763 Royal Proclamation. These acts clarify what physical claims the government had already made territorially and aides establishment of industry in the north.

Under legislation before the HBC land transfer act, the Royal Proclamation had governed Rupert's Land. The Dominion Lands Act and Deed of Surrender (1870) had internally nullified those Charters without approval from Indigenous peoples to whom it had granted custody of the land as a reserve. After 1763 the old territories were managed but not technically owned by the Crown as fur trade hunting land. In later agreements this view of tertiary property changes. It came to be decided that the legal owner was the HBC, and with the assent of the Queen in 1870 these territories are transferred to the Province.

While many of the trend setting precedents defining the new legal landscape for commercial interests had already occurred, how they operate remained unclear until the 1930's. The government attempts to continue to clear the way for private industrial pursuits while the Great Depression is underway. The land transfer of 1870 itself is already contextualised by a Eurocentric view, for example in the BAAS locomotive account published by the Canadian Parliament and the Department of Agriculture (1886). According to the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) and Canadian Parliament and the Department of Agriculture only

British farmers are recognisable as sole-proprietors of the land. This prejudiced legal view is reported in the locomotive travel account of the BAAS (who was the highest British 'parliament' of science (Gross, 1993)) it issues after touring the countryside by Rail in 1885 *To Canada, and Through it* (1886). In this social- Darwinist travel account, only the British Agro-Industrial society is legally entitled to land ownership in succession of Indigenous Interests on what was formerly called Rupert's Land (belonging to the aboriginal peoples of Canada). This book is also a research discussion of potential industrial and agricultural advancements planned by government engineers, farmers, and scientific bureaucrats. While this view is not as binding as actual law, it is a clear reflection of the spirit of the laws being made in Ottawa during and after the Rupert's Land Act (1868) converted this land into property and attempted to transfer it to the Dominion.

To Canada, and Through It (1886) illustrates how linear succession -based ideals are attached to modes of transportation (locomotion) and how that influences ideas of land ownership and the development of the Canadian identity and governmental boundaries. During the Victorian Age considerable thought is put into how the material make-up of buildings and infrastructure facilitated similarly elitist world-views, and this approach to scientifically contextualised architecture projects flourished in the 1930's. Examples of the deterministic and essentialist approach to building civic environments can be found readily exemplified and embodied in Manitoba's legislature building, which also clearly demonstrate an essentialist view of the intersection between law and culture.^{xlii}

Further evidence of the embodied presence of this theoretical paradigm exists at the inauguration ceremony of the auditorium. For example the speeches by the Minister of the Interior and Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Prime Minister Robert Redford Bennett communicates

an espousal of the progressive ideals of a succession -based nationhood and the pedagogical expression of this ideal in architectural projects. The opening ceremony of the Civic Centre clearly communicates scientific ideals, exhibited, for example, in the international and metropolitan context demonstrated by the external aesthetics designed by J.N. Semmens for the external fabric of the auditorium walls. The technologically deterministic mindset is also exhibited by the academic statutory surrounding the rotunda of Manitoba's Legislature building, crowned with the iconographic Golden Boy, built in 1925.

In this introduction I have chosen to write tangentially about the larger context of the history predating this architectural project in order to clarify where Canadian government put its energy and what motivated it. It also helps to explain the reason why the construction of the building was seen by officials to be imbued with the ability to stabilize national and civic identity in Winnipeg.

After the cultural turn many contemporary intellectuals avoid questions that might lead to study of architecture as a form that articulates meaningful messages. This intellectual evasion of physicalised form of meaning reflects the binary embodied in ancient Christian scholasticism. The contemporary academic segregation between material scientific pursuits and humanities scholarship mirrors that dogmatism. In accord with this view, I see the ideologically succession -based outlook found in engineering and architectural literature being intended to suppress Canadian discontent during the great depression through providing entertainment and education via secular exhibitionary architecture and entertainment programming. (Bennett, 1995 +2004; Bennett & Joyce, 2010; Hicks & Beaudry, 2010; Otter, 2010; Norberg- Schultz, 1973/1994- for information about the cultural turn and physicalised meaning)

I have so far depicted the historic situation of the Civic Auditorium as a physical expression of literary ideologies being expressed in by Durkheimian and revisionist social- Darwinist sciences as well as revised modernist ideals. This study argues that the Civic auditorium facilitates an understanding of the historic context, and I hope this argument helps to challenge the contemporary cultural turn (Hicks & Beaudry, 2010) and revisionist historical dialogues in order to emphasise a present-day need for a material turn.^{xliii} I have situated the building in the overall theoretical and historical paradigm found in settler -colonial pluralistic race- mindedness. (Photo 7: Winterbos, 1954 - Image of Memorial Ave from the sky)



Chapter 1: An Interview with Taz Bouchier: An Intersectional Academic Analysis of Urban Repository Architecture

In this section I explore the intersectional relationships existing between architecture, history, and Indigenous peoples. It comments upon an interview conducted with elder Taz Bouchier where she teaches me her urban -traditional approach to understanding colonial architecture utilising the narrative devices (and their relationship to architectural objects) to remember events that have had an impact upon herself and other Indigenous peoples. My work here will complement her Indigenous views of western architecture by illustrating its parallel within academic theory. My aim is to demonstrate the intersectionality of colonial architectural theory with Indigenous conceptions attributing racism to the physical landscape.

This chapter proposes a revision to how we study architecture. Architects frequently exclude the Indigenous voice, and avoids depicting how First Nations are impacted by its physical presence. With Bouchier, I illustrate how occidental architectural theories can become more receptive to how Indigenous peoples view and experience urban centres and public repositories. It shows that although Indigenous views are steeped in oral knowledge, they also intersect with academic theory and Indigenous concerns can be investigated despite the mediated differences in how the informational rhetoric is conveyed.

This chapter demonstrates how historical architecture and modernistic erasure of that architecture embodies a form of racism. This racism is present in both the physical erection of heritage buildings and the modernist process of erasing the historical narratives these buildings embody. While the first process sought to demonstrate cultural superiority, the former practice has made the urban environment a less narrated, more homogenous, and less spiritually engaging place and also needs to stop. (Bouchier, 2014)^{xliv}

Bouchier points out that historical dialogues that are physically apart of the landscape and are an important part of how Indigenous people remember the history of a place. Often these buildings feature representations of Indigenous peoples and their relationship with the British colonizer. Whenever one of those buildings is destroyed, it has an effect on the aboriginal people, and Bouchier illustrates that there should be a duty to consult. With Bouchier, I propose a way of transforming the way the message of these locations is communicated. Together we oppose the modernistic destruction of heritage architecture.

This chapter also seeks to understand an Indigenous perspective on colonial architecture. It points out the role it plays in narrating the developmental history of the urban environment. It aims to attack the potential ‘intellectual imperialism’ Minogiizhigogwe describes in her book (Absolon, 2011). Like Bouchier, Minogiizhigogwe writes that academic writing perpetuates racism when it illustrates issues with direct bearing upon indigenous culture without facilitating the promotion of their voices on the matters affecting them. Architecture is also an inscription of this process into the physical landscape. It is important to suggest conclusions that are amicable to Indigenous and non-Indigenous methods of doing and communicating research because it shows the two perspectives are not opposite like how the Anglo-Saxon tradition purports them.

Western culture claims scientific ‘objectivity’ (the way architects do) and avoid looking self- reflexively at the way it defines its relationship to other cultures intellectual imperialism is likely present. The occident needs to address the kind of effect it has on Indigenous cultures when it seeks to define their culture while excluding their voices (2011, p74). Euro-American culture tends to depict itself being clinical, claiming instead factuality rather than instituted bias. I believe that it is time to critique fact-based claims and refocus scientific inquiry on the way it

has scientifically constructed notions of cultural superiority in the past (Smith, 2011; Wilson, 2014). In addition, this chapter is also part of a broader process of learning to co-exist with Indigenous peoples and respect their decisions about how they want their culture to be represented. As an author, I am open to being educated by Indigenous peoples regarding the correct protocols (Maton & Bouchier, 2014) and how to follow them to better understand how elders want this relationship to be contextualized. (2011)

Mingogiizhigokwe (2011) writes, “neutrality does not exist” (p73), there is always a cultural or anthropic principle at play in research. Because of this it is essential to always locate or centre yourself when analyzing data in order to better understand your personal relationship with the research dynamic. For Bouchier, everything that happens is an expression of their relationship with the creator. This approach is a way of centring and locating yourself through ceremony that occidental knowledge lacks when it seeks to define Indigenous cultures.

As a non -Indigenous researcher concerned with the method of conveying research as well as the message of the research itself, I believe that modality conveying the message of your work is an important part of the message of the work itself. By not focusing on criticism of Indigenous literature, but upon the occidental modalities , I aim to reframe western criticism as a problem unto itself. In this frame, aboriginal science should be acknowledged by academic researchers on its own terms, but that does not mean that western etymologies should be neglected since they are an integral aspect of the western paradigm. My thesis is dedicated primarily to the critique of the history of racist science as it manifests itself in the contemporary environment, and the Indigenous view is presented to enrich that critique.

By way of introduction, Taz Bouchier is an elder, activist, and pipe-carrier from Edmon-

ton, Alberta. She is experienced in planning, having engaged with its professional practitioners as elder and as a politician. Her approach to planning speaks volumes about the important messages conveyed by planning mediacy when it utilises urban objects. She analyses how it depicts Indigenous culture, drawing upon examples of racist demonstrations of the comparative history technique exhibited at the Fort Edmonton Park interpretation centre and the Royal Alberta Museum. For her, the performative physicality of these places are both aesthetic and spiritual messages that Indigenous people learn, feel, interpret, and communicate orally.

For example, she illustrates the intersectionality of this view talking about her work in partnership with non-Indigenous architects when helping to design the Edmonton Remand Centre's Aboriginal healing building. For her, Indigenous world-views are not disconnected from the urban environment or from the colonial architecture of the repositories she visits when in Edmonton. In general, my questions revolve around the topic of architecture, archives, and exhibitionary 'repositories' in general and it is uncanny how she managed to elaborate on these topics with very little prompting. The interview yielded a large amount of information in a fairly short interview recorded by telephone in February 2014.

Bouchier's narrative complements existing theory describing the creation of ethnocentric architecture in American cities because it critically engages the historical development of the city and addresses what is called by colonial scientists 'the comparative technique' or 'the morbid' in older scientific dialogues.^{xlv} She depicts a historically contrast-based paradigm and proposes a way that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people could start to integrate her world-views in order to do justice to our shared history. For her, the contrasts between Indigenous and British colonial world views are a useful way of demonstrating how different the two are. For example

ple she depicts those oppositions because the British view intentionally constructed its culture as an expression of opposition to Indigenous ways of seeing the world (this can also be seen in Berkhofer, 1978). She proposes an alternative to what I like to describe as the western impulse towards political exclusivity. Occidental science often classifies and segregates communities utilising planning. Too frequently it avoids holistically integrating them into a spiritual cosmology that demonstrates that our connections to one another are greater than our differences

Many traditional people describe orality as apposite to western ways of knowing, and Taz Bouchier also sees it that way.^{xlvi} Our views on this are different but can be complementary. I think that this dichotomy arises from the architecture of the archival repository and the classificatory method non-Indigenous people use to record knowledge and history. Western repositories have historically constituted their tradition as the opposite of a constructed vision of the 'primitive' with its tangential anarchy^{xlvii}. Like Bouchier, I think the comparative method arises from a method that contextualizes itself as antithetical to Indigenous ways of knowing (this is also in McLeod, 2007 and Youngblood et. al., 2000). Reconciling the two world views requires western positivism stop constituting itself as superior to Indigenous sciences utilising etymological and singularly defined etymologies.^{xlviii}

In our interview Bouchier indicates that there are many issues that arise from western interventions in the Indigenous community. She expresses concern about the way that they are represented in major institutions. For her, dialogue on architecture revolves around story, and the creation of new architecture to replace historic buildings tends to reflect a homogeneity and flatness she sees to be lacking in narrative. This is where I chose to begin transcribing our interview. It was where I began to ask her more formal interview questions after we chatted for a

while, caught up on life, developed mutual respect and started to feel comfortable with one another.

I ask what “you or another Indigenous person who subscribes to Indigenous spirituality feels about either urban architecture or colonial architecture more specifically” (Bouchier and Maton, 17:13). She responds to this by referring to their aesthetic narrative, saying “... the buildings I see being built in Edmonton are flat, there is no story to them. I says I truly believe that we should be creating buildings that tell story” (17:30). Along this grain she adds that Edmonton’s heritage buildings had been created to tell stories. For example, she says “the HBC building had the story of the HBC trapping along the walls...” while new buildings like the “Escort building... one of the largest buildings here in Edmonton ... is just a piece of glass, there is nothing to define it from anywhere else, timeframe or anything else” (21:20). She compares these new buildings to the creation of the new Royal Alberta Museum saying “you know we are going to have a new museum and I am thinking... the old building has a story to it, when you walk around the old building you will see different eras as you walk around it” (21:30). She is concerned that a new building will not have “its history... its taken away from being able to define that history, what took place.” (22:14).

We revisit this notion of architecture as story-teller later in the interview when Bouchier speaks of the Fort Edmonton Park and the Edmonton Remand centre. First we discuss how different heritage structures speak through the materials they are made of and the way that they have been located on the landscape. In conversation I relate her view to how the architecture department at University of Manitoba (UM) has become very focused on textures and modernism and how the new Truth and Reconciliation archive is only a digital collection. These new digital

ideas about material management is replacing the old forms of media and the tactile experience associated with them. In my mind this seems disconnected from the Indigenous worldview. In this discussion I call the new aesthetic narrative technique homogenizing. Taz Bouchier agrees with this notion of homogeneity and revisits it throughout the interview in varying contexts, discussing the effect that new architecture has upon the narrative landscape. On the topic of consultation, Bouchier sees new architecture evoking the feeling and knowledge that “when they put up one of these new buildings there is no story attached... the only story is how much money they saved putting it up... you know all that glass up there ... it is just flat!” (26:50).^{xlix}

In our discussion Bouchier returns to situated concepts of culture existing in relationship to embodied expressions of human life intended to contrast the modern buildings being built in downtown Edmonton to the way of life of Indigenous people. For her, the shapes of these buildings belie a disconnection from the land. For her, devaluation of the importance of buildings in the urban environment depersonalises and structurally dehumanises life in the city. This dishumanising tendency is frequently embodied in how contemporary urban planners plan and in the types of buildings they choose. Her traditional ideas about place-making deviates from modernist and international aesthetic conventions because it emphasizes an empirically personal experience of home that she believes should reflect Canadian culture and Indigenous knowledge of the land. Her vision of living and organic texture being opposed to flat homogenous buildings made out of glass and steel demonstrates the homogenisation of Indigenous culture. In the discussion she speaks frequently in reference to a place -based concept of home that conflicts fundamentally with the more abstract, international and economically driven form of architecture she observes being built downtown. (also see Walker, 1926 for classic definition of homogenous

architecture)

Discussion of the roots of the colonial (and often British) dislocation of a more locally oriented cultural situation of historical aesthetics occurs frequently during the interview. Places where this gets elaborated academically is in Leslie Lokko's edited collection *White Paper, Black Marks* (2000), Gwendolyn Wright's *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (1991) and in Arthur King's "Globalisation and Homogenisation: A State of Play" (2012). All three of these sources similarly draw a connection between early colonial occupations of territory resulting in temporary encampments. For example, the HBC fur-trade fort or Winnipeg's garrison building was located on land that became the Civic centre. Colonial people permanently inscribed their narrative presence into the colonial culture instrumentalised and intended it as educational architecture (see Artibise, 1979 for map). Taz Bouchier subverts the intent of this colonial aesthetic to use it to comment upon what happened to Indigenous people.

In Uduku's "The Colonial Face of Colonial Space" (2000, p44) points to how colonial nations utilize educational architectures that appear to be aesthetically "empire driven" and gradually come to rely upon globalized or international style instead of nationally derived formulations of physical form. The increasingly global architecture signified the colonial desire to eradicate any place-based and local Indigenous tradition, speaking of this intent first through symbolically depicting itself as a temporary occupying force, and then later entrenches their intent to destroy and land-based Indigenous culture through aesthetic formulations of cultural form originating elsewhere and intended to overwrite and overpower the vernacular. (Mundt, 1952)

The topic of homogeneity is revisited by Bouchier at the end of our talk, when we were freely discussing and exchanging ideas on a variety of topics and meshed over the idea that peo-

ple and buildings both wear ‘uniforms’ that are important because they help people understand what role a building plays in the community and where it stands in relation to the human and social environment. This view is commended by a Canadian architectural critic named William Edward in *The Things Which are Seen* (1947/ 1919) where he makes precisely this argument against the virtues of modernism (this author furthered this view through the Royal Anthropology Institute of Canada Journal (RAIC) when the government was announcing the arrival of the new modernist Winnipeg Civic Auditorium on the international Architecture scene).

The discussion with Bouchier is very much a give –and –take in terms of knowledge, with myself being more on the receiving side during the conversation. During the discussion I refrained from interrupting her unless prompted in some way during our interview. She says of older buildings that “there would always be something that someone down the road when we are no longer here would be able to tell you (about them)... homogenization that is what is going on an awful lot”. She reminds me that buildings should tell us something about ourselves. They should tell a story rather than just being flat.¹

In the next section Bouchier describes her work designing the Edmonton Remand Centre (REC). With Bouchier, I view the REC as a type of repository because it is a repository of imprisoned human beings. Michel Foucault, for example, talks at length about the commonalities between prisons and archives. And she used this example to illustrate the way that buildings can physically embody Indigenous views and protocol while also using it to serve as an example of how Western and non-western people can work together to come to an agreement upon how Indigenous peoples should be represented in spaces relevant to their lives.

Talking about the REC’s Aboriginal Ceremonial Room is an opportunity to show that In-

digenous spiritual ceremony and consultation can work within the time and space allotted by Western architects. They can be a physical representation “symbolic of the journey the red road walking down this path of sacredness. Architects need to come back to that and bring that back, that story” (27:30 -31:57). The place where a kind of ceremony takes place must be seen in the context of the story of a place.

The REC room is an opportunity to communicate to people down the road what occurred in that space, who the people were that inhabited it, who built it, and the spiritual tradition that any archaeologist might find even if they “did not know what it was, they would know that it was an aboriginal person who put it together... with the formation of it (as a circle and with the colours used)” (31:30). Participation in this building project is like helping to create a tome. Storied messages are encoded within it so that future generations can re-find them and spend time trying to uncover them as an act of healing. Her goal is to allow future generations to better understand what happened here, what the people who lived here went through to be here, and so on. It is a process of creation that has a potential to impact future generations in a way that a flat glass building cannot.

Our discussion embodies an important message about the importance of time-travel. The discussion of archives and architecture centres upon time-travel and the ways that it impacts culture. T. Bouchier points to the ways that buildings illustrate the passage of time through museums and historical interpretive centres and the old Hudson’s Bay Company Building (HBC) in Edmonton. She sees the way that they embody history as an example of how buildings tell stories. For her, the story found on colonial buildings are useful for people who want to retain a connection to the land.

The interview is very circular. Bouchier takes a concept, like for example her view of the meaning of the HBC architecture, and she takes this same idea and applies it to a new situation to further explain her point. She says “when you talk about buildings you are talking about stories... when they put up one of these new buildings there is no story attached... the only story is how much money they saved putting it up” (26:00). She says it is not difficult to translate colonial buildings into an Indigenous world-view. With Bouchier, I think many Indigenous people do not see their views as incompatible with the western world, though (like she said) oral knowledge is often understood to be an opposite modality compared to western knowledge. The Indigenous view does not solely posit meaning in the oral, it is also an aesthetically inscribed form of knowledge found on maps, carvings, paintings, and other abstract records of history since time immemorial.

In our discussion the illustration of a sequential passage of time on a building is a desirable aspect of design because it tells a story about what happened. Although I intentionally call her attention to the colonial nature of these buildings, she does not reject the ideological values embedded in their make-up, although she offers criticism of it (41:33). Instead, her focus speaks to the way that architecture has developed in the contemporary world rather than the historical one. For her, it seemed that the erasure of buildings embodying history was a more serious grievance than the way colonial architecture spoke ideologically.

Bouchier does not set up a duality between Indigenous and Western culture when comparing them. Instead, the comparative technique and the linear progression of time (locomotive history) becomes a positive way of showing the importance of these buildings and their relationship with the cultural and physical landscape. She utilises the comparative technique to demonstrate

how the civic and public institution has excluded indigenous people even when including them in their buildings. The land embodies an archive where stories are recorded in both the man-made and natural objects found there. The location of the old museum on the landscape, its physical make up, and its position in relation to other historic buildings are important aspects of how it communicates a connection to history.

She describes the old museum being in a location where it is easy to commune with nature. Furthermore, she worries about what social values will be embodied moving it. She worries that the new museum will “push the homeless people further away (from the downtown)... and there are no trees! There is no connection to land, it is just going to be surrounded by buildings” (36:50). In our discussion she mentions that the architecture of the museum contains themes of succession through time, however it isn't the place or example that she uses to explain why this is important to her.

Fort Edmonton Park is another example of this paradigm. Using it she illustrates that succession through time and delivers a message that sought to depict Indigenous people being segregated away from Anglo-Saxons outside of the fur –trade fort. This situation dichotomizes its presence utilising the comparative technique found in early Museums and Exhibitions, making it seem incompatible with the miniature society found inside the historical interpretive centre (Bennett, 1995; Kaufman, 2009). This illustration insults her.

“when you go into the museum we are presented as history... I don't see any accuracy in being able to demonstrate that we are still here. Its almost as though we are not here... At the Fort Edmonton Park... the first part of the park is from the 1800's and it shows a tipi and native people outside of the fort... and then you go to the net era cause it shows them moving up the eras now moving into the now the present time and you don't see any natives except outside the fort” (41:29-42:00).

For her, this illustration is an inaccurate representation of Indigenous peoples as well as an inaccurate representation of history. She describes it as being ideologically motivated by a desire to

eliminate the Indigenous presence from the history of the city. Furthermore, she places this genocidal ideology in context of the metropole saying, “I have said repeatedly to the city of Edmonton, the world comes to see the Fort Edmonton Park, and it’s inaccurate” (42:20). (Fort Edmonton Park, 2014- see the Fort Edmonton Park Map)

While the comparative history technique seems culturally exclusive, it doesn’t have to be used that way. Throughout history Indigenous people have been targeted by this technique as the polar opposite of civilization. Likewise, for Youngblood Henderson, et al. (2000),

“This polarity of a European insider and the Aboriginal outside is central or integral to the diffusionist theory. From this dualism, diffusionism asserts the strategy of totalizing difference between the two peoples based on some intellectual or spiritual factor: something characteristic of the “European spirit”” (p268).

This determinist state of difference is found continuously in the British subjectivist neo-liberal legal tradition (Harris, 2001; Hicks & Jones, 2010; Koivisto, 2013). In the tradition set by books by Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, for example, it has been continuously maintained in the most prestigious British science museums of the early century that their agenda is to illustrate the fundamental chasm separating the British from ‘primitive’ societies (Skinner, 1986). What particularly impresses me about the way Bouchier contextualizes it is the way that she uses its physical representation to make the poignant point that this technique is intended as an act of erasure and an act of genocide against Indigenous culture.

Bouchier believes the living tradition of Indigenous peoples is embodied by the land, and the land itself forms a kind of repository for those practices. She tells me about a number of experiences she had that emphasize the ability to trace Indigenous belief on the face of the earth. Starting from the museum, she begins talking about how streets should still bear Indigenous names and how all this architecture changed, along with what is being done with buildings, and

what is being done with the education act and other legislation without consulting with Indigenous peoples first. For her, marking the land leaves a footprint for future generations to follow, and it should indicate the traditions of the people who come from here and further, when it comes to institutions relevant to Indigenous peoples. They should always be consulted.

This discussion invoked thought about how the museum is another word for Mausoleum (Adorno, 1981) and how in the British tradition, museum culture has a tendency to portray living culture as dead tradition (Roberts, 2002, p 320). This is an architectural language as well as an archival one. When thinking about this I discover an article by Ian Angus, a professor at Simon Fraser University, who writes that “Museum culture can be adequately preserved within scientific-technological modernity... But can a living culture, and interplay of representation and practice, survive the institution of modernity?” (2008, p39).

When asking this question Angus (2008) writes that the way that civilisational scientific-technological notions of modernity (which he defines as a premise derived from historicity) generally seek to define themselves is as the opposite of the primal. This results in the creation of a point in time that we are supposedly steadily progressing away from. It implies a state of hierarchy, a 'moving forward', that is implicitly hierarchical in nature because it values the future more than the past. For him, this notion is embodied in the word institution, and he provides the definition of institution found in Husserl to show that the word is contextualized as an idea that distances its society from the 'primitive' or the 'primal' while also instituting its representation of those groups. He writes that when an institution 'is made' it becomes a tradition that is implicitly not-primitive. Angus implies in his work that the old idea of modernity is a progression away from the past, away from tradition (even though this behaviour is the modern tradition), and that

the living modern culture believes it has been produced by the process of destroying that which it compares itself to (p39). Real progress, then, is the end of this Canadian philosophical tradition.

He writes,

"The institution of modernity reconfigures traditional cultures by turning them into representations cut off from a sustaining cultural practice. It provides the setting (architecture) from in which they are given meaning" (ibid- parenthesis added).

Taz Bouchier also has something to say about this process of so-called 'progress'. For her, the land itself offers up evidence of the tools used by Indigenous peoples situated where they practiced their traditions. She finds traces of her culture everywhere, in river valleys where rocks yield up the same shape that an ancestor might have used to skin hide for example. Because of this she wonders,

"why do people think that progress is all about making things homogenous like you said? To make it all flat. It is not progress, you are wiping it out. Wiping out the stories. And that's something that the British people came with. The philosophy they came with. They wanted to wipe out our stories, they wanted to wipe out our history. They wanted to wipe out us as a people, our customs, our traditions all because of this assumed superiority that they abide by, and there are still people like that!" (50:00).

This is the purpose of the upcoming TRC rally at the final event in Edmonton, March 27th- 30th (where she will be presiding as elder). It will be "A celebration that we survived! That assimilation policy. We are still here!"(50:00). Later on she reiterates the necessity of integrating Indigenous tradition and consultation into new, modern buildings when she speaks of the Edmonton Remand Centre, which is Canada's most up-to-date and high-tech prison facility. For her, this process is an essential part of constructing facilities in such -a -way that they help people heal from the genocide that occurred here. Saying,

"when they invite me to do some work, they want me to do it all their way. And I tell them no, that would be against my belief system, my value system. We need to work towards compromising so we can make this work because you have your western point of view and I have my Indigenous point of view. They are complete opposites. One is to me very self-centred, self-serving, and needing self-gratification. And where I come from it's not just about me, it's about everybody else too" (1:08:10).

Later in the interview she congratulates the architecture firm, the construction firm, and the administration for the great work that they did consulting with her. And afterwards we return to the

concept of time and the way that it informs how Indigenous and non-Indigenous people can learn to co-exist and work together even though our views and traditions are so different.

i) Indigenous Knowledge of the Meaning Embodied in the Architecture of Edmonton's Urban Repositories Can be Utilised to Study Winnipeg's Civic Auditorium

An aim here is to connect the discussion with Bouchier to the Winnipeg context. Therefore, I will first address the exhibitionary architecture of Winnipeg's auditorium and its connection to other places, like Chicago, to explain it as an international phenomenon rather than a regionalist one. After connecting the development of this Metropole to colonial development projects in other colonial places, I will expose the patterning that shows the way Winnipeg fits the global *topos* of the ideology found also in other internationalist design projects.

In my research I compare the development of archival architecture in Canada to the development of exhibition architecture in Chicago. I argue that the comparative technique found in historicist architecture was a racist dialogue that seamlessly transitioned into the 'progress' ideology of early-modernist architecture. The art-deco and new-classic architecture of the Civic Auditorium built in 1932 was contrived to embody similar ideological principles in comparison to the Chicago World Fair (1933) and the Columbia Exposition (1893). The aesthetic found on the architecture of the MAHBCA depicts a contrast between their vision of an Indigenous society because, to them, the pre-industrial was supposedly in conflict with the agrarian society depicted in these exhibitions. (Photo 8: Crane, 1896- Image of Columbia)

The techniques utilised to equate race and architecture in Winnipeg and Chicago at these exhibitions are not unusual, they are standard everywhere internationally. International exhibitions typically features miniature rooms and buildings upon the grounds that instrumentally allowed race groups to be visually sorted and defined. This occurred at the Royal Exhibition 1851

(in an attempt to summarise human life), the Paris Exposition Universelle 1867 (with aim to produce “a total picture of human life” (Kaufman, 2009, 204), Paris Exposition 1889 by Garnier who also built Chicago’s “History of Human Habitation”, International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts (1925), as well as the Exposition de Exposition Coloniale Internationale 1933. In museum technique this approach is understood as “Zurich Method” and it later transformed into the “Metropolitan Style” (1939) after the New York Metropolitan Museum began to collect entire villages rather than just exhibiting representative instrumentalised architectural facets of ethnological cultures. This style helps initiate the American ‘open air’ museum (already begun by the Ford Greenfield Village (1927) and the Williamsburgh Coloniale Museum ((2009, 215-217)). According to N. Kaufman “The way of life ‘preserved’ by open –air museums is an idealized pre-industrial culture...” based on handicrafts and the idealization of pre-industrial society (p215). It was from these models that we inherit the style of museum we see at Fort Edmonton Park and in Winnipeg at Lower Fort Garry. As Bouchier says, the model exhibited at these museums is fundamentally concerned with the illustration of a progress mentality that excludes Indigenous peoples physically and intellectually. This mentality is an integral aspect of how they first envisioned it during the Machine Age.

Essential to the establishment of historical and metropolitan precedent at these prestigious exhibitions and museums was the way that they demonstrate a racist social hierarchy that is shown through the succession of different eras beginning with the 'primitive' and ending with the white society. Chicago architecture and architects tend to be heavy influences upon Winnipeg city planners during the preceding fifty years before the building of the Chicago World Fair. The motto of the Fair is 'a century of progress', and its' official statutory and souvenirs bare the head

of a woman with ears made of wings. This woman is appositionally superimposed upon the image of an art-deco styled Indian bust (Wolfsonian, 2014). The same woman appears carved onto the side of the MAHBCA today apposite to an Indian who is bending a bow confrontationally, shooting an arrow in her direction. A similar approach is found in Moosejaw on its “Thunderbird” viaduct (see [Images](#)).

Bennett (1995), Hosagrahar (2005), Kaufman (2009), King (2002), Scott (2000) and Wright (1991) all argue that the architecture of major buildings is located in the central government and administrative district and tends to subjugate the image and edifice of the city through embodying notions of hierarchy and sovereignty. In this view, the architecture of the central district is a means for exhibiting the dominance of an elite form of culture often called ‘scholastic’ architecture. The elite culture is embodied through the presence of institutions representing a pageantry of elite principles and aesthetics expressed by physical form.

Usually the central area of government is marked by the presence of most if not all of these symbolic buildings and motifs. One, the presence of museum or art -gallery statutory embodies academic principles of scientific knowledge. Two, the traditional presence of military is signified through a central barracks or fort (that has usually been converted or torn down to be replaced by government buildings but are still marked on maps of the present day building), a fort or fur trade post, and war memorial shows the power of the state in war. Three, notions of religious morality are marked there in the form of a church or temple-styled government palace. Five, the central administration of government is found there embodied by buildings like a Land Titles building or other powerfully centralised hegemonic bureaucratic government offices. In Winnipeg the power of architecture in this area is particularly literal, also having also the pres-

ence of a 'central power' building that architecturally eludes to Winnipeg's power to harness and control nature. All of these buildings are standardized expressions of British domination intended to subjugate the architecture around it through centralized principles of control and hierarchical superiority that can be seen illustrated in their aesthetics from India to Africa to the USA.

As one of the buildings in this region the Civic Auditorium communicates a message of succession that traditionally sought to exclude and erase Indigenous worldviews. The messages written upon its walls utilising architecture, its administrative story is demonstrate the racial ideas implicit in how the repositied history at these places developed in Winnipeg. In a intersectional way, the development of the architecture of the repositories in Winnipeg is highly comparable with that found in Edmonton. By introducing an Indigenous voice with criticisms of the most important messages found in Eurocentric architecture I hope to introduce the potential for what Faranak Miraftab (2009) calls "counter-hegemonic planning practices" (p32) to point out the possibility of "Insurgent Planning" interventions that challenge the way that the "colonization of planning tends to universalize the experience of the metropole" (p33). This aim, in agreement with John Friedman (in Lane & Hibbard, 2005, p172) promotes "the emancipatory role of planning, its potential to *transform* the structural dimensions of oppression- what Friedman (1987) calls a transformative theory of planning" (2005, p172). In their article "Doing it for Themselves: Transformative Planning by Indigenous Peoples" they promote the empowerment of Indigenous voices, who are capable of speaking out and representing their own interests in a powerful way.

As an Indigenous planner Bouchier is proposing a conceptual shift that is in complete agreement with the literature, yet she operates within the traditional realms of Indigenous oral

knowledge with its deep relationship with materiality and narrative. Her approach represents a drastic disconnect from the typical western urban planning mentality. In her transformative approach, a traditional narrative is communicated through orality and in materiality and heritage architecture harnessed to communicate this view. By approaching the study of things with this transformative mentality, the comparative and dichotomous progress -minded approach of planners who often seek to create conceptual *tabula rasa* in the urban environment utilising modernist architecture can be opposed. Alternatives to the destruction of heritage are available, and a transformative approach could preserve these urban features while opposing the homogenising influence of modernists who portray these forms of life existing in context of past.

Chapter 2: The Civic Auditorium in Metropolitan Winnipeg

“Note two: history. History gives us some purchase on the present; with Walter Benjamin I would like to think of history not as context and not as a linear sequence that leads to the present, but as rupture and opening, a field of battle in a war over meaning” (Kulchyski, 2005, p20).

*“Reason is a narrow system
swollen into an ideology.*

*With time and power it has
become a dogma, devoid of
direction and disguised as
disinterested inquiry.*

*Like most religions, reason
presents itself as the solution
to the problems it has created” (Saul, 1992/1993).*

This chapter will tangentially investigate the Civic Auditorium’s site location and compare it to existing institutional aesthetics embodied in the British Schools scientific institutions and relevant International sites that may have directly influenced how buildings and race could have been conceptually situating civic architectural physically and informationally in Winnipeg’s metropolis. It will focus on the conceptual and physical aesthetics of race science prevalent during the nineteen thirties. It will speculate on some of the ways that these racial ideas were being transferred from established historicist museal settings into the modernist ones being built at that time.

It begins with an explanation of the difficulties I encountered when studying the intersection of race and architecture. Next, it states my case for why there is a connection despite the difficulties involved in the contemporary context of the research topic. The body of the chapter deals with the way that contemporary racial sciences for e.g. English School evolutionist, diffusionist, and Eugenic) constitute connections between the physical environment, a civilisational narrative, and historically -based narratives intended to describe anthropological and sociological

human hierarchies.

I began to write about the Civic Auditorium after it was suggested by my advisor, Peter Kulchyski. Before beginning to research this specific site, I had already spent a considerable amount of time researching the intersection between race and architecture. Before looking at the Civic Auditorium and Civic Centre itself, I had found it very difficult to trace the intersection between racist ideologies and architecture because very few books sustain their focus on this subject despite its common presence in these institutions (Wilkins, 2007). A perspective on the difficulty in finding books to aid analysis is presented by William Gleason (2011) who writes,

“Although race has been one of the most important analytic, theoretical and historical categories in literary studies for more than a quarter century, it has played only a small role in the interdisciplinary study of architecture and literature- or, to borrow a phrase, the study of ‘buildings and books’. And although ideas about race and ideas about architecture turn out to be complexly intertwined in nineteenth and early twentieth century American culture, no major work has appeared on this subject.” (2011, p2).

For Gleason, my difficulty in finding contemporary material to draw from was probably the result of the absence of any major contemporary work on that subject. During the early Twenty First century, the social context of architecture had fundamentally changed, and this is reflected in their aesthetics. In spite of this, as I have been demonstrating, I believe that aesthetics are not an incidental or superficial aspect of a building. Rather, to believe that is to fundamentally misinterpret the meaning of aesthetics in early modernist, historicist and neo-classic aesthetics. The word ‘aesthetics’ itself etymologically implies that philosophical ideals were cyphered into society through architecture through the styling of their material objects, because, in early dictionaries, the term was thought to denote a philosophy of style, and this interpretation resonates with how architects defined the word architecture in early-century literature (Statham, 1910; Mortimer, 1888).

In Victorian architecture, racist intent is frequent and ubiquitous (Crimson, 1996) among its

art historians.^{li} In the Machine Age the meaning of architecture began to change (Wright, 1953/1968; Mumford, 1934), however I see the academic idea of race embodied in buildings having survived changes in aesthetic ideals because these ideas affected the styling of the buildings themselves. I believe that the racial dialogue began in the previous century translates seamlessly into the increasingly modernist aesthetic of the Machine Age. I also believe this race-based message can be traced into contemporary times (Wilkins, 2007). (Mitchell, 2002)

So what is architectural racism and what does it look like? How is it possible for me to claim that a building communicates a racist idea? Having already dealt with Emilé Durkheim in this thesis, it compliments my argument for me to look at how Max Weber's work constructs a scientifically materialist approach studying race in the physical world (for example in Durkheim and Maus' *Primitive Categories (1903/ 1963)* they complement M. Weber's *The City (1921)*). M. Weber's identification of race in the performance of the physical architecture of the urban environment expresses an ideological belief that Anglo-Saxon societal formations are objectively superior to those belonging to less societally advanced milieus. The racist idea that Anglo-Saxon culture is a superior cultural institution relies upon western classification taxonomies. Existing definitions of Indigenous culture are derived from the sociological and anthropological 'scientists' of that same era.

In my research I discovered there is a long history of thinking about race as an objective phenomenon reflected in the physics of the urban structure, and it can be traced backwards in both architectural historical literature and the 'laboratory-based' anthropological tradition. In both academic views superior environment is almost always equated with a superior civilization (2001, p27 + 148-151; see also Hegel, 1910; Weber, 1921) and this tradition continues after

World War Two in Anglo-centric nations (Keith, 1948). The achievements of a race group were frequently measured by academics utilising a comparative technique that sought to show the way more evolved or progressed civilizations manipulate nature to create controlled environments that locate the 'primitive' holistically 'outside', 'in contrast to', and 'inferior' to the Anglo-Saxon civil milieus (1903/ 1963) because of their societies environmental circumstances.^{lii}

Contemporary academic views proclaimed that human aesthetics were fundamentally distinct from the world of nature (Shaviro, 2014), while the Indigenous was seen as immersed in nature. This frame of mind originates from Biblically oriented texts in earlier centuries. Eminent exemplars of this mind -set are seen in the secular scientific Enlightenment philosophies of Kant and Hegel, and these philosophers views were further repudiated and translated into the British School through the works of Darwin (1873/ 1902). More metaphysically and dogmatically religious European scholars also spoke through Hegel and Kant to connect these proto -evolutionist and *ur*-materialist views to the formation of the scholastic sciences in the middle ages (Shaviro, 2014; Warburg, 2014- see "Victorines"; origin of concept of aesthetics and the secular division of the arts and humanities is found in medieval scholastic text of Hugh of St. Victor (1176/ 1961) Victor demonstrates that aesthetic order (and architecture) were derived from a Christian divinities tradition) into Darwinist doctrines (see *Descent of Man* (1873/ 1902)). Modern proto -evolutionist founders attempted to use the ideological separation between ascendent human nature and the basic environmental naturalism of 'primitives' to describe hominids being those living in natural or lower states, thus an inferior forms of humanity was described comparing them to those living within agricultural (and later industrialised) European societies (Bindman, 2002).

Scholars believed being an ascendent human often meant having a written history (Smith, 2011; Wormell, 1980).^{liii} Those histories require buildings to house them, and are usually recorded in metropolitan locations that offer authors access to repositories. The aforementioned urban dichotomy between human and nature and was an integral aspect of the architectural tradition housing written documents in repositories. They are, to paraphrase Sven Spieker (2008), based upon archival documents that are written with the archive in mind. As histories they became evidence once thought to have demonstrated the humanity of the nation they recorded, and as such the aesthetics of the building in which they were housed was thought to be a reflection of the contents of that building. As Spieker wrote, they house records written as an expression of the archive, and with the archive in mind as its ultimate destination.

Possibly the most iconic and important repository that reflects the way aesthetics were thought to properly reflect the virtues of humanity has been constructed by the architect É. Boullée during the Enlightenment. Like other humanist academics he generally relies upon the Roman thinker Vitruvius (who connects the human body with the ancient built world) to describe the source of a classical view on human origins. Building, Boullée sought to demonstrate the idea that there was a fundamental split between the world of nature and the world of man. He traces this view of the built world back to beginning of the Common Era (or Christian Age) (Dodds & Tavener & Rykwert, 2002).^{liv} (note that Boullée describes a debate over nature in this context he is not prescribing the separation)

As exemplar of this, the influential historian, William Richard Lethaby (1856/ 1891) discusses a phenomenal race-based view of how race appeared in architecture in his book *Architecture, Nature, and Magic*. Lethaby's view is not typical of his era, but it does foreshadow how

race came to be seen in the civilizational discourse of the contemporary future.

“Man is primarily a maker, a builder” (...) *“That which marked the end of animal development and the beginning of human history was the discovery of the hand. Man at his origin is the maker. Decisive at the beginning, the role of technique is immense all along the human line. Man in the mass has been a workman”* (1956/ 1891, p17- parenthesis added).

This view of humankind is an adaptation of very early liberal and socialist academic perspective on the origins of humanity and the natural order of human races on earth. His view is also an adaptation of the view forwarded by William Fairfield Warren’s book *Paradise Found* (1891/ 1886). In Warren and Lethaby’s religio- Darwinist views of humanity, prejudices about the nature of human origins are combined with the scientific ideas of the top English and German School of academics of the time. Doing this he creates a hybrid of evolutionary and religious thinking that is in harmony with the views of the top academic scholars of their time. It, in essence, hybridises religion with- social -Darwinism. This view resonates with the ideas forwarded in Rev. Bryce (1906), and their objectives synchronise with the emerging diffusionist ideology of the leading anthropologists operating during the 1930’s who would put forward the revised determinist scientific doctrines we know today.^{lv} (Many other Victorian and Edwardian scholars also do this, for example see exemplars like Fullom, 1855; Morton, 1839 +1844)

Scientists of the era desired a discovery that would illustrate a singular origin where all civilisation and humanity began. Warren and Lethaby draw upon the foremost savant of their time, Quatrefage, who defines it in his *The Human Species* (1883) to claim that place is the north, where the supposedly pure Nordic, Aryan, and Saxon races were thought to have originated. Underlying their scientific effort to prove Quatrefage’s view was a quest to locate the beginning of civilisation utilising religio- social -Darwinist concepts depicting an Aryan European civilisation being fundamentally superior to the Indigenous civilizations of the world.

This view fits what Micheal Adas calls the “Science vs. superstition binary” implicit in most anti-Indigenous Enlightenment ideas (Harris, 2002, p53- Quoting Adas). In diffusionist theory (which resonates strongly with this single-origin quasi- religious form of environmental determinism) the underlying ideas of Warren and Lethaby are revised so that European wealth comes to be seen as a natural product of white hands and ingenuity meriting the preservation and development of the ancient Aryan civil arts, of which city planning was considered apart of. (For example see Libby Porter, 2010- a racial analysis of Locke)^{lvi}

The Anglo-Saxon Aryan view dreams of its own supremacy utilising environmental determinism and its material achievements (for further examples see Cohen, 1991). European science imagines a conquest of nature utilising large architectural works like canal systems, railways, highways, hydro stations, telephone, radio and electricity lines. The conceptual dichotomy between civilised and savage is embodied in these infrastructure projects (Larocque, 2013). Like the act of building, the industrialised environment has a conceptual interface with the material order of things. It embodies an intent to dominate the earth utilising material and conceptual means. It is a desire to position ones’ own humanity in an ascendent realm compared to the supposedly ‘natural’ or degraded Indigenous milieu (2002, p53; Review of Reviews, 1894;).

(Cronon, 1991; Innis, 1919/ 1999; Cohen, 1991)

The diametrically constituted human environment vs. degraded natural environment binary is perpetuated in modernism. In opposition to the views of the Gropious School, I do not believe it disappeared nor ceased to be reflected upon like in Gropius -style modernism after World War Two when the new break-water modern arts had usurped the hegemony of religiously based ideals (James, 2003).^{lvii lviii lix}

Originally, the binary between mind and materiality was understood having originated within the human mind and spirit, expressing a universalized form of nature (Hughes, 1176). The built body, like the biological body, came to be understood as a physical representation of the mind itself. These ideas transformed into a measurement of real phenomena in the natural world. It came to be thought that existential theory would help modern academics understand the way the conceptual exists in relationship to physical and metaphysical phenomena through emphasizing the interpretation of materiality rather than placing emphasis on the material presence of abstract representations of nature (Mukerji, 1983; 1973 /1993, 184-5).^{lx} (Sekula, 1989; Shivaro, 2014)

In the Victorian and Edwardian era, the single origin of mankind is thought to have been Africa rather than the North Pole. Evolutionary (and the proto- evolutionary schemes of Blumenbach and Kant) science no longer presumes that there could only be a singular locomotive creation story that illustrates a Christian figural ‘chain of being’ described by the philosophical traditions of early Enlightenment science (Bindman, 2002). However, in the 1920’s, and with the financial help of the Rockefellers, scientists reinvented an imperial centre for objective truths and began disseminating it to mass audiences in the colonies (for source on Rockefellers see Young, 2015- See “Grafton Elliot Smith” on UCL website; also see Lord Zuckermen’s “Introduction” to Grafton Smith’s *The Concepts of Human Development* (1973/ 1924)). “Extreme diffusionists” became a long-standing exemplar of this activity. They seek to explain a modernistic connection between an objective world and a singular master narrative inherited from imperial colonial discourses that began in the imperial Enlightenment science projects of the twentieth century (Kantor, 1933, p491; also see Bindman, 2002- Les Riefenstahl; Malik, 1996).^{lxi}

Like in these early century universalistic sciences, Enlightenment science also creates clearcut locomotive narratives useful for illustrating a clear-cut hierarchy utilising a material framework of human development. Their story epitomizes the scientifically racist “chain of being” described in David Bindman’s work *From Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (2002), albeit in a post-evolutionary context. Bindman describes the ‘chain of being’ as the most authoritative model in pre-evolutionary Christian transcendental sciences, and he explains how it came to be integrated into the post-evolutionary sciences of the nineteenth century. In essence, he shows that many modern scientists came to accept that human development might be too complex to be reduced to a single-track (chain-of-being) science narrative, but that they, like the National Socialists, resist the less imperialistic non-centralised narrative. This scientific view is also vigorously contested by universalist social-Darwinist like those who wrote the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1910)). Scientists did not give up the single-track deterministic stance that the physical achievements of hominids could be used to define their attainment of rank in a human hierarchy, instead they claimed these achievements could be used to plot human development on a new scale of being, like for example those found in English School anthropological literatures. Meanwhile the evolutionist German School had been corrupted by Nazi political sentiment contested by English Schoolers (see Smith, 1936).

Locomotive science ideals, like those of a chain-of-being remained the most exhibited ideal during among contemporary agro-industrialists. Even when exhibitions drew upon experts like Franz Boas, who disagreed with the single-track story, yet there was a tendency towards a unified progress narrative because it was easier and less oblique to portray. When museums began to forward the increasingly liberal and structuralist works in liberal post-Boasian (cultural

relativist) anthropology and psychology the linear story could still be seen. At prestigious venues like Chicago's Columbian Exposition (curated in part by Franz Boas despite his being concerned pejoratively about this philosophical dimension of the exhibition) displays was not allowed to disrupt the locomotive development narrative thought to unify the exhibitions at a grand level (Chamberlain, 1910). Similarly, in the structuralist anthropology of Claude Levi-Strauss, his belief that psychological development could be illustrated through measurement of the ways people used their hands and their heads to construct things contested the way this practice had been conducted in the anthropometry of the past. Levi-Strauss claimed that the intellectual dimension of objects was constituted by how well they achieved the material ends they were designed for rather than describing them in relationship to the level of agro-industrial development the society in question had attained. (Kantor, 1933; Kulchyski, 2005)^{lxii}

Academic architecture in the 1930's had, until that time, been a definably culturally hierarchical practice steeped in popular Enlightenment aesthetics. This history is reflected in all of its early historicist and (pre-revised) modernist definitions^{lxiii}. It is surprising that more architectural firms, departments and schools have not been reformed to redress the historically unhinged and broken^{lxiv} and decentralised view of the world promoted by revisionist doctrine. I think these modernists unconsciously maintain that old elitist milieu by avoiding the subject of intellectual imperialism found in the evolutionary objectivist values they imply. Despite seeing this discussion of the history of etymological origin being of tantamount importance, I must now move beyond it and attend more specifically the architecture of the Civic Auditorium itself. (Sinaiticus, 1933- Photo 9: Original Plan of Civic Auditorium; Photo 10: Chivers & Northwood & Semmens, 1932- Image of Civic Auditorium)

Chapter 3: The Built Fabric of the Civic Auditorium

This chapter is the most fragmented of all the chapters I have written so far. In it I argue the pluralistic mind-set of the Eurocentric Anglo-Saxon architecture in the civic core is a locomotive expression of an elitist and succession-based civilisational dialogue. I exemplar how the Civic Auditorium utilises locomotive succession -based civilizational ideals to embody the historical devaluation of Aboriginal culture. It shows how the Civic Auditorium facilitates the development of a racist agro-industrial exhibitionary architecture that was a continuation of the historicist ideals expressed in modernist architecture's Civic misrepresentation of Indigenous culture.

The first part of the chapter focuses on the time period leading up to the building's opening ceremony in 1932. It provides informed speculation upon the motivations behind the aesthetic dynamic of the civic centre. This perspective comes from the definition of architecture as a materialised expression of a fully articulated British idea that is often fragmented and incomplete when actually built in the urban sphere.^{lxv} I show that the fragmented architecture present in the core is traditionally an intentionally articulated idea, and therefore, I speculate that a critique of aesthetics utilising holistic language is also possible since architecture itself is a form of language. I will show that these academically architectural aesthetics were never simply ephemeral gestures, but instead, they are deeply meaningful and formative expressions of the Eurocentric ideals the British sought to institute through public architecture. I argue that these ideals were traditionally built to exclude Indigenous perspectives and how they interact meaningfully with those same civic environments and that modernist erasure of this meaning does us no favour when we seek to understand and redress them.

The architecture of the Machine Age was intended as an expression

of those Hegelian absolutes

that I aim to counter Like

Baudelaire and Walter Ben-

jamin (1939/ 1982), I con-

jure a vision of the architec-

ture of the civic core as a

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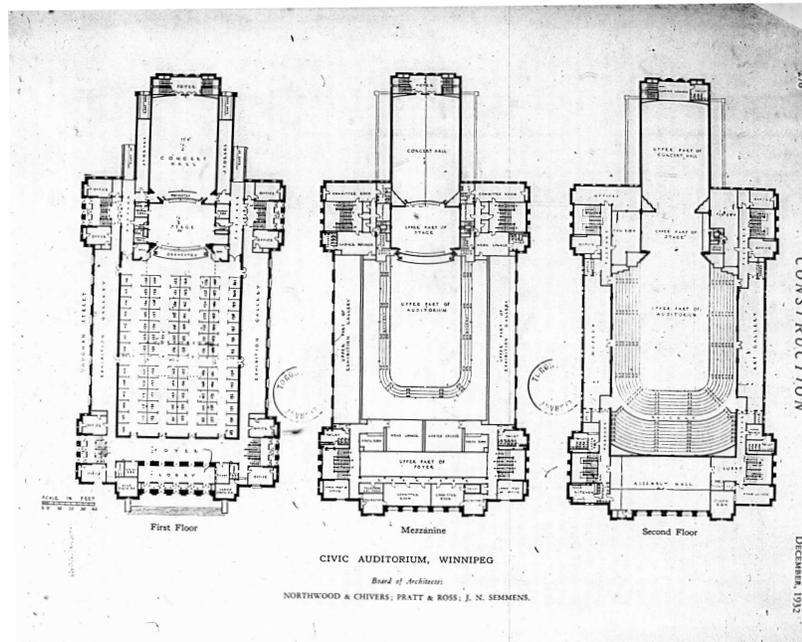
modernity

(Kulchyski, 2005;

Paz, 1991; Ben-

jamin, 1940).

(Castoriadis, 1987; Adorno, 1981)



Art -Deco: The New Arte Moderne and New Classic Aesthetic

The Civic Auditorium was built utilising Art Deco style. The adoption of the aesthetics of this new classic look meant that the civic core was being engineering to harmonise with the In-

ternationalist 'spirit of the ages' dominating the 1930's. The new aesthetic of the thirties had been introduced at the International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts (MIDA) at Paris in 1925. It signified a new industrial attitude, and its rise to prestige represented a fissure in traditional historicism.

The new aesthetic became symbolically American and French, even though invented and celebrated all over Europe. In British cities it came to symbolise colonial independence, and Britain condoned it after it became instituted internationally. Britain and colonies embraced it and retroactively and utilised it domestically to demonstrate that it was embracing the new independent economic system presently on the rise. The standardized aesthetics of 'Art Moderne' or Art Deco movement was introduced to the British societies and thereby also Canadian architecture (MIDA, 1925). This industrial aesthetic challenged the British historicist architectural tradition already here. Though this supposed 'spirit' of the time period was embraced by the Commonwealth school having been modelled after the Paris Beaux-Arts School like the École De Beaux Arts du Montreal (RAIC, 1932 +33). (McIntyre, 2011- Art Deco is also sometimes deemed the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) aesthetic since they had a hand in its development)

Canada was not making new waves in design adopting an established international aesthetic. The conceptual growth of Canada's architecture was distributed domestically in Canada via journals like the Royal Institute of British Architecture (RIBA) and the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC). The new aesthetics were prescribed and standardized by metropolitan experts (King, 2012). The dominion elites sought to articulate the ideology of an increasingly labour-oriented and independent agro-Industrial Machine Age culture utilising it in hope of ex-

panding the local metropolitan market. Lewis Mumford describes this new international standard as the expression of an economic Machine Age (1933) whereas the previous (more domestically imperialistic) Victorian age had been a materially -premised Museum Age (Hicks, 2010).^{lxvi}

I will now begin to reframe this chapter on the Art- Deco Civic Auditorium by describing the pageantry of the Auditorium's Opening as described in the *Winnipeg Tribune*. I will here evidence t my claim that the material embodiment of this architecture and aesthetic articulates an international industrial civilizational ideal. This pedagogy was presented to the public utilising a combination of newspaper articles, journals, and book-based theory. In it is the embodiment of Eurocentric meaning. It shows that the civic centre's Enlightenment aesthetic was planned and inscribed with metro agro-industrial and Enlightenment symbolism to facilitate racial pedagogy utilising its exhibitionary apparatus. The final part of this section will be specifically concerned with the symbolism belonging to J.N. Semmens (the architect who designed the decorative face of the Civic Auditorium).

i: The Auditorium's Pageant Birth

The auditorium opening bestowed meaning upon metropolitan Winnipeg utilising a pageant ceremony. On October 15th, 1932 The Princess Patricia band struck up the not-as -yet officially recognized anthem, "O' Canada". The Superintendent of Indian Affairs and acting Minister of the Interior, Hon. T.G. Murphy, climbed the steps in front of the auditorium to speak on behalf of Prime Minister Robert Bedford Bennett, who was waiting at a radio station to deliver an address live from Ottawa. Mr. Bennett delivered the opening address by loud speaker alongside Manitoba Premier John Bracken who was also visiting Parliament Hill at the time. The Prime-Minister and Premier were broadcasted utilising a newly installed high-tech radio station in the main control room of the auditorium (Sinaiticus, 1932).

A Golden Key was presented to T.G. Murphy by Mayor Ralph Webb, who turned the lock, and crowds of people entered the building to encounter the North West Commercial Traveller Association's (NWCTA) Canadian Industrial Exhibition. The key was given to E.D. Honeyman (chairman of Winnipeg Auditorium Commission) "as emblematic of the building being confided to their care and administration" (p2). The key is then given to Prime Minister Bennett as a souvenir of the event. The ceremony ended with "O'Canada" being played and the *Winnipeg Tribune* follows up the description of the ceremony by listing attendant VIP civic members in what seems to be an ascending hierarchy. All listed participants were male, and their wives are listed as accompanying 'lady' and not named.

The building is described in *Winnipeg Free Press* and *Winnipeg Tribune* as a chief means to solidify or make permanent the settler-colonial presence in Manitoba because it would develop local industries and regionalise Winnipeg's definition of the landed Dominion-Canadian culture's identity. The auditorium sought facilitation of the growth of industry in the Province by hosting the large business conferences and Industrial exhibits touring the USA. Previously, the city did not have a facility large enough to make that possible. After the opening ceremony the ceremonial broadcast was repeated inside the auditorium in the evening for a crowd of distinguished corporate guests, civic employees and local government officials. Everyone was invited afterwards to queue up in accord to their importance in politics, government, business and civic works, and these men were presumably accompanied by their unnamed 'lady'.

The ceremony of the event deeply underscored an elitist patriarchal social hierarchy. It's chassis spoke the institutional language of a patriarchal and racist civic pageant. It demonstrated the idea that the civic milieu was being imagined in accord to a naturalized order of humanity

being established by bureaucratic and industrial categorizations of human value. (Stoler, 1996; Tribune, 1932, p2)^{lxvii}

When describing and celebrating it, the *Winnipeg Free Press* (1932) published large full page and sometimes colour posters. It's publication is highlighted by a stylistically classically rendered woman wearing laurels symbolising the spirit of the auditorium as (capital A) Architecture.^{lxviii} The *Winnipeg Free Press* also printed a description of the event, and it focuses on advertising the architectural firms and displaying of them in an international context alongside HBC advertisements. The *Free Press* highlighted the museum and various events alongside commercial products that would be present on exhibition within the building's Industrial Exhibit.

Emphatically, the *Winnipeg Free Press*' focused upon private commerce and the opening of the museum. It also relates the museum's popularity when it first opened at the Eaton's store. On the whole, it's contents were different than the *Winnipeg Tribune* because it did not offer a depiction of the ceremonial or academic nature (for example the details of the opening, remarks by organizing bodies, the history of the NWCTA, and some details of the Industrial Expo) that would be detailed by the Tribune. *Winnipeg's Free Press* discussed private business matters while the *Tribune* discussed the public affairs.

Both newspapers clearly articulate that the auditorium opening's intended meaning is as a capitalist extravaganza. Both publications advertise products and local labour related to the building itself and the local companies that built it. However the *Free Press* had a decidedly more metropolitan or nation-wide business focus to its advertisements, while the *Tribune* seemed focused more regionally on matters that appealed to Winnipeg civic character and on the details of the event itself.

The first article of the first page of *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune's* "Winnipeg Auditorium Section" was written by Alfred E. McGuinley. It details the honours ascribed to the Auditorium through opening ceremony on the newly constructed Memorial Boulevard Mall. It introduces articles featuring the other dignitaries. Its opening relates, for example, the importance of a Golden Key used to open the building. It states that the architecture "ranks with the finest of its kind on the continent" (p1) and it claims a variety of portentous architectural meanings and descriptions. Whether the architecture in fact "the finest", as it claims, will be discussed after I describe the aesthetics of the *Winnipeg Tribune's* mediatic role in the community.

McGuinley's article is the feature article and it is written in a stylistically formal tone. Its formal aesthetic is distinct in tone in comparison to today's journalism.^{lxix} McGuinley's work is accompanied by official portraits of the heads of the state and all of the senior managerial staff associated with government and civic operations. Pictorially these images appear formal, and would be at home at the front entrance of an important British public institution accompanied by the nationalist sentiment of flagstaff and plaque. The character of the writing is expert narrative, yet the reliability of newspapers, even in this timeframe, are questionable as expert evidence.^{lxx}

The entire section is located within a special "Winnipeg Auditorium Section". Overall, the focus of the section is a public address describing the virtues of the building and its facilities. Portrayed within McGuinley's article are the words of Murphy, Bennett (Prime Minister), Webb (Mayor of Winnipeg), J. H. Rose (Industrial Exhibition Show Manager) and E.G. Parker (Auditorium Manager). Following it is a distinct section dedicated to the North West Commercial Travellers Association (NWCTA) containing a public message, history, corporate profile and formalist portraits of its key members and the Industrial convention it has organized and spon-

sored there.^{lxxi} On the whole, the aesthetic of the newspaper is formalistic and presented as expert testimony.

In the opening article McGuinley's pageantry relates the importance of the Golden Key and the prestigious stationing of the building in local and international history. The key symbolises the great virtues of this public building as the best in the west. He states "(w)estern Canada has nothing to compare with it (referring to the building in a metropolitan context), and there are but few buildings in any city on the continent that can be accounted its equal either in architectural beauty or completeness of appointment and fitting" (1932, p1- parenthesis added). His sentimentality mirrors the sentiment of the 1911 civic centre planning committee wherein the Winnipeg Auditorium's aesthetics are thought to be indicative of the virtues of the government sector, and this view of public architecture is an expression of the older European civilizational traditional pageantry (Benjamin, 1939/1982). The building represents the regions civilizational social progress and development in comparison to the global scale.

The formal ceremonial sentiment in the newspaper that the building is 'the finest' may have been an obligatory pat on the back for the committee and civic community. This view is omitted by Sinaiticus' coldly factual (1933) article "Civic Auditorium, Winnipeg" found in Canada's *Construction Journal*. Sinaiticus repeats some of the sentiment of the ceremony, imparting for example, an awareness that it is an important Canadian achievement. But it cuts out most of the ceremonial boondoggle, almost to a point that one wonders whether the auditorium was being taken serious on the trans-national level, and if not the question of why it was not being treated as a historic achievement is not answered or mentioned anywhere in either RAIC journal (1933) or *Construction* (1933)

In the *Winnipeg Tribune*, McGuinley (1932) illustrates that "(the Civic Auditorium) is a homemade product in every sense of the word" being particularly special because that it was "... constructed by Winnipeg workmen, of materials fabricated or produced in Manitoba" (ibid- parenthesis added). Mirroring this sentiment on the next page, the *Winnipeg Tribune* editor headlines the next page, writing "Solidity of Winnipeg Typified in New Building".^{lxxii}

As a national affair with traditional pageantry inscribed into its marrow, it physically embodies settler-colonial capitalist government sentiment in politically performed pageant meaning. A big part of the way the building did this is by equating progress with the establishment of permanent settler-colonial institutions to further enabling private enterprise in state-of-the-art facilities.

The pageant display of prestigious integrity at the opening is reified by it having been given shape financially as a collaboration between the federal, provincial and municipal government. It was built by these governing bodies as a symbol of the province's material and cultural development, the same way the young "spirit of enterprise" iconically embodied by the Golden Boy statue on the apex of legislature is a useful pictorial device thought to be deterministically expressive of the goals of the province. It, like its sister project the Dominion Government building (now called the Federal Building) (built 1935) became the recognisable civic faces of Winnipeg. The Federal building (1935) iconically represented the presence of Dominion government in the west, and the auditorium represented the civic face of the metropolis. (Iconically an occidentally Enlightened 'Golden Age' is usually represented in the form of a young boy)

Holistically, the auditorium signifies the same traditional progress narrative out of a state of 'barbarism' and into a state of technological progress or civilisation. The actors concerned sought to do this by facilitating educated processes of learning at the Museum and Art Gallery.

By providing performances of high culture within its theatre and music hall, it allowed the public to engage personally with the development of industry and technology demonstrated in its Industrial halls. At this time, industrial exhibitions were the most important way to attract farmers and immigrants to an area, and it was through their exhibits that new farm implements were sold.

The way the building was built was also a significant aspect of the way the architecture was thought to speak to the civic community. As a depression -era relief project it was intended to alleviate economic woe in Winnipeg thus suppressing civic discontent among the labour movement and foster greater national unity (loyalty and patriotism) in a place traditionally associated with desires for political independence and political disharmony.^{lxxiii} The political fear of Winnipeg's proletariat was likely the result of the 1919 General Strike. In order to achieve the British elites political agenda, the building was built in accord to both hierarchical political interests and the working classes' desire for labour. It was mandated that the building should be entirely to product of the labour, materials, and expertise of these Winnipeg citizens. If this was not possible, Manitoba labour could be enlisted. And if that was not possible Canadian labour could be sought. If what was needed was not available nationally, then Britain could be called upon as a last resort. The help of the USA was excluded, the project was entirely domestic.

The building was constructed utilising the highest aesthetic and technological standards of the day. It aimed to exhibit the idea that Winnipeg is a profitable location for



industrial growth. It articulates the Civic Auditorium as an ideological and materialist concept. It utilizes the locomotive development narratives of academia. (Photo 11: By Timothy Maton-Image of myself posing as international traveller)

The Civic Auditorium Expresses an Academically Museal and Historicist Principle

In British colonies the traditional Anglo-Saxon museum and history narrative begins by narrating the roots of civilization as an agricultural and industrial society that began in the area around Babylon and Egypt. It then traces this social milieu to Greece and Rome and upwards until it becomes Christian and eventually progresses and develops to become what many British scholars argued to be a holistically European social system (Bernal, 1978/ 2001). This story can be seen inscribed and memorialised upon Memorial Blvd. in the form of statutory around the civic centre. There is a variety of opinion in literature that engages with the Eurocentric narrative found in museal spaces iconographised at Legislature and the Civic Auditorium. However, to me, the Legislature feature seems modelled after the silhouette of ancient Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Fletcher and Fletcher, 1897) or the Tower of Babel (Lethaby, 1891). This same silhouette can be seen when looking at Saskatchewan and Alberta's legislature buildings (it is not one of a kind).

The Eurocentric historical narrative of historicism and museum is described differently by Chris Wingfield (2011) in reference to the political and narrative pretexts found in historicist museal architecture. He describes the British Museum (BM) as a reflection of “the ‘imperatives of nationalism’ in Britain... diluted by ‘its insular character and comparatively long-established political stability’” (2011, p125). And differently, but in a way comparable to that described in the work of M. Bernal (2001/ 1978), Wingfield sees a national dialogue constituted within the

informational rhetoric identified by the nation utilising exhibitionary institutions that offer focused civilizational narratives to avoid literal accounts of the domestic national narrative those national works embody.

While this view may be a stretch to study in relationship to the Civic Auditorium, nonetheless, I wonder what does it mean to embody a nationalist dialogue utilising museal works that are not literal patriotic narratives, but an working embodiment of that same sentiment? One can only speculate, but it could mean that, in the same way that the BM is intended to foster nationalism through its works without literally depicting the expression of national identity and patriotism as its goal. This concept would imply that British national sentiment is expressed more through how its work operate fundamentally at an informational level than in how these institutions are built to express the meaning of their civilizational dialogues in their more literal modes of communication.

For example, in the museal narrative, the apex of civilisational achievements is thought to be seen in how the nation scientifically developed the ability to produce great achievements in material form. Examples of this were commonly thought to be present in the architecture of public buildings like railway stations, canals, and public works (Benjamin, 1939/1982). Civilised nations would demonstrate their achievement and heightened status to other countries by comparing their Great Works to those that they portrayed as primitive.

In non-British (and non-French) European museums this process was less ideologically covert. As Wingfield says, unstable countries are often overtly nationalist in how their museums communicate scientific doctrine. In agreement with this the European Commission (2011) argues that more literal explanations of domestic culture are usually found in those nation-states

that are unstable, newly created, or who have had their history interrupted (for example by a revolution). In the EUNAMUS report whether or not nations directly intervene politically in how their museums are run is said to be an indicator of whether there is also stability in their civic histories. I think that some aspects of this situation applies to the Canadian Civic Auditorium because, even though it is not a national museum (it hosted the Manitoba Museum), it was meant to perform a role in pacifying and repatriating the metropole that is intersectional with this indicator-type of analysis.

British scientific narrative is conceptually predatory upon societies it seeks to depict as inferior, as 'others' or as outsiders. Wingfield does not specifically state this, but he narrates that the BM is the product of a stable and secure state with traceable and continuous histories. Historically, those nations Britain conquered or usurped control over were considered peripheral to itself and considered inferior because of a lack of historical continuity and a lack of material development (Mukerji, 1985- in reference to Max Weber). For national institutions, like the BM, the overall scientific theme is "The Progress of Civilisation" (p125) and generally, the institutional narrative there aims to discuss holistically the nature of civilisations located either outside the nation or in the past (p124). lxxiv

Civic Auditorium as Racist Sentiment Embedded in the Heart of Winnipeg

"(S)paces developed by the disciplined architect (...) protect the ruling class "depend on conforming to the dictates of the (global) capital of metropolitan economies"" (2007, p37- parenthesis added). He writes, "key to the creation and production of architecture- is a fundamental spatial privileging of whiteness that is a primary part of the foundation of the architectural discipline and start(s) from there. That's how the Indians got played in the courts- on the rare occasion when they got there. Punk-ass judges kept sayin' they didn't 'do' anything to the land, so they didn't 'own' it- at least according to Locke and the law- and somebody else just came and took what they thought was theirs and got away wid that shit. (Welcome to Amerikkka, y'all).

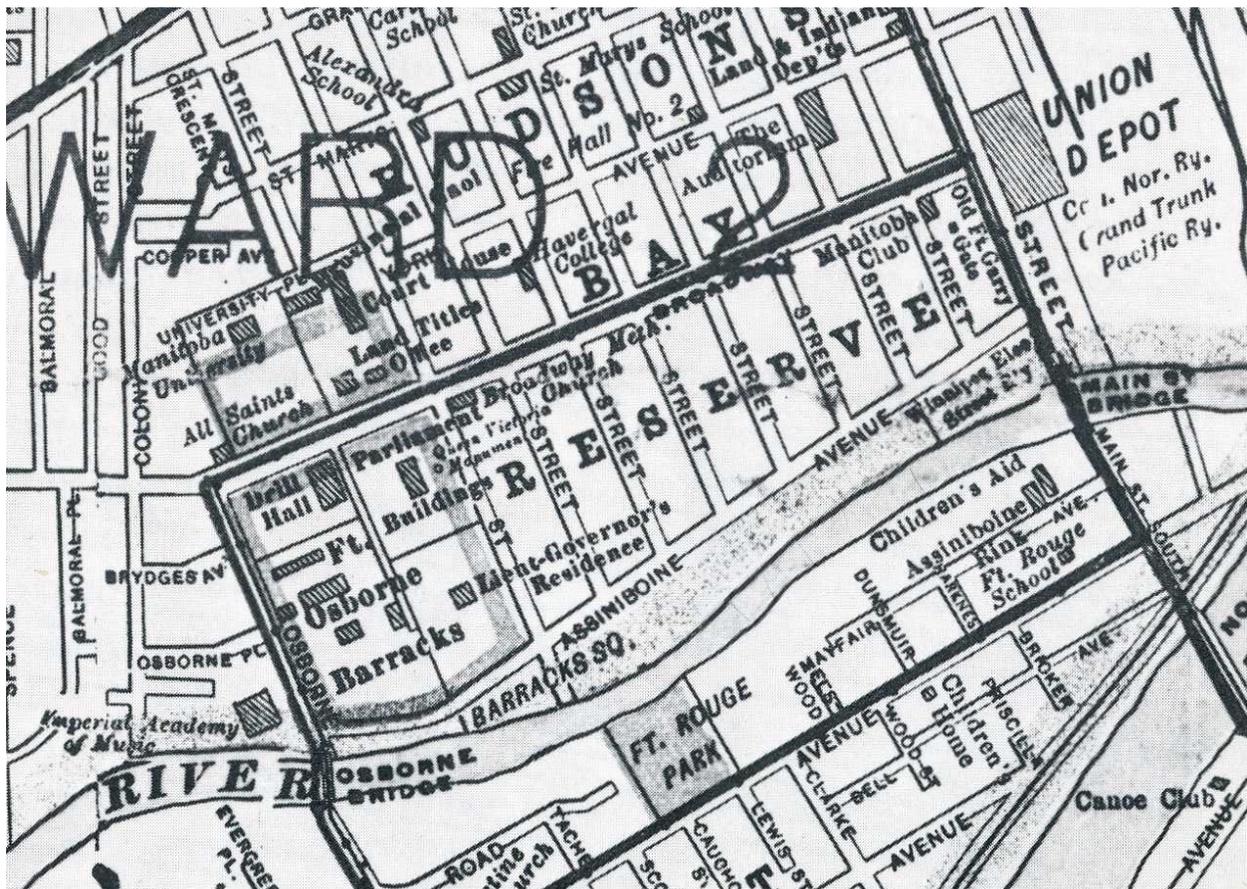
The new Civic Centre was built on the newly created 'Memorial Boulevard'. Memorial was designed utilising an aesthetic style derived from military and civic tactics and in the twenti-

eth century were intended to control racialised and lower class peoples. Memorial Blvd. is the connection point between Manitoba Legislature and the newly constructed Hudson's Bay Company Department Store (1925). It converges with Colony St. at Portage Avenue; transforming into Balmoral rd. when traveling North. This intersection was planned during the Edwardian era, but was not connected to Legislature as part of a parade until the 1970's. The street ended at Vaughan (where the power station is located) and it had been named and built only 7 years before the auditorium. It features a large open colonial vista that is seen when driving south on Balmoral to the intersection of Colony, Memorial, and Portage (Manitoba Historical Society, 2014- Streets of Winnipeg Online). The view is most literally understood when viewing the towering museal^{lxxv} architecture of the Legislature building, which is surrounded by statutory representing each of the civilized academic sciences (mathematics, the arts, and etc.). This Enlightenment statutory, crowned by the Golden Boy, can be seen dominating the vista anywhere from Portage St. at Memorial Blvd to the Assiniboine river and elsewhere around the core region. When Legislature and Memorial was first planned and completed in 1925, this vista was foremost on the mind of its builders, but it was not be completed until 1962 when the City and University of Manitoba sold their property there to the Province (until that time it was more a 'Plaza' or 'Mall' rather than 'Parade'). (2007; Benjamin, 1939/ 1982- on Haussman; City Planning Commission, 1911; Goldsborough, 2015; Kaufmann, 2009; Lokko, 2000- in reference City Beautiful and segregation).

The new street reinvented the city's core in 1925, and it was not the first time, nor the last, that the Dominion would try to 'modernise' the city utilising city planners (Artibise & Dahl, 1975). The new boulevard would act as a device redirecting traffic to make room for the monu-

mental expression of historicist governmental, academic and public works buildings. Doing this it drastically reduced the amount of traffic in the area. It also accentuated and distinguished the existing downtown shopping district along Portage Avenue, Main Street, Graham Mall, and St. Mary's Ave. It broke up the district and redirected traffic flow in the civic core, making room for a quiet elite upper-class and bourgeois civic centre.

The street plan made for an easily regulated oasis in the middle of the city. This elite centre allowed public servants and statesmen to mix with students and professors. It acted as a place of respite reserved for learned white bourgeois and upper-class folk obligated to work or live in the core. Before the Boulevard was built, the region was work-class and residential. In the 1880's it became the University of Manitoba's campus (where the BAAS visited on it's cross



country tour), and the small Parliament building and former military barracks were slated for demolition.^{lxxvi} (Photo 12: from Artibise, 1975)

Like in various African examples, the new colonial centre was established on the same location where its barracks had been located. Lower class houses in that area were simply bulldozed. This often repeated tradition is typical to colonial cities, and it often described as an ideologically high-modernist approach to urban planning (Lokko, 2000; Scott, 1998). In 1961, this aread was bull-dozed again, and utilising high-modernist ideals again, the city created Memorial park and gave it to the Province. This method extended Memorial Blvd and allowed for the realization of the City Beautiful's usual stem and axis system that had been, in Winnipeg's circumstance, planned and named "Mall" and "Plaza" (like Sparks in Ottawa) "Civic Centre". It was designed to complement Legislature and replace the modest governmental buildings and barracks (City Planning Commission, 1911) utilising a similar successional narrative to that it implemented when building those buildings.

Memorial Blvd. and the palatial Legislative building (Palais Legislatif) intentionally aggrandised civilisational motifs in order to drive-home the message that a new Dominion government's succession of power proceeded over-top of the previously modest and temporary colonial governmental district (1911). This civilisational motif inscribing its positional superiority (to paraphrase E. Said's 1979 *Orientalism* and Spivak's (1988) "Can The Subaltern Speak?") over top of (*sopra*) the past is common in all imperialistic and colonial nations. The pageantry imbued within the creation of the street symbolises a cultural transition from temporary barracks and Hudson's Bay fur-trade fort with it's London-based colonial government) and its transition from a military outpost into a Dominion with a landed and somewhat independent colonial gov-

ernment. Thus Dominion was situating its new monuments as testaments to state permanence kitty corner to the partially buried Colony rd. and river. ^{lxxvii}

The museal Legislative building was built to be a moralising and civilising influence upon the surrounding region. Like Legislature, the auditorium is an essentialist signifier of a transition or rebirth from religiously based government embodying secular and scientific ideals that, like in the Palais Legislatif, utilizes building typology traditionally associated with secular state craft (for example its Ionic columns are the most iconic and traditional way of signifying non-ecclesiastic government). Further, its museal crown features an iconic 'keystone' or 'arch' motif on its upper mausoleum-like rotunda (and this meaningful motif synchroneshes with Benjamin, 1939/1982, p153- quoting Noack).

Like in other colonial cities, the opening up of the grand vista that the City Planning Commission proposed (1911- quoting architect J. D. Atchison) in this area symbolically paraphrases what Norberg-Shulz describes as an Enlightenment rhetoric of democratic and pluralistic views into (a vista) of eternity (Norberg- Shulz, 1973/1994; Joint Committee, 1911). It utilises Christian Norberg -Shulz's conception of a linear and locomotive 'Mall' perspective simultaneously continuous with the heritage lineage of a centralised and totalising aesthetic treatments existing commonly within modern urban contexts. The aesthetic originates from the religious Byzantine world-view in pluralist early Enlightenment where-in ideas of cultural choice and non- *ai priori* empiricism are pre-eminent. Norberg -Shulz argues this type of colonial vista is both modernistic and Enlightenment in mode despite it having epitomised the hierarchically- arranged classical representation of museal and tomb-like eternal vistas in dome-symbolized network of centralized (imperial) power networks belonging in an old -world context (Jacobs, 1996).^{lxxviii}

In style, the Memorial Blvd. Mall is a quintessential 'colonial vista' demonstrating Euro-centric and aesthetic sentiments in a British picturesque setting^{lxxix} popular among metropolitan and colonial planners. As a colonial device it is common in among colonial cities around the world. Almost all of whom are built in this same beaux-art style during that time period. All of them adopted similar Art-deco neo -classic styles. The newer modernistic movement is an early and immature form of 'high -modernism', a fore-bearer of the coming Internationalist high -modernism (ibid; Lampugnami, 1986; Scott, 1998) that would become the trend in coming years.

In Winnipeg, like in other evolving colonies and nearly every Canadian metropolis (Goldborough, 2010) the central Mall is dedicated to celebration of a war memorial. The memorial is called the Winnipeg Cenotaph (built 1928). It represents an integral aspect of the governmental approach common in the civic planning of urban governmental centres, and as a civic structure it is meant to symbolise national pride and the unity of all political views in times of war and sacrifice.^{lxxx} The scheme utilized in the area is generally a result of what is called "Beaux -Art" planning or "City Beautiful" (Wright, 1991)^{lxxxi} in following the Garden City (1898) treatise of Ebenezer Howard and *Cite Industriale* (1901) by Tony Garnier (1973/ 1994; Winnipeg Free Press, 2014).^{lxxxii}^{lxxxiii}

The theoretical civic planning techniques developed within the traditionally centralised Beaux-Art model is utilized by planners in Washington, D.C. to build the National Mall, in Ottawa, Ontario^{lxxxiv}, at Alberta's Legislative Assembly (built 1912), and in Regina for their Legislature. It was also used in numerous other British and French Colonial cities (there are centrally important examples of it in India^{lxxxv}, Vietnam, China, and Africa, and the study of these various colonial circumstances resulted in the kind of critical approach to colonial planning I am engaged

in studying (Keshavjee, 2005; Wright, 1991)). The list of places that adopted it is lengthy, it is a truly international planning approach.

The scheme may have been partly inspired by the dominating medieval central plazas in capitol cities like London and Paris.^{lxxxvi} According to the City Planning Commission it was initially desired it be planned using St. James Place in Montreal as its premise (1911). In modern America, city architecture and society had ceased to be organised around religious centres and began to place increased aesthetic emphasis on secular civic buildings and places of commerce. Many resources affirm that there was a strong desire to express the separations between church, private commerce and government spatially. The new modern style developing is now a metropolitan phenomenon revised for the purposes of the new International Style.

Winnipeg's International Aesthetics were Derived from International Fairs and Exhibitions

In Winnipeg, I believe the most prominent influence upon the Civic Auditoriums aesthetics was the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition and 1933 Chicago World's Fair. These precedent - setting events redefined international architectural style to make the European style of big expos more palatable and attractive for American audiences. In 1891, Winnipeg believed it could compete economically with Chicago and international expositions were the chief way to do that.^{lxxxvii} When America built the Columbia Exposition as a Beaux-Arts and Chicago school scheme utilising America's top architects it was clear that this would be the style of the future. The Neo-Classical scheme was constructed around a central area with highly emphasized and symmetrical traffic routes and the typical "stem and axis" central transportation route with its open and endless vista (Wright, 1991). This is what we see in Winnipeg central today looking at Memorial. The Columbian expo is credited with having invented new aesthetics in North Amer-

ica, and its racism exhibitionary architecture is well known and documented by scholars who trace the development of world exhibitions and architecture (Kaufman, 2009, p206-213; Stoler, 2006). For example, in Ann -Laura Stoler's (ed.) *Haunted by Empire* (2006- referring to Wexler) she writes "Robert W. Rydall has portrayed the rampant racisms of world's fair expositions in Chicago and St. Louis as instrumental in assuaging class tensions in the United States." (p41). At the international expo the depiction of race in architecture was a common method of societal exposé utilized to divide and pacify a milieu targeted by these messages. For example, "(t)he White City" was meant (literally, as a 'white city'), and was as a massive exposé constructed almost exclusively by the elites of that time and it conveyed Anglo-Saxon superiority utilising achievements in industry curated through comparison between its own achievements and those more humble achievements found depicted in the ethnology exhibits also present at the fair.^{lxxxviii}

Interestingly, the Mayor and many other Winnipeg elites are known to have gone to witness the Chicago Exposition, Chicago being the closest large American metropolis to Winnipeg (Artibise, 1971; Turner, 2014). Several sources show that Winnipeg had hoped to surpass it until the construction of the Panama Canal in 1914 dashed the hope the Winnipeg's industry could grow to a comparable size^{lxxxix} (Artibise, 1979). City Council was not the chief decision maker in this matter however, and when the British president of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) chose to build Manitoba Legislature utilising the highly deterministic principles found there-in, City Council probably felt much obliged.

By 1932, Winnipeg no longer believed it could compete with Chicago, instead, I think the Civic Auditorium was built with a memory of when it believed it could. It mimicked the style of those larger exhibition centres utilising an updated Beaux-Arts scheme called New Classic and

Art Moderne. The cities intent was to match the late Edwardian aesthetics of Legislature and offer the city a highbrow public building independent of the private commercial centre (City Planning Commission, 1911). The aesthetic change indicated by renaming the aesthetics “New Classic” symbolically articulates a proto -evolutionary shift away from the Neo- Classical aesthetics of Legislature. The change in name succeeds the old with the new taking a French industrial aesthetic. It anglicises it by articulates it in relationship to the Commonwealth aesthetic tradition. (City of Winnipeg, 2003; Lampugnami, 1986; McMordie, 2013; RAIC, 1932)^{xc}

Examples of similar Canadian projects built utilising in a centralised (and imperialistic) Beaux- Art and City Beautiful style are Ottawa’s Parliament (1922 and 1927) and War Memorial (1925) and Manitoba Legislature (1919/1920) and Next of Kin First World War Memorial (1923- Winnipeg). Winnipeg’s Mall and Civic Cenotaph (1928- Designed by local architect Gilbert Parfitt) and the Hudson's Bay Department store (1925) are also conceived in this way. All of the former buildings utilise similar design principles (having been built as international architecture between 1925 and 1926), and major statements of deterministic ideals exist not just in how their aesthetics are envisioned but also in who built them.^{xcⁱ} In Winnipeg, all the former international-ist projects were built by non-domestic designers, and sometimes also by non-domestic contractors. In Winnipeg’s commercial core several Chicago Style buildings were built entirely by local labour, but as private enterprise buildings they were not recognized having achieved the same level of achievement that public buildings were usually credited with in the traditional planning scheme^{xcⁱⁱ}. In the initial building boom in the beginning of the 1900’s, many prestigious projects were built by American, British, or German architects, and a couple were also designed by firms based in Montreal (Turner, 2014), and for the most part these projects expressed a colonial state

of dependence on bigger more developed nations.^{xciii}

The Winnipeg Auditorium, Civic Centre, Mall and Cenotaph were contracts designed and executed by Manitobans. In 1932, the Civic Auditorium had been funded by the Federal, Provincial and Municipal government as co-operative efforts and intended to pacify a civic body with a recent history of unrest (O'Neil, 2014- "The General Strike, 1919"). For the first time government was adopting a non-historicist aesthetic. The dissimilarity between the neo-classical and art-deco/ new classic/ arte moderne form was a considerable break from the traditional. It would, as portrayed in Adorno (1981) and Derrida (1994, p77-94) utilise that break to describe a teleological view of history portraying a figurative "world that was out of joint" full of "wears and tears" in comparison to the older religious orders of knowledge. The new aesthetics of evolutionary modernism is conceived as the religious epistemology upside down. It calls into question clear absolute truths and attempts to reestablish the cold factuality of science through specific enunciations of known fact.

The auditorium is a first attempt to civilise a peripheral community with little access to the now religiously decontextualised absolute truth discourses being distributed by large European metropolitan institutions.^{xciv} It aims at facilitating the modernisation of the Canadian identity and encouraging further speculation upon the meaning of the future as well as the past. In the Adornian and Derridian sense, it expresses the idea of a unified civilization having become upside down, reseated in culturally and religiously plural and cosmopolitan metropolitan world predicated upon the future tense. And in a speculative and circumstantial fashion, there is a sense of cultural uncertainty, and a sense that the project at hand had to be simultaneously a celebration of tradition, and a break from it (or breaking of it). This is literally seen illustrated in the

details of the building. . This could have happened either by accident and intent, as shown by the seemingly misplaced cornicing and possibly upside-down and reinvented Spanish and perhaps also Aztec style of the Ionic capitals. Whether these features of the building, (designed by J. N. Semmens and implemented by the Committee) are intentional (a view facilitated by original architectural drawings) or accidental (perhaps Winnipeg contractor was unfamiliar with the correct positioning of the ammoniac horns of an Ionic order), the resulting building expresses that Derridean idea that the historical tradition is situated in the modern world while simultaneously misunderstood and off -its -hinges (it is *détraqué*: out-of- order /joint). In this sense, it could be imagined as a facility useful for processes related to the Marxist idea of the ‘metamorphosis’ of society into a newer or more progressive form than that found in previous epochs. It could also be, in this sense, motivated as a historical event embodying the end of the previous epoch and the beginning of the new one. (see p17 for image of Ammon)

In the literal sense proclaimed by political leaders and interested citizens, the building is a celebration of the forward movement of western culture. It utilizes the locomotive progress narrative and seeks to avoid recapitulation of the supposed barbarism said to exist in the previous epoch of the Fur -Trade (Adorno, 1981, p176).^{xcv} (Lokko, 2000, p50; Winnipeg Free Press, p2 + 3 + 9)^{xcvi}.

The (Manitoba) Museum of Man and Nature and the Regional Settler Colonial Apparatus

In Canada, architectural development projects traditionally shadows the historicist posturing of the Hudson's Bay Company and commonly eludes to its pre-emptive governing status in Canada. This formula is used foster patriotism in the Civic body and to advertise the department store. The HBC, like the Canadian Industrial Bureau, saw the ethnographic and anthropological

materials associated with Indigenous culture as an opportunity to advertise the new industrialist approach to understanding linear development in Canada's northern territories. Long before (and after) the Civic Auditorium established its museum, the HBC was maintaining a large museum collection, featuring it in its stores (Winnipeg, Victoria and Vancouver), and sending Indigenous cultural and sacred objects around the world to advertise Canadian products and facilitate investments that would upturn Indigenous rights and their special relationships with the land. The use of material culture in this way is a key method still utilized by Industry today. It results in industrial advertisement campaigns, historical examples being the "Columbia River Special" that toured by rail built into a train car (1926). Important ones are "Hudson's Bay Company display at the Explorers Club in New York" (1941) and the Internationale Modeausstellung in Vienna (1933).^{xcvii} (Museum of Manitoba, 2014- Hudson's Bay Gallery). Also considerable is the large expedition sent out by Cambridge University in 1929 called the Franklin Motor Expedition (Brown, 2014). This international expedition collected a large percent of the Cambridge Natural History Museum's anthropological collection. It did this by visiting Canada's Indigenous peoples, knowing that they were being oppressed by government controlled reserves and in residential schools (Brown and Peers, 2006; Sinclair, 2015- government interference in Indigenous lives was most intense in the 1930's), and utilising this fact as leverage to attain traditional artifacts from them before their race 'vanished'. Those artifacts, alongside other urban collections, illustrate the importance of collecting material culture in perpetuating the HBC and British governments' exploitation of Indigenous culture in hope of validating its own scientific narrative through devaluing the vernacular culture that it sees itself having a right to succeed. The promotional materials and the nature of the message it issued in 1932 as well as its physical prox-

imity to the government approach, in addition to the nature of the pluralistic vista of the government centres in both Winnipeg and Ottawa, demonstrate that the scientific exhibitionary apparatus being developed for the Civic Auditorium and the exploitation of Indigenous culture was occurring in partnership, or side-by-side.^{xcviii}

In Manitoba, it is difficult to over-state the importance of the connection between Museal exhibitions, industrial capitalism, and the misrepresentation of Indigenous identity. For both government and private corporations, museal exhibitions is seen as a primary way of showcasing the commodities of its territories (Museum of Manitoba, 2015), and these exhibitions are commonly presented under the guise of a patriotic historicism and exclude a fair representation of Indigenous peoples and how their culture has been exploited by the ideality behind these Anglo-Saxon formulations of a Lockean virtue-based industrial milieu (Porter, 2010).

The settler-colonial milieu advertises new infrastructural and architectural projects as well as the material resources and their cultural manifestations stolen from Indigenous peoples for the purpose of attracting land speculators and investors from around the world. It seeks to demonstrate the key role those exhibitions would play in development of scientific education programming of the colony (The Manitoba Museum, 1944; Tribune, 1933; Freepress, 1932, p7). This approach to fostering civic growth in Winnipeg utilising Indigenous material culture is not exclusive to the HBC department store, having also been utilized by Winnipeg's T. Eaton store. At Eaton's a futuristic and revised Museum of Man and Nature opened its first exhibition. This moment was documented having hosted visits to the store from 50, 000 people after it having been put on by the Natural History Society there. The Natural History Society became the custodians of the Museum of Man and Nature (Free Press, 1932) responsible for documenting and

maintaining the exhibits there.

The exhibitionary narratives found in these displays blurs the line between industrial advertisement and scientific museum and were key to the establishment of the auditorium (Bennett, 1932). At the University of Manitoba, whose campus was less than a block away, this claim is supported by the key role the travel accounts of the BAAS among other major exploratory and scientific surveys and exhibitions played in the earlier affairs of British imperialism and land theft occurring in the 19th century. In the make-up of the boards and committees responsible for organisation of the Civic Auditorium, there is no clear distinction between the interests of government and the interests of large private businesses.

For critically minded academics, it is obvious that the neutrality of science is in fact a bias in favour of Western industrial ideals. In this sense, it is an exhibitionary venue intended to help Winnipeg grow economically and showcase the skills and commodities of the region. This directly implicates it as an essential key to understanding the rise of settler -colonialism in Western Canada's institutions

While Indigenous people's material culture is not specifically mentioned in the opening account for the auditorium. The collecting and exhibiting of material culture is a key facet of why the civic community built it (Artibise, 1975/ 1910; Bennett, 1995; Brown, 2014; McGuinley, 1932, p1+ 2). The creation of the urban metropolis and its exhibitionary apparatus is possibly as important to national development and processes of land claiming as the Dominion Survey projects that facilitated the cartographic processes instrumental to Dominion claims because it not only gives business people the facilities to plan and network their development schemes, it also provides them with access to knowledge of what resources and tools were available there.^{xcix}

ii: The Eurocentric Processes associated with Scientific Enlightenment exhibited in Winnipeg's Civic Core

Christian Norberg -Shulz (1973/ 1994) offers an interesting interpretation of the ideological meaning driving the creation of a centralised and philosophically Enlightenment -centric civic centre like that in Winnipeg (and Ottawa). Norberg-Shulz describes the civic centre's Mall and auditorium as a fundamentally pluralistic and European conceptualization of space. I think his conceptualization of the meaning of this space is remarkably close to how Winnipeg positioned the creation of it's civic centre as an exhibitionary Mecca, with its key location for public works and other formal building types. What Norberg -Shulz does not address is the manner that these ideas facilitated the exclusion of non-European world -views. This excluded and erased element will be described here.

Winnipeg's governmental approach, the Mall, was named in 1926 for the Winnipeg Cenotaph that would be built in 1929 to be dedicated to soldiers who died in World War I. The Cenotaph we know today was designed by a local Winnipeg designer, Gilbert Parfit. Parfit was the second place prize winner after two consecutive Cenotaph design competitions. The reason for his success in being chosen was the product of a highly essentialist debacle based in highly contentious politics of identity dominating the time period. Parfit was chosen because he was a British -born citizen, and the 1st place winner



(Mr. Emmanuel Hahn) was disqualified after the community decided that having been German-born he was not fully- Canadian. It was decided his identity should not be allowed to represent soldiers who had died during the war in Germany. In the second competition, his wife, Elizabeth Wood, won, and was also disqualified because of their marriage. The patriotic sentiment of the day disqualified them because, despite having lived most of their lives in Canada, their fellow citizens saw their national identity, or that of the male designer's body, super imposed upon the civic body because of the design of the monument. Thus, an ideological positionality that equates the body and nationality of the designer with the final design is reflected by the aesthetics of design itself. (Wylie, 1963- See Footnote 6 +36 for explanation of my position on essentialism; Photo 13: Timothy Maton- of Memorial Cenotaph)

Essentialist and deterministic comprehensions of the meaning of the architecture are found ubiquitously in the spirit of the 1930's. Upon the entrance to the auditorium directly across from the Cenotaph are inscriptions with Anglo-Saxon national symbols. They were inscribed into the Cenotaph's physical fabric utilising the decorative and nationalistic rhetoric of inscription. Glaringly absent from this memorial are non-Commonwealth European national symbols like the Fleur -de -Lys. Today the Fleur -de -Lys is a recognised founding national symbol in Canada. It is present on old Chicago style private commercial buildings of the civic core, for example in the old commercial district along Garry St. between Ellice and Portage, close to the old A.A. Heaps' Bank of Nova Scotia building (built in 1910 and renovated in 1931) with its Gaiety Theatre- like and Byzantine -styled dome. Today the Fleur -de -Lys is present on the chief instrument of Legislature, the Mace. However, as indicated by the City Planning Committee in 1911, the Civic Centre's architecture had been intended to contrast with the Commercial Centre with its French

iconography. In-so-doing the government had wished to embody an architectural hierarchy that also circumstantially established a cultural hierarchy that placed Anglo-centric culture at the top, while more republican and Catholic ideas were devaluated as less virtuous, private expressions of the corporate civic identity, while public art was meant to stand for it as a whole. For example the planning committee suggested there should be a contrast between these commercial buildings and those built by or belonging to the government in the Civic Centre. They wrote,

“(i)n all schemes designed for the improvement of cities an effort should be “made to so locate buildings of a public character that each will be seen to the best advantage, and the entire group of buildings will represent the public activities, and taken together will form a Civic Centre. Such buildings will necessarily be of such importance that they will be monumental in character and of the highest standard of architecture, in contrast with buildings erected by private individuals for purely commercial purposes” (1911, p237).

While the Fleur -De -Lys maybe glaringly absent from the symbolism of Cenotaph and the Memorial entrance to the Civic Auditorium, there are other more universal symbols prominently displayed in a number of locations. These symbols are the classically styled Enlightenment lamp (which England had their own version of called ‘Toc H’) and English lion iconography. Over the entrance from the Cenotaph into the Theatre is found the rose of England, thistle of Scotland and shamrock of Ireland.

Conversely, if you look at the ethnicity of Winnipeg’s soldiers who fought in the war, the vast majority of them were not Anglo-Saxon. Yet looking at World War One exhibitions in Millennium Library and at the Museum of Manitoba, it seems questionable whether soldiers the state chose to document beautifully in order that their profile could be presented exhibitions intended to latently foster patriotism, loyalty and remembrance had been chosen because of their service record or because of their ethnicity (2014). In Winnipeg, people of Anglo-Saxon descent tended to be of the upper classes and frequently found placement in upper-rank administrative positions. Meanwhile, the soldiers who served in the trenches were usually recruited from job-

bers (like the Métis) and lower class people (of a variety of ethnicities) who lacked other opportunities.

Given the nature of Remembrance Day celebrations, a large hall was needed to house the crowds who attend the annual celebrations, civic ceremony and memorials. In these halls, the quality of picturesque representations was of tantamount to the success of the event. This is also an important factor necessary for understanding how the architecture was conceived and why the building was useful in its present location. There is even distinct possibility that the Civic Auditorium could have been envisioned as a project that could facilitate the direct intervention of the hand of state in the affairs of the civic body, which is a role traditionally seen as contravening democratic principles. In Britain, this idea would have been highly controversial, but it was less so in the colonies, and in the nineteen thirties with the rise of revisionist government ideology this idea was becoming increasingly tolerable among Tory politicians. For example, James Scott (1998) describes the way federal social engineering projects were being built in the nineteen thirties to "administer society" on behalf of British and American governments.



This possibility was also supported in-part by Tony Bennett's thesis in *Birth of the Museum*

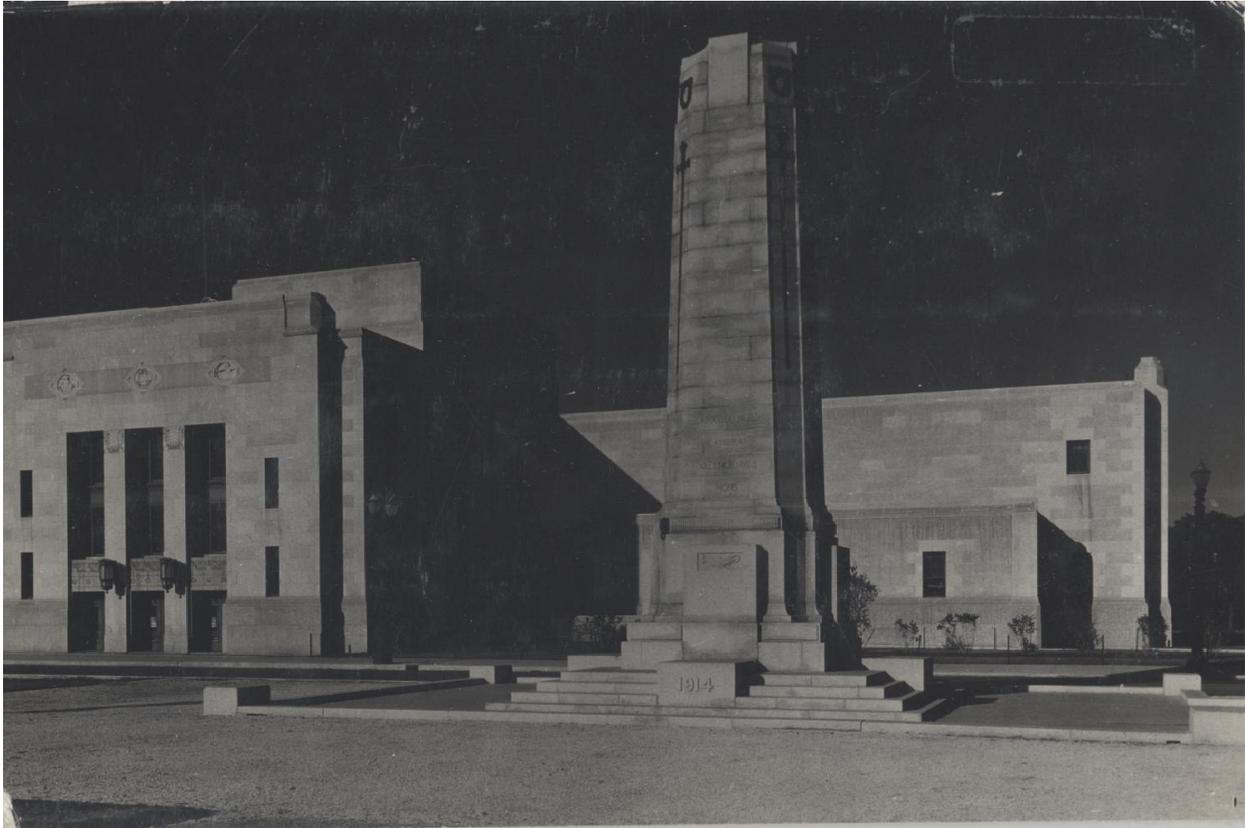
where he explores exhibitionary apparatus as a key tool utilized by states to acculturate and pacify citizens. For T. Bennett (1995) (and correspondingly C. Whitehead (2011) and C. Wingfield (2011) who also inspire my thinking about this idea), the delivery of a covert nationalist rhetoric with a museum lay-out was seen as a contravention of scientific and democratic principles. Even military themed museums in Britain usually shy away from delivering a unified nationalist message, however, they usually aimed to *embody* that nationalist rhetoric rather than name it explicitly. (Photo 14: Timothy Maton- showing Anglo Saxon symbols inscribed in door by Cenotaph)

In *Seeing Like a State* (1998), James Scott describes there being a peak in the number of government-led projects intended to directly -govern civic politics during the thirties depression era (p97). He associates this tendency with markedly colonial and military -themed buildings, making it distinctly possible that the Civic Auditorium was also conceived this way. The view seems particularly pertinent here since the auditorium is quite literally described as a project intended to suppress civil unrest in Winnipeg. It is there-for not just a question of how the government sought to use the exhibitionary apparatus' to educate a diverse populace and help them adopt Anglo-Saxon civilizational values, identity and patriotic attitudes but also a question of whether the government sought to directly intervene in how that message was being delivered and facilitated utilising a supposedly secular architectural apparatus.^c In Britain itself this ideological approach was not favoured because it was seen as the expressive of an philosophically anti-scientific and anti-democratic point of view. In the 1930's Scott (1998) points out that there were a higher number of exceptions to this traditional view that government should not be involved in the administration of reputable and scientific public education institutions (like the museums and the university) because this would turn those scientific institutions into politically -

biased institutions and destroy their reputation as ideologically neutral institutions

On the Winnipeg Mall there was an embodied pageantry in the auditorium having been sandwiched between Legislature and the HBC in the long vista connecting these two iconic buildings. Their patriotic symbolism embodied a view into Canadian heritage in the West. At the fountain head of Memorial at Portage St. the HBC stationed itself as the preemptive father of the growth of the City. As the previous landlords of the property they built their story on the site where colony creek had intersected with Portage, and where Colony St. intersected with Memorial it was succeeded and changed its name. The Civic Centre was located here on the land that had previously been the “Government Reserve” and simultaneously “the H.B.C.o’s Reserve” later having these Rupert’s Land era properties transferred over to ownership by Manitoba and Winnipeg respectively much like in the Dominion Land Transfer act when Ruperts Land came to be owned by Manitoba and Canada (Artibise & Dahl, p24)). Because of this history, the HBC saw itself having an invested interest in the growth of the region (Tribune, 1932, p7; Artibise & Dahl, 1975, p42- “Ward 2, 1910”).^{ci} Both the Legislature building and the HBC department store were built here between 1925 and 1926 to belong to the street itself (for example the street is memorialised on the HBC building).

On the first page of the *Winnipeg Tribute* article, Watt describes the Auditorium being located on “the approach from Portage to the government buildings”(p1), however the main entrance is actually from Vaughan St. or from St. Mary’s on the other side. It is purely my speculation that the entrance inscribed with roses and thistles and shamrocks (all Anglo-Saxon symbols) on Memorial Boulevard may have been an entrance specifically designed for these members of the elite, as well as veterans, however it is a speculation that could prove to be an accurate rep-



resentation of how the building was designed to be used.^{cii} (Photo 15: Sinaiticus, 1933)

iii: The Civic Auditorium is a History -Making Project

Winnipeg's amazingly collaborative and multi-use auditorium is frequently omitted from history books, even by experts whose focus is upon Winnipeg's architectural history. The reason for this is unclear. I think the creators of Winnipeg's Auditorium hoped to help the civic body synchromesh with the achievements of Chicago. ^{ciii}

The Civic Auditorium sought to attract people to Winnipeg in the same way that the International Exposition and Selkirk Centennial (1911) had attracted them for the purpose of immigration. Those expos were thought of as a way to help bring Winnipeg out from the shadow of the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition (1898) (Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, 1911, p149). In 1933 the Winnipeg was once again about to be eclipsed by the vastly influ-

ential Chicago World Fair (1933) being built to follow –up the Columbian Exposition (1893) . This time, perhaps, the traditional relationship with the bigger Chicago economy actually aided the city economically.

In Canada the government wanted to limit cooperation with America, but they hoped to capitalise off being in the vicinity of a larger economic market. In the time period, it is impossible to over emphasise the importance of exhibitionary apparatus to the development of trade in the region. Building these large exhibitions the Canadian state sought to expand existing industries and compete in a world market. (ibid)^{civ}

In accord with Johannes Fabian's (1983) idea of 'informational rhetoric', I felt that the situating of the *Winnipeg Tribune* article about the opening of the Civic Auditorium with its symbolic portraits of the heads of state are not coincidentally formal. Their stylistic aesthetics clearly validates their media-based communicative rhetoric by conjuring airs of expertise. The format of the newspaper sought to invoke a sense of authority and aggrandize it as a high-level achievement. Yet Lt. Col. G. Pousette (who was the Executive secretary of Tourist and Convention Bureau), cautiously steers clear of making any comparison between Winnipeg and its traditional competitor (Chicago) in his article headlined with the question “How Does this Auditorium Compare with Others?” (1932, p9). In it he focuses primarily upon auditoriums in the USA, but omits any detail about the existence of an auditorium and exhibitionary apparatus in the Windy City, despite having been doubtlessly aware that there was another upcoming World’s Fair also premised around the birth of America after Christopher Columbus’ mythical voyage to the New World and complementing Americas subsequent industrialized fairytales of progress.

The way that the Executive Secretary of Tourist and Convention Bureau buries comparison

between Winnipeg and Chicago (placing the Chicago Auditorium at the bottom of a rather long list of larger American city auditoriums), made it clear that comparison with its competitor was not welcome. The Board of Trade representative clarified that other auditoriums were in consideration during the planning process. As Gillait writes,

“(t)his commission (which includes the architects) had the appointment of the auditorium manager and after many applications were considered selected Mr. E.G. Parker. (who was then sent out and)... made a visit of inspection (at) other similar institutions in the United States where he studied methods of management and plans found most successful, returning to this city to take over his duties.” (Gillait, p10).

How then can a person say that this auditorium is incidental in not comparing itself to that of Chicago? Instead, I think perhaps Winnipeg had accepted it's having been dwarfed by the accomplishments of its neighbours in the south, but was utilising the same iconographic architectural symbols (of Columbia and Columbus and the primitive) that were being planned as the zeitgeist of the Worlds Fair.

iv: The Enlightenment's Big Question: "What is Humanity?", Race- Based Thinking

I see the Enlightenment's big question regarding human nature properly understood in context of the Enlightenment milieu posing this question as a central tenet in its philosophical inquiries. The question itself tells us something about what type of meaning that Enlightenment society wanted to promote through scientific thinking. It seems redundant yet strangely necessary that I point out that the big question, 'what is humanity?', calls into question the nature of humanity. There can be no doubt that asking this question in a scientific context results in dissection and classification of humans into categories (like of belonging to the English-School and British Museums from whence these taxonomies developed).

For scientific society, the big question led to the creation of distinct forms and categories of humanity dissimilar to the revisionist unificatory project proposed by UNESCO in 1951. The

universalistic Enlightenment project had until that time sought to divide humanity into separate categories, different race groups. The invocation of humanity as a universal unity was dissimilar to its historic approach, and undoubtedly revisionist reinvention of a secular Eurocentric frame-of-mind systematically attempting to achieve the converse objective until it changed direction. In essence, the big question implies humanity is many different things compared divisively, and not one unified concept primarily consisting of similarities not dissimilarities. I think looking at how this question divided humanity before World War II shows how the question structured the milieu and exposes the modernist precepts of the post-1951 attempt to revise the universalistic answers to the question in a contemporary age.

The official answer to the big question could typically be found by visiting a national museum where racist dialogue was still officially permissible and described as scientific truth even after the 1951 UNESCO statement in 'The Race Question' revised the Internationalist answer. Afterwards the question was quietly pushed aside by international legal bureaucrats and scientific racial divisions continued to be exhibited in the categories and exhibitions presented at prestigious institutions. The theoretical concept of human nature originating from positivism was a powerful guiding force behind the development of Enlightenment consciousness as a whole, and throughout the modernistic era at international expositions first pioneered by Charles Garnier in his "l'habitation humaine" exhibits.^{cv}

It was the official science that sought to describe the humanity (both aesthetically and genealogically) that cities premised their race-based spaces upon to enforce racial divides. In later times the definition of who was human and who was not had human changed by the 1930's (Bindman, 2002 describes the rise of National Socialism in relationship to British School and

German School evolutionary doctrine), but the built environment that had been built premised on these ideas could only evolve in a much slower fashion.^{cvi} In cities, the principled organisation of human life into hierarchical spaces was intended to privilege, assimilate, and exclude certain types of human groups (as shown in Kaufmann, 2009; Porter, 2010; Scott, 1998) and these formulations of space were a critical aspect in colonial city planning. And in Winnipeg's context, it is important to consider who was being considered fully human and who was being given privileged access to particular architectural spaces when the Civic Auditorium was built.^{cvii}

In 1932, the British and Dominion culture was primarily organised along hierarchical class lines. For example, Simon Knell (et. al.) writes that "Class had developed into a national obsession with coming of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions. England (and Britain) became the testing grounds (for classist structures)... that would be exported to much of Europe" (Knell & et. al, 2011, p 69). These class divisions were so definitive and long lasting, all males citizens were finally allowed to vote in Britain in 1918, and women were finally given permission vote ten years later (putting the UK ten years behind Canada). In Canada this history is a little different, with women being first permitted to vote in 1918, and in Manitoba they had already won the right in 1916.

Thinking about this, it seems Canadian history might be less elitist than British history, however the models that sculpted our social structure tended to originate from overseas. In Britain, for example, Knell et. al. writes about it being,

"(t)he establishment of the Labour Party (that) disrupted a system of rival conservative interests, becoming the dominant party for the first time in 1929. The stage was now set for a new era of adversarial politics centred on polarised class positions" (ibid- parenthesis added).

In Britain and Canada, the Labour Party coming to power likewise reflected a fundamental shift in the way the milieu was conceptually organising itself in regard to elitism, and I think that can

be seen in the aesthetics and architecture of the Civic Auditorium because, as a political project, the building was aimed at placating labour during the Great Depression.

Winnipeg was traditionally the strong hold of the Labour Party. Winnipeg has long been a place where Labour oriented Members of Parliament were elected. It was the place where the Trades and Labour Congress formed, causing the the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike (Frank, 2006). The fact that the General Strike allowed cohesion between competing political labour groups to occur in a time of crisis was likely the reason Winnipeg's civic environment was considered a serious threat to the status quo during this time. According to the Free Press and RAIC, the Civic Auditorium was built as a "stabilising" and "pacifying" project, and it was intended to give work to a potentially disquieted and politically antagonistic labour force. Winnipeg's history of unrest must have been at the forefront of the minds of the politicians when they authorized the funding for the Civic Auditorium project.

Despite the fear of labour, in the hierarchical class system enabled by modern industrial capitalism Indigenous people were not fully included as citizens nor recognized having suffrage in Canada until 1962. Even their status as politically recognisable people may have been in question. For example, in the curriculum put forward by Manitoba Education records that,

"Citizenship issues are complex for Aboriginal peoples. For example, the original Indian Act defined and legislated the term persons as "anyone other than an Indian." Although this language has unofficially been dropped from usage, the legislation has never been repealed. In addition, First Nations peoples were not enfranchised to vote in federal elections until 1962. [In fact First Nations were granted the right to vote in federal elections in 1960. This right to vote was conditional on being enfranchised by the province or territory of residence]" (Fonesca et. al., 2011, p7).

v: The Architectural Symbolism of J. N. Semmens: its Historical Context in Civic Planning Theories of the Times, and a Concept of built Personae

J. N. Semmens is responsible for designing the building's decorative inscriptions. The designs he chose to inscribe are simple and minimal compared to the elaborateness of inscriptions

present on other buildings of comparable caliber built before that time. When describing the inscriptions, architectural journals refer to them in a manner most contemporary people could misunderstand. Terms like ‘modern’ and ‘modernistic’ appear to describe aesthetics that appear to be clearly vernacular or primitive.^{cviii} Many people would very likely be tempted to say that art-deco aesthetics seem to depict the antithesis of modernity, to a contemporary like myself they have a decidedly science fiction or dystopian feel to them. However this interpretation would be a gross misinterpretation of the intent of the architect when he inscribed them there since they were styled utilising new aesthetics considered modernistic. In other words, to the modern lay person, it could seem that the building is a celebration of ‘savage’ and ‘aboriginal’ and it seems to look backwards in time, not forward. The reason for this is that those aesthetics are retro to how we see futuristic aesthetics today. When the building was constructed, however, its aesthetics were thought of as an embodiment of the future, not symbolic of the past.

The confusion over what the building says, and what it is supposed to say, is exacerbated by the official account of what the building’s aesthetics are said to mean in official publications.

The secretary of the architectural board writes that,

“(t)he architectural design is a simple adaptation of Neo-Classic with modernistic motifs rather sparingly but effectively used, the chief reliance for architectural effect having been placed on the lines and mass of the structure itself. This has helped to bring out in a striking manner the value of our Manitoba limestone” (Watt, 1932- parenthesis added).

Further, *Construction Journal* describes it as “characterised by modernity.. simplicity” (Sinaiticus, 1933, p277). In Canada’s chief architectural journal the inscriptions are called “a simple adaptation of Neo-Classic with modernistic motifs” (RAIC, 1932, p167). In these journals there is no mention of vernacular or aboriginal influences upon the designs chosen. The style is described as ‘art-deco’ even though this is the term most art historians would call it looking back-

wards from the vantage point of today. To claim they are future-focused you must look at the presence of the exact same aesthetics in other international publications, and there you see that association is very clearly enunciated (Billman & Gill, 1991; Lochhead, 2011; McIntyre, 2011). In our regional literature, however, this dialogue appears to have been erased or omitted.

To me, the imagery itself appears to be a blend of modernised American, western or Neoclassical and aboriginal themed imitations of older European styles. The corn cob capitals look to me like they are Spanish, and are maybe even influenced by Aztec design. The presence of this vernacular style poses an interesting question for my research. Why would a civic architecture committee use primitivist icons and aboriginal themes, describe them as ‘modern’ and ‘simple’, and utilize a style that invokes both Americanism and vernacularity? (Lochhead, 2011; McIntyre, 2011)

In this section, I have tried to decode why the architectural committee intentionally sought to use aboriginal or supposedly ‘primitive’ iconography in order to negate the importance of Indigenous culture and aesthetically facilitate the development of an identity that seeks to usurp the role Indigenous people play as the rightful custodians of the land. In this chapter I argue that the aesthetics used to underline the successional and progress -orientation of an agro-industrial ‘modern’ culture was believed to be incompatible aboriginal society. In this section I illustrate how a conflict is literally present in the inscriptions found upon the building.

When doing this, I have not engaged with the inscriptions as aesthetic appropriation because they are never described by the committee as being aboriginal in origin. Coming to this conclusion in too totalising a manner, for example, condemning the use of Indigenous aesthetics as an act of appropriation, could ignore the fact that Indigenous aesthetics were not being re-

spected within the art architecture academy when it reinvented their aesthetics. In the 1930's Indigenous craft is not considered art. It is debatable whether they would appropriate its aesthetics in order to represent a brand new institution. In that time period, doing so would have served as a compliment to Indigenous aesthetics by putting it on a pedestal, and I do not believe that was their intent when building the facility. Instead, I see it as an act of identity appropriation rather than cultural appropriation. I believe that they invented their imagery of the Indian, it was not appropriated from Indigenous culture in the same way that we see fashion doing it today.

I believe it is important to resist quickly judging the use of Indigenous iconography as an act of aesthetic appropriation (the word means taking something without the owner's permission) in this specific situation. I think this for two reasons. The first is the idea behind the image presented by the Civic Auditorium is probably an entirely western invention. It originates from within the imagination of westerners and whether it might be an appropriation of North American Indigenous aesthetics is debatable. In fact, it might be worse than that, it could be a wholesale rejection of the validity of Indigeneity, and doing that could mean it is also a rejection of aboriginal aesthetic concepts in favour of their own invented ideas about the Indian.

Debatably, it could plausibly also be an appropriation of Aztec aesthetics, however there appears to be no evidence to support this perception. It seems more arguable that the aesthetic influence that it presents as aboriginal is Spanish, and intended to celebrate Columbus' discovery of America. It seems possible that Mexico or South America is responsible for doing a knock-off of Indigenous aesthetics when producing its style? The Columbian aesthetic gesture would make sense for reasons that will be talked about later in this section, and could be a reference to the Chicago World Fair and the Columbian Exposition (both named for the myth of Columbus' dis-

covery of America). There is a large canon of literature that would support the idea that the use of Indigenous identity and theme in architecture in the 1930's was intended as an expression of western aesthetics, and the way this idea and the reasoning behind it operated will be expanded upon in the next several paragraphs.

In my view the building's aesthetics are similar to that described in Berkhofer's book *The White Man's Indian* (1979) or in J. Huhendorfs (2001) *Going Native* where she describes the work of Vine Deloria (2001) when developing a critique of the invented Indian. This canon describes aboriginal iconography, like that found on the Civic Auditorium, as a product of the western imagination and its perceptions of Indigenous peoples and not as an accurate representation of Indigenous aesthetics. As such, the auditorium inscription could be an appropriation of Indigenous identity and not their aesthetics despite their being visibly Aztec-like stylings and an attempt at American pan-Indianism. It seems relevant to question whether these aesthetics stylized Aztec resemblances are Mayan or an attempt to appropriate the identity of that style for nationalistic reasons? (Further conclusions could be investigated through looking at Art Deco publications from around the world)

I cannot entirely answer this question because I am not an expert on Indigenous aesthetics and I have not been able to find evidence to support that idea. It is difficult for me to analyse this information because the Civic Auditorium architects only reference western origins in their written materials. In North America, aboriginal aesthetics did not become recognised in high-culture architecture until the 1960's and 1970's (Oliver, 1998; Rudofsky, 1987) even though art-deco buildings like the auditorium typically elude to a pan-indian 'primitive' iconography (Lochhead, 2011, piii; McIntyre, 2011). To me, the fact that aboriginal aesthetics were not considered ac-

ceptable expressions of academic capital A- art in that time period means that it is unlikely that aboriginal aesthetics were used. To me, the image of an 'Indian' on the auditorium is similar to what Berkhofer meant when he wrote, "the *Indian* was a White invention and still remains largely a White image" (1979, p3).

In my opinion, the act of appropriating aboriginal aesthetics would first require a high -culture (capital A -architectural) acceptance of those aesthetics. This did not happen until the 1960's and 1970's. This idea is not fool-proof, as Le Corbusier had come out in favour of the idea of the vernacular much earlier. I believe that in the time period of the 1930's, western culture was still too racist to view Indigenous aesthetics as desirable or valuable enough for it to recognise it as art (Levinson, 1979; Smith, 2011, p26).^{cix} Aboriginal aesthetics are still considered anthropological relics that fit into hodgepodge pan-Indian ethnological collections, or they part of museal and educational demonstrations of the scientific evolution out of the primitive and into modern milieu, as examples of the resources available at potential industrial sites that investors could buy into, or as crafts appropriate for commercial curiosity shops or collectors interested in the bizarre.

The invention of icons that represent Indigenous peoples' identity on major civic buildings intentionally misled. For example, Elizabeth Holt (1966) writes of the creation of Civic Buildings in America that are built "(w)ith the principle of the self-determination of the people in the twentieth century, (on them) indigenous forms have gradually come to be regarded as appropriate to symbolize the sovereignty of a people" (1966, p249- parenthesis added). In this sense, the use of Indigenous iconography expresses the vernacularisation of the cultural milieu, and was intended to help develop a more localized national sense of identity for colonials and other immi-

grants.

It is undeniable in this circumstance that the appropriation of Indigenous forms and identity were utilized to symbolize the growth of a type of western architecture that came to describe itself as autochthonous. These representations of western government architecture in America was not racially indigenous, but officially described as such because of their having come to describe their governments as sovereign states. The architecture itself is not actually aboriginal, it is usually the product of new interpretations of western and classical architecture that had become identifiably American in style (Hersey, 1988). For example, the Garden City is thought to be a vernacular style in America even though it was often used to privilege the settler- colonial and white citizenry segregating populations according to race and class (Aoki, 1992, p717).

Aboriginal aesthetics are not seen as comparable to the type of aesthetic work being done by western art collectors. Comparison between the two was only done in a manner that celebrated European ascendancy over the imagined 'primitive'. Exhibitionary facilities were built to reflect that paradigmatic approach. Architects in this time period did not appropriate Indigenous aesthetics in order to celebrate pluralistic tolerance for their culture, even if they might describe pluralism and cosmopolitanism as their universal purpose. Their aim was to demonstrate western ascendancy over nature and the primitive and the emergence of Canadian culture out of an outdated historical milieu iconographically depicted as an Indian persona (1979, p47). The Indian image is commonly made up out of a "dichotomy between 'we' and the 'they'. (...) As fundamentally White ways of looking at themselves changed, so too did their ways of conceiving of Indians" (1979, pxv-xvi- parenthesis added).

The Civic Auditorium's inscribed iconography is in style internationally when it was built.

The 'Indian' imagery on Winnipeg's auditorium corresponds closely with the iconography used as stationary for the Chicago World's Fair in 1933. Both feature the same stylised agro-industrial female persona, drawn to evoke a modernised "stripped down" New -classical aesthetic (Lochhead, 2011, pii). Her ears symbolically sprout feathers, like the wings of an American eagle, or perhaps a white angel (Larocque, 2013). The male Indian persona also appears to be modernistic (indicated by the exaggerated angularity of his face and torso) and is symbolically related to ideas of darkness thought to be antithetical to Enlightenment, thus making him an antagonist towards both reason and civil morality.^{ex} The symbolism behind the agro-industrial European and her wings may also be a deterministic reference to the growth of communication and transportation technology (cars, radio, telegraph all seem to 'fly'). The Indian and his bow and arrow appears stylishly out-of-date and brutally vindictive in comparison to her technological and material 'goodness'. (For international Art Deco example see Seattle's "Cobb Building")

The dichotomous contrast between the racialised male and female is also relevant to understanding the message of the architecture. Architect and professor C. L. Wilkins offers a perspective. Wilkins writes that the symbolism of white female iconography signified the "ultimate paradigm of female subjectivity in American culture- the image is one of a person "who will bear and nurture heirs to the power and authority inherent in this construction of national color" (2007, p20). It is a symbol that is "(a)wash with patriarchal and paternalistic platitudes, the image, position, and power of the white woman has been- comparatively speaking- just to the right and slightly behind that of the white male; fitting for one who will bear and nurture heirs to the power and authority inherent in this construction of national colo(u)r" (ibid- parenthesis added). On the Civic Auditorium, as a symbol of agro-industry and bearer of a cornucopia, this



symbolism is apparent as she represents a Ceres -like figure (Ceres being the goddess of both crops and human fertility) and she is the progenitor of both the human wealth or fungible property (wheat) in Manitoba, thus also making her responsible for the growth of its colonial population.^{cxi}

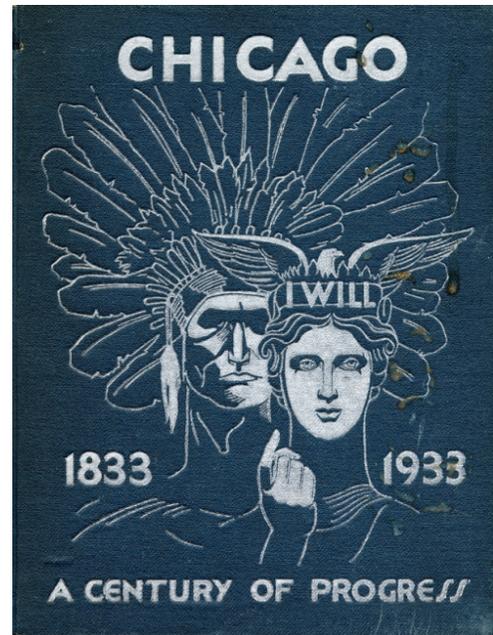
As *personae*, the symbolic white woman is a moral platitude. She has a fixed social status, and in 1932 she is considered fully human with a newly acquired right to vote. As an ascendent virtuous being she is compatible with the Lockean idea of ‘goodness’ (yet in the pageantry remains nameless). Locke’s view fortifies the traditional biblical association between work, industry, morality, citizenship and property ownership. These virtues are not shared in common with non-enfranchised Indigenous people who continue to be criminalised by the Canadian state, and are not fully recognized yet as members of civic society. (Porter, 2010)

Synchromeshed with the philosophic and legal spirit of Locke, the symbolic humanisation and pacification of the earth (as well as the non -Europeanised Indian) is applied through proscriptions of hard work and agriculture that are instrumental to the assimilative policies being enforced by the settler colonial government (Wilkins, 2007; Porter, 2010). The symbolic orientation of the iconography signifies the idea that the natural world is ready to be subjugated to a

godly will, ownership, and labour of men. And in return, human prosperity is prophesied (for example see the significance of Golden Boy discussed on page 34). Agro-industrial symbolism is particularly apt in a time when a depression is taking place, and an unappeased workless population represents a serious threat to the wealth and security of established powers. (Porter, 2010)

The Indian pagan, on the other hand, with his bow and arrow, appears to be barely human and becomes a serious safety hazard in consideration to the needs of the Columbian and Ceres -like agricultural goddess. As American architect Craig L. Wilkins writes, “danger is (considered) black, brown and poor” (2007, p22) the “very presence (of dark skin) is a disruption” (ibid- quoting bell hooks) to the progress of the civic milieu (also see Lokko, 2000 for more on this line of thought). Racial darkness symbolically represents a corrupting influence inscribed upon the infrastructure with an intent comparable to that concept Marvin Harris calls . It also subjugates the presence of the Indian by making it the topic of expert and exhibitionary education dialogues, historical descriptions controlled by western interests, and justifies political and social prejudices.

In this way the iconography depicts an asymmetrical power relationship. It symbolically justifies the creation of state powers designed protect her seemingly innocent personae against his seemingly dangerous one. And the juxtaposition between a peaceful and domestic and cosmopolitan agro-industrial society and a bloodily violent and antagonistic fur trade milieu becomes a key aspect of how spaces segregated by race and class justify the oppression of aboriginal peo-



ples and the development of genocidal policies intended to pacify, assimilate, or exterminate the dangerous savage (Henderson, Bentley & Findley, 2000, p257-278).

At the turn of the Twentieth Century, the personification of architectural space was a continuing tradition dating back to Vitruvius, Leonardo Di Vinci, and John Shute's English tome, *The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture* (1563). The designers of modernity and modernism are obsessed with seemingly Weberian comparisons between the physical built environment and its analogy as an organic human form. This can be found readily in turn of the century work as well as being found in the work of the inventors and proponents of modernism. For example Joseph Paxton and Richard Owen (the architects of the Crystal Palace), Herbert Spencer (who was responsible for "the hierarchical logic governing the arrangement of classes (of peoples) at international exhibitions" (Bennett, 1995, p47- cited in Humes 1983; 31) and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1910)), J. Sullivan, Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, and architectural scholars like Lewis Mumford all subscribe to this deterministic comparison between organic human and architectural form. Writing this, I have also taken into consideration a wide array of British anthropologists, ethnographers, and physicians who also operate in this frame of mind. Examples being Francis Galton, Grafton Elliot Smith, General Pitt- Rivers, H.R. Rivers, Richard Owen, Thomas Henry Huxley, Henry Welcome, Charles Darwin, Herbert



Spencer, Arthur Keith and many others all made similar analogies between the human body and the physical world even though they are not architects, and the list goes on in the contemporary context (Sekula, 1989; Thiselton -Dyer, 1911, p18; Skinner, 1986; Cowling, 1989, p32; Keith, 1931, p32).^{cxii} (Jacobson, 1953/ 1968)

Understanding the nature of architectural personification is facilitated by looking backwards at the English tradition beginning in the Scholastic Medieval Ages, when it began in outdoor theatres upon the stage. It is an idea that has always been associated with architecture because it existed in reference to “the stage (whether ‘medieval’ or ‘early modern’... (where) the human body (does not solely privilege) the human body (as) vehicle of meaning...” (Weigart, 2013, p38). Instead, personification (or personae) is manifested through “the technical skill with which a figure was fabricated (that) made it appear to be alive” (ibid). At that time, like today, it was a transcendental way of depicting iconographic personages who act with transcendental agency to convey an ideological meaning to observers. (Photo 16: Timothy Maton- Entablature of Civic Auditorium; Photo 17: Wolfsonian, 2014- Chicago World Fair 1933 Stationary; Photo 18: Free Press Personae)

The European agro-industrial woman featured on the auditorium is almost certain to be the Goddess Columbia, an early personification of the American people in the British or American



Commonwealth (Gast, 1851; Crane, 1893; Harper, 2015). It originates from the word ‘Columbus’ (who mythically founded America) and refers to the people of America and the British colonies preceding it (1893). This interpretation synchronises well with the chassis behind the Civic Auditorium, that says it is a civic building built for the people. As a personification, Columbia is a transnational figure particularly important to the Chicago Columbian Exposition (which was a celebration of Columbus’ supposed discovery of America) and The World’s Fair (which was considered a follow up to the previous exhibition). This concern for Columbus may be the missing link connecting Winnipeg’s exhibition centre to those American ones.

Similar statue personae exhibiting these themes also exist in Canada. For example, the George- Etienne Cartier Monument in Montreal is crowned by the angelic deity that dominates the Historic Mont Royal (1837) district. The Cartier statue is also emblazoned with a statement of racial equity, pluralism, and nation building that seems conceived utilising thoughts similar to the way it is depicted in John Gast’s *American Progress* (1872). In other words, cosmopolitanism is situated in a process of nation building that is deterministically defined in accord to built structures, the railway and roads and other transportation and communication infrastructures. The monument’s angelic white goddess is made to appear predestined to bring western agro-industry, technology and infrastructure westward. The angel on this monument is not Columbia, but the symbolism is similarly constituted. (Photo 21: Free Press, 1932- Image from Front Page of Civic Auditorium Section)

In 1927, Toronto had built a similarly angelic edifice named the Goddess Victory. It was built by the directors of the Canadian National Exhibition when they hired an architect to build The Prince’s Gates to commemorate their 60 year anniversary. While the Goddess Victory and

Columbia are similar, they may not be the same, but once again their meanings and the purposes are iconographically linked as emblems of large Dominion industrial exhibitions. Columbia is clearly a national personae, however an angelic host might be slightly more transcendental meaning than is intended in Winnipeg's Columbia. The example from Toronto shows, however, that the iconography of a winged spirit was demonstrably patronised under the auspices of Dominion patriotism from very early times even if there is no clear or simple indication I have found to give me a singular entity that the icon found on the Civic Auditorium is supposed to represent.

Thinking about the way that iconographic personae works on buildings, Gwendolyn Wright (1991) writes about the way that personae and social hierarchy operated in architecture. She utilizes an architect who refers to the Vitruvian tradition when doing this. She writes that a French architect named Leandre Vaillat usefully “anthropomorphized (the) distinction ... (between) “Architecture with a capital A, which sculptors once represented as a nobly draped woman, Vitruvius on her knee and compass in her hand” (p46- parenthesis added) and lowercase architecture. The Vitruvian capitalized architecture is emblematic of a larger international and historicist typology utilized by governments. Wright quotes Vaillat to write “there was (also) a simpler “architecture” with a small a, which I envision as a good housewife, knowing well the recipes her mother has passed down to her” (1991, p46- Quoting Vaillat) and this domestic form of architecture is typically the place where Indigenous cultural art forms come to be located in the academic tradition.^{cxiii} Like the capital A architecture, Columbia, the Goddess Victory, and the Cartier Monument's angel are all examples of capital A architectural representations iconically derived from classicism while Indigenous architecture had not yet even begun to be analysed

as equal to those western pretensions.

Gwendolyn Wright's work demonstrated that the iconographic goddess personae operated at an international level. Meanwhile, vernacular architecture that is symbolically related to the domesticated woman as a symbol of lower cast clearly illustrates the nature of the hierarchical interaction occurring within the conceptual framing of a large metropolitan vision. In this hierarchical systemisation of the meaning of buildings, the attained aristocratic high- culture expressed by the Civic building in Winnipeg is clearly embedded in patriarchal and race-minded sciences of the early century. Metropolitan Civic buildings were generally, like state buildings, fit into this aristocratic definition of capital A Architecture. For Example, the auditorium's 'nobly draped woman' is crowned with a classicist laurel wreath within the promotional materials celebrating the Civic Auditorium's official opening (*Winnipeg Free Press*, 1932, p1).

Conclusion: Architecture is a European Language

In the same way that architecture is seen to be a personification of meaning, it is also a European language. As such, it is also a protraction of the concepts found in Enlightenment Eurocentrism connected to questions regarding the make-up of humanity. For example, Simon Knell writes in his report for the European Commission entitled *National Museums* (2011) that,

“Nations seeking to express their identities to other nations have done so using borrowed symbolic forms. These forms of representation, which manifest themselves in made or chosen objects, in architecture and in the form of the capital city, have been regularised so as to function as a language European citizens can implicitly understand. This permits objects, which include buildings and city spaces, to act as words, expressing a nation’s creativity, resilience, power, civilisation, history and political relationships. (Knell, 2011, p14- “Europe as a Material Language”)

In this framework, the image of the Indian becomes thoroughly subjugated. For example, Ian Angus asks a pertinent question that illustrates this traditional relationship between architecture and Indigeneity. He asks, “(d)o they become merely represented, where modernity monopolises the power of representation?” (Angus, 2012, p39). He writes,

“(t)he institution of modernity reconfigures traditional cultures by turning them into representations cut off from a sustaining cultural practice. It provides the setting from in which they are given meaning” (ibid- parenthesis added).

Dianne Nemeroff (1991) also answers this question in context of the aesthetics of art found in the Canadian National Gallery’s exhibition *Land Spirit Power*. She also writes in the affirmative saying;

“The point here is that modern nations use indigenous minorities as symbols of national identity- in accord to Miller, Daniel (Primitive Art)’s evaluation of the evolution into modernity and the origin of Romanticism as totalization of aesthetic (...) It has been suggested recently that “modern nations, particularly former colonies, use the myth of primitivism whenever they display the arts of their decimated, indigenous minorities (come to be used) as symbols of national identity”. Such exhibitions do not necessarily employ the term primitive art to describe their contents. The myth of primitivism comes into play, rather, in the sense of a search for original sources, and stems from “that aspect of the Romantic movement which is based on the assumption that there exists a form of humanity which is integral, is cohesive, and works as a totality” (Nemeroff, 1992, p32).

This excerpt touches on several ideas that I have been working with in this chapter. For example ideas showing the modern influence of Romantic Enlightenment and formulations of humanity based on representations. For Diane Nemeroff, the idea that stands out most prominently to me

is a statement that “modern nations (...) use the myth of primitivism (...) (and utilize) indigenous minorities as symbols of national identity ... (but) do not necessarily employ the term primitive art to describe their contents” (ibid- parenthesis added). And to me, this statement directly addresses the language of the Civic Auditorium to present a metropolitan image of the modern. (For further information on this see Fred Myer’s “Primitivism, Anthropology and the Category of Primitive Art” (2006))

For me, like in Simon Knell (et. al.)’s (2011) work, the totalisation of representations into a national dialogue on the nature of city space creates a Eurocentric language seated in a national and international frame. In Canada, this language utilizes a contrasting imagery of an imaginary ‘other’ instrumental to justification of a successional dialogue where ‘the modern’ implicitly justifies the subjugation of ‘the primitive’. This dialogue is found throughout the English canon, and is not exceptional to the national dialogue found in Canadian architectural and civic planning (Henderson, Bentley, & Findley, 2000). It is, in essence, a dialogue that can be found at the very root of Vitruvian school western classicism in general (Hersey, 1988; Summerson, 1965). As Bruno Latour writes, *We Have Never Been Modern* (1993).

Overall, my thesis looks at the way Winnipeg’s Civic Auditorium and civic centre embodied, produced, and publicised Anglo-Saxon race-mindedness. Its focus is upon the architectural history that I study by looking at examples expressing what I argue is *l’esprit de temps* of ideas at the time or the *system mechaniques* of the scientific prescriptions prevalent when it was built. I connect the auditoriums historical positionality to the thirties time period by focusing primarily upon literature, but also by looking at it physically and in pictures concerned with the history of the built environment and race science prevalent at that time. I identify some of the problems in

contemporary omissions of the physicalised scientific and ideological paradigms. The work studies the etymology of these concepts in *situ* of academic studies of race and physicalised conceptualisations of meaning in scientific, historical and philosophical discourses. It formulates an alternative commentary about the meaning of architectural race-mindedness utilising a tangential and post-Marxist materialist approach, integrating and synchronising that approach with the Indigenous perspectives found in other museal urban environments similar to the institution I study in Winnipeg (with preference given to British and Canadian examples alongside the most important International expositions affecting it from around the world).

The Introduction attacks the linear succession narrative that excludes indigenous world-views and explores pluralism as a tool utilised by Anglo-Saxon ideas of civilizational supremacy and human hierarchy. It explores meaning of material determinism + technological determinism and Durkheimian dualism as basis of philosophic Anglo- Saxon ideals. Chapter 1 demonstrates the way that physical landscape is a meaningful repository of culture and history for Indigenous peoples. Bouchier, in agreement with international literature on architecture, shows how physicalised Anglo-Saxon world-views are formulated to oppose and clash with Indigenous ones. She says that modernist aesthetics destroy the urban narrative by homogenisation or “making it all the same”. Bouchier identifies problems she sees in the museal architecture of Edmonton, and I expand upon these problematisations utilising academic literature.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 explain why civic environment is envisioned as internationalist whole and situates the Civic Auditorium in how British theory synchronised (p69) with how the Dominion government thought about the pageantry of architectural meaning conducted during the nineteen thirties when constructing and dedicating the building (p78). It depicts the way audito-

rium architecture synchronised with the way that the government intended to inscribe race-minded ideals physically in civic environment to influence identity of citizenry and control it physically. The **Conclusion** “Architecture is a European Language” reviews the idea presented in Chapter 2 and 3, where I question how Enlightenment ideology saw humanity reflected by the built environment. I try to present a solid example that shows that European tradition corresponds to material language argues these historical aesthetic politics of representation are examples of identity appropriation contextualised by Eurocentric language that aims to devalue humanity of the Indigenous through positing superiority of ‘the modern’ in comparison to a contrived or imagined primitive identity.

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Authors Note:

According to the theory of Norberg -Shulz, the central plan of a civic centre was representative of the locomotion- minded historicism found in European Civic Planning schemes generally. Boulevards all over the world were being envisaged as linear symbols of pluralism. The pluralistic vista had successively overtaken (and rejected) the aesthetics of the earlier Byzantine aesthetic stylings popular among authorities of the past. Conceptually, for example, Norberg -Schulz envisaged the pluralism of an open central vista as the rejection of centralized and singular *a priori* axioms and dogmatisms.

He writes that civic plans generally sought to counter the creation of an exact system of everything reflecting "an exact analysis of things" (1973, p184- quoting Voltaire) this was accompanied by the idea that the entire social body can be expressed and controlled through an *esprit systematique*. Instead, civic plans were supposed to be facilities, perhaps in the sense that the Enlightenment architect Ledoux gives the goals of architecture, as symbolic representations designed utilising pragmatic concerns for facility rather than as unified communications of spirit driven by artistic vision (Ledoux, - in Holt).

Post- Enlightenment architects had sought to contrive new symbolic ways of expressing ideas of freedom that transcended Renaissance systemic totalisation of symbolic and physical systemisation of the social. It sought to contradict the idea of centralised authority and hierarchy found in Byzantine dogmas (p184-185). Norberg Shulz describes the new pluralist approach as a rejection of the *a priori* idea that the mind is the origin of systems of knowledge (a concept also associated with essentialism and determinism), and instead prescribes a new focus upon empirical experiences of the physical world, like those based in Newtonian science. Overall, his theory seeks to disentangle the architecture of Enlightenment from that of the Baroque where it was thought that aesthetics could express an *a priori* notion originating from the human mind and spirit. Or, as Octavio Paz (1991, p64) writes with regard to Baudelaire, it was scripture that unified Christian aesthetics before modernity took hold. The new scientific method of the Enlightenment was more avowedly eclectic and empirical in its approach, and tended to prefer communications that increasingly reflected a regard for cold- factuality over artistic and moral visions of transcendence.

Norberg -Shulz writes, "On this basis natural science was led away from the arbitrary and fanciful assumptions of the past to a new method of observation and analysis, with its great protagonist, Newton.... as is proved by one of the grandest and most typical architectural projects of the late eighteenth century: Boullée's Cenotaph for Newton (1784)". Speculatively, the Newton cenotaph appears similar to the orb that the Golden Boy is delicately balanced upon as he overlooks the region and the North of the Province from the apex of Legislature surrounded by the statutory of the various academic sciences. In accord with deterministic philosophy, both Legis-

lature and the Cenotaph were envisaged as a means to embodiment of a civilising presence. By speculating on the connection between the civic centre and the way the aesthetics of the Enlightenment pluralises to empirically express knowledges in and of the physical environment. I am not saying that the aesthetics of Legislature and the Memorial Blvd Cenotaph are a direct reference to the Newton Cenotaph on a physical level but on a philosophical one.

I am arguing that the two can be seen as conceptually linked through mutually subscribing to the same ideological system of belief found embodied in their aesthetics. The new system of belief instigated by Newtonian scientific philosophy expressed post- Enlightenment scientific pluralism, a form of belief that ironically also invokes western social hierarchies and typologies utilized to justify policies of segregation, genocide and the erasure of Indigenous culture. The symbols of this Eurocentric and Anglo-centred aesthetic movement can be seen prominently inscribed in the decorative motifs of the Civic Auditorium, the Cenotaph, and the Legislature building.

/See Pg. 161 for An Alternative Abstract in Tangential Form

ⁱⁱBennett, 2004, p25

ⁱⁱⁱCornelius Castoriadis questions Hegelian thinking by asking if any historical query is fully knowable. The question being asked becomes a changing facet of a value system that will always remain somewhat unknown (1987, p134). I chose to call my thesis tangential rather than pretend it attains knowledge of something not fully comprehensible.

^{iv}My aim when utilizing mathematical terminology is not to be more concrete or absolute, but to subvert traditional forms of etymology that subscribe to post-Hegelian notions of 'concrete ideas'. By consciously manipulating the term tangential, I aim to subvert the system of hierarchy traditionally associated with colonial systems of knowledge in order to nominalize it and reinterpret it (Spivak, 1988- in reference to Foucault). This technique originates from anarchist theory. It is inspired by Brigstocke's (2014) depiction of the fin -de -siècle Chat Noir anti-museum's attempt to resist the scientific hegemony of the ruling elite in France. It does this by ridiculing and "expressing hostility to the cultural and aesthetic sensibilities of a prosaic age preoccupied with science, technology, and commerce" (2014, p128). I aim to critique the concretization of the identity of the oppressed, (following Foucault's suggestions on the plural nature of imperial forms of power) while also manipulating Spivak's idea of verbal slippage to open it up to a less essentialist interpretation of truth that operate in new ways beyond those proscribed by the dictionary. (1988 +2014)

I aim to subvert doctrinarian approaches that unconsciously reproduce the hierarchical conditions of colonial power. I do not celebrate the historical tendency to equate truth with museal expertise and the academic ivory tower. My work attempts to disrupt the traditional imbalances of power found in this etymological pretension by questioning the essentialist and typological orders utilized to define the identity of the oppressed and the nature of oppression in civil society in academia.

Spivak (1988) critiques the call for more theory by Foucaultian intellectuals who typically act "in the name of a critique of 'positivism', which is seen here as identical with 'essentialism'" (p91). Doing this Spivak critiques Foucault's radical idea that epistemology should be re-contextualised in terms related to concepts of discontinuity. She writes that it is important to question the privileging of positivistic and intellectual forms of discourse because a new radical epistemology of discontinuity would recreate existing power relations rather than challenge them. She proposes acknowledgement of the voices of subaltern groups to empower them to represent themselves saying this would challenge the reconstruction of unequal power relations embodied in the process of radically rewriting history in accord to the concept of discontinuity (p87). Reinventing this process means moving beyond academic formulations of theoretical truths and begin providing space for marginalized people to self-represent.

I believe verbal slippage can be subverted to critically attack the absolute forms of knowledge and the traditional form of western aesthetics (a pioneering artist who began doing this was Joseph Beuys (1994)) utilizing a tangential approach to understanding history and our milieu's place in it. I believe absolute forms of knowledge are the framework of the governing hegemonic system, and I equate this system with the architecture of the classifying house (Hamilton, et al., ; Bennett, 2013). I think intellectuals should begin challenging this hegemony by making allowance for alternative interpretations of knowledge from beyond the status -quo and instead validate these alternative discourses. I see beginning to conceive history as both circle and a straight line, as a tangent describes, we can begin inscribing temporal and spiritual forms of knowledge into academic inquiry. Doing this resists the knowledge format traditionally proscribed through these hegemonic networks.

^vThis technique challenges statist history in accord with the technique put forward by Ann Laura Stoler in *Haunted by Empire* (2006). When proposing a new method of challenging centralized state narrative, what Stoler calls the “central colonial sorting technique” (2006, p2) of power, she suggests challenging the way that we come to imagine to be the past through attacking the bracketed and fixed boundaries and colours of our national story and the limited engagements with identities it allows imagined there-in. A. L. Stoler promotes challenging the mediated language of the centralized story proscribed by the state and its bureaucratic construction of categories used to promote what Du Bois called white people’s “educated ignorance” (p11). This practiced ignorance stabilizes official identity commiserate with colonial state power by ignoring the potency of alternative discourses (2006, p2-11).

^{vi}The idea of race-based cultural superiority is etymologically the most common dictionary definition of the term “Racism”.

^{vii}My favourite description of this argument is found in Tony Bennett’s (2004) *Pasts Beyond Memory* and Fred Myers (2006) “Primitivism, Anthropology and the Category of Primitive Art”.

^{viii}Marvin Harris (2001) writes extensively about the effect notions of time have had upon anthropologists throughout the past century. His writing impressed upon me the importance of both time and what he calls ‘cultural materialism’ upon how we evaluate Indigenous culture as academics. Other major writers who impressed me with the importance of the concept of time and materiality is Guy Debord in *Society of the Spectacle* (1970) Lewis Mumford in *Technics and Civilization* (1934) and Linda Smith (2011) in *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

^{ix} Parenthesis refer to the racial 'wall' Bryce speaks of in an earlier race minded descriptive comment found on (1906, p220).

^xHistoricism and civic government are connected here to illustrate that relationship between pluralism and civic architecture isn’t superficial aesthetic speculation but essential component of how government constructed civic identity. It will be seen in how the Civic Auditorium was built and governed. Connection between civic exhibition and government is found in Bennett (2004 +2005), Golding (2009), Norberg- Shulz (1980), Wright (1991).

^{xi}this approach has become the accepted way that authors like Maurice Bernal broached the topic of race bias in linear science narratives when writing his excellent precedent setting work *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Civilization* (1987)

^{xii}Support for the idea that there is a connection between material culture (for example architecture) and government also exists in Jhota Hosagrahar’s (2005) *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Architecture* and M. Sadria’s *The Homogenization of Representations* (2013) as well as and James Scott’s (1998) *Seeing Like a State* and Gwendelyn Wright’s (1991) *The Politics of Design (...)*.

^{xiii}Explanation of this idea is found in the conclusion of the thesis. Also see the Conclusion’s End Note.

^{xiv} This view can also be studied by looking at Bennett (2004), Morton (1957/1967), Saunders (1975), Thornton (1886), Weber (1921/ 1951).

^{xv} It is not very different from the context in which Timothy Mitchell was writing when he describes the way that historical science in Egypt utilized single-track narratives to facilitate western claims to territory. “The story takes it’s shape from the way it fits into a sovereign narrative told about the growth and transformation of production, and the universalization of culture and power of the West. This assumption of a universal armature (engine) is the foundation that that makes social theory possible”. (Mitchell, 2002, p22- parenthesis added in context of paragraph)

^{xvi}This paper was published by the Government of Canada in Ottawa and the Agriculture Department.

^{xvii}While this BAAS visit in 1884 was important to the development of Canada on the whole, in 1909 Bryce himself was credited with having brought the BAAS back to Winnipeg by planning a meeting for them at the University of Manitoba in 1909. This meeting had a big effect on the development of Winnipeg’s prestige as an academic centre in the west. (Connor, 2009)

^{xviii}For example you might also see John Gast’s (1872) painting “American Progress”. (Gast, 1872)

^{xix}RAI President Arthur Keith personally distributed anthropological treaties on race to ensure officials and military personnel in colonies had access to scientific ideas of humanity. (Keith, 1915)

^{xx}For example in Diamond Jenness directorship of National Museum and as Dominion anthropologist he attempted to define and totalise racial identities for purposes related to colonialism. (Jenness, 1932; Kulchyski, 1993)

^{xxi}I acknowledge that I am expanding upon Tony Bennett's idea of the exhibitionary apparatus beyond the context that he himself employed it.

^{xxii}The idea of the museum as laboratory is debated in Bennett's "Civic Laboratories". In Ghislane Skinne (1986) the museum was undoubtedly a laboratory during the Victorian, Edwardian and 'machine age' of the 1930's.

^{xxiii}If I were challenged to substantiate that an 'Anglo-Saxon' academic tradition existed I use Durkheim's *Pragmatism and Sociology* (1914) to show his portrayal of the European philosophical tradition in this racialized context. Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and Capitalism* (1905) and Herbert Spencer's *Social Statistics, or Order* (1915) to show that this race-based academic objectivist orientations.

^{xxiv}The architecture of the former University of Manitoba Bryce Hall can be seen bearing traces of the traditional aesthetic contention between the British secular approaches to education and the French Catholic humanistic approach (like those described in Crinson's *Empire Building*(1996)). Bryce Hall is very clearly Anglo-Saxon in design, being built in the contemporary English new Gothic educational style. St. Boniface University was not secular and it burned down in 1922. The Catholic College Universitaire de St. Boniface was part of University of Manitoba and has a Byzantine style of dome and bears a humanistic statuary that contrasts with the English style of architecture found in the rest of the city. (Crinson, 1996)

^{xxv}Bryce Hall was built in 1930 as part of University of Manitoba and it bears both scientific and religious motifs. Today, it is part of University of Winnipeg's metropolitan centre and it bears a plaque written by the Government of Manitoba in 1951. The plaque details the fact that Bryce was Moderator to the Presbyterian church. It offers little explanation for inscriptions on the building dedicated to the pursuit of theology (in the stairway), the United Church of Canada (by the entrance from Wesley Hall), and an overall dedication to "the Glory of God" (1930). From this building, it is easy to see that religion and science was coincidental within the same architectural spaces, and this most likely occurred in the way Emilé Durkheim described the relationship between the two. Durkheim believed in moral education as well as scientific ones, but promoted a cognitive separation between the abstract cognitive morality and the physical. He describes "two different forms of social facts existing: the material and the immaterial" in the same social space (Ritzer, 2004). Like in the scholastics before him, this separation was based on science rather than pure theology. Conceptually, the physical presence of meaningful forms in the architecture of Bryce hall would not be allowed to interrupt the immaterial teachings of its theological professors, and vice versa. Both forms of education were valued in the secular system but the new system clearly privileged a secular system over an exclusively religious one. The monument to the establishment of the University of Winnipeg ignores that history and seems to imply these colleges were independent until being united and later became the U of W (and thus posits a modernistic humanities/ divinities recontextualisation of those space that seems ironically both ahistoricist and scholasticist in its c. 1970 heritage demarcation).

^{xxvi}The Civic Auditorium was Western Canada's most up-to-date facility when it was built in 1932, and featured a top- quality radio production booth. (Tribune, 1932; Free Press, 1932)

^{xxvii} See Royal Proclamation 1763.

^{xxviii} This rule of occupancy is derived from the Commonwealth doctrines of cultural *Tabula Rasa* and physical *Terra Nullius*. It did not happen because the universally recognized principle (usually recorded in Roman law in Western culture) was rarely enforced.

^{xxix} I refer to architecture here as a physicalised idea that expresses western principles of culture through design. For example, in *Canada Builder* "(a)rchitecture is the material expression in stone and iron and brick, of an idea, dominating, consistent, coherent; source and inspiration of ten or a thousand thoughts, but giving character to all" (Mortimer, 1885- parenthesis added). Architecture is also "(t)he art of building in such a way as to accord with principles determined, not merely by the ends of edifice is intended to serve, but by high consideration of beauty and harmony (see fine arts)... Architecture thus necessitates the possession by the builder of gifts of imagination as well as of technical skill: these elements must exist and be harmoniously combined" (Statham, 1911, p444- parenthesis added).

^{xxx} "Plantations, or colonies in distant countries, are either such where the lands are claimed by right of occupancy only, by finding them defart and uncultivated, and peopling them from the mother country; or where, when already cultivated, they have been either gained but conquest, or ceded to us by treaties" (Blackstone, 1753, V.I, S. 4, p105).

xxxii “(T)he Christian rationale for subjugation never vanished, after the Reformation and during the Age of the Enlightenment it gave way to more secular and technological theories that denied the rationality of Indigenous peoples- especially those that did not cultivate the land. From the early nineteenth century, Aboriginal peoples were increasingly seen as an inferior race. As that century wore on, evolutionary ‘science’ fostered the belief that this inferior race was biologically determined and fated for extinction... That belief is the bed-rock presumption of imperial rule” (Russell, 193, p30- parenthesis added).

xxxiii For example before the 1870 Deed of surrender “...the claim of the Hudson’s Bay Company under its charter was that they had the sole right to pursue the fur trade in Ruperts Land. Their traditional policy had been to drive out private trade and to preserve their monopoly” (Morton, 1957/19967, p72). Despite this policy being British, societal exclusivity was ascribed to the Indigenous milieu rather than the European who considered their landed government inclusive while the previous remained characterized as the opposite of economic inclusivity.

xxxiiii The Morton Collection is now curated by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Lewis & Degusta & Meyer et. al., 2011).

xxxv I see racial objectification in consideration of W.E.B. Du Bois (1940) when he ‘turned back’ after witnessing the social consequences of a lynching. I believe Du Bois’ was onto something deeper in the racist social psyche when he realised race is something deeper than mere physique. (Holt, 1995, p3)

xxxvi In reference to scientific racism, Levit & Meister (2005) argue the nature of racism in the 20th century was not defined by essentialism but by Darwinism. According to scientific history, essentialism was a belief in human typologies that utilized idealized categorical forms with currency in a wide array of scientific specializations. Darwinists and non-essentialist typologists saw racial form in a fluid way, and they claimed to be realist rather than ideologically driven by ideas with little correspondence to ‘reality’. He writes that the most extreme racists of the twentieth century did not subscribe to essentialist ideals, but to a social Darwinist idea that existed in denial of their own essentialism. I believe that Darwinists were essentialist in character, however the reason for why this is so might confuse some readers. To understand, I think one needs to consider the differences between the idea of essentialism existing before WWII when Darwinism came to be associated with National Socialism.

Among historians it has been assumed that essentialism is synonymous with “(t)ypological thinking... (and this) has given rise to a misleading conception of human races. Caucasians, Africans, Asians or Inuit are types for a typologist that conspicuously differ from other human ethnic groups and are sharply separated from them.” The traditional assumption there was that “(t)his mode of thinking leads to racism” (p283- Quoting Dobzhansky in Maer, 1950- parenthesis added). For many race historians this view assumes that typology is an essentialist art and that by lumping all human types together as ‘the same’, we destroy racism, essentialism, and etc.

Before and during WWII, this is not the way that scientists saw the world, and Levit and Meister claim that the view that typology and essentialism are the origin of racism is actually a misrepresentation of the nature of race science. These authors argue that the problem was more complex. They write, for example, that it was much more common for phylogenetic Darwinists with philosophical ideas of “earlier-later” and “higher-lower” differences as well as the idea of a “struggle for existence” Nazi ideology found easiest to synthesize. Meanwhile those who were identified with essentialist philosophies at that time tended to disagree with Nazi doctrine (ibid).

Many self-described typological essentialists were critical of fascist social -Darwinist racism and fled Germany while social -Darwinist scientists (who rarely self-identified as essentialist because their view of evolution was based on the idea that human types could fluidly change over time) joined the National Socialists en masse. Despite this confusing situation, most literary critics continue to describe racism as a form of essentialism because both the essentialists and the Darwinists assumed there were basic and authentic differences between races. In my view, the Darwinist and typologist were also essentialist, even though they denied it. The differences between races before WWII were based on scientific ideas about the ideological form and content of the biological make-up of race, whether those differences were fluid or ideologically rigid is somewhat irrelevant today. In 1951 UNESCO proclaimed that all human beings are now ‘the same’ and the essential concept of racial difference devaluated. However it continues to be unclear if ideological sameness truly ruptures itself free from the historical uses of Darwinist theory as a medium for racist ideals because it continues to claim authority through universalizing its scientific outlook and denying the essential and ideological basis of its philosophical position.

xxxvii It is deterministic because it directly attributes power to things. It gives the thing the ability to determine the concept. This definition is from Joyce and Bennett (2010, p4) not Pringle- Pattison (1910).

xxxviii Alan Artibise, (1979) writes that the HBC acted quickly in 1849 to limit its participation in the fur -trade when it ceased to be lucrative.

xxxix I am using Peter Kulchyski's (2005) interpretation of the term metropolitan.

xl This narrative project follows upon the suggestion of Taz Bouchier in our interview March 06, 2014.

^{xl}The view that the past is defined by infrastructural events, and redefining moments like world war II (an idea that is being promoted by a politically motivated narrative being produced by the Canadian Museum of History in support for the Harper government's revised history project) has been thoroughly criticised by cultural turn historians as a view that reflects determinist philosophical ideals derived from Victorian imperialist sentiment. For example, the museum's mandate is "To enhance Canadians' knowledge, understanding and appreciation of events, experiences, people and objects that reflect and have shaped Canada's history and identity, and also to enhance their awareness of world history and cultures" (*Canadian Museum of History Act*). Rather than emphasise the interactive processes that generate culture organically, it focuses on static conceptions of the effect of the thingness of the media effecting historical change.

^{xli} Specifically the Civic Auditorium opening was to honour the North West Commercial Traveler's Association of Canada who had sponsored its first international Industrial Exhibit taking place during the opening (Winnipeg Tribune, 1932; Winnipeg Free Press, 1932).

^{xlii}Legislature, built in 1925, was thought to have the ability to civilise the people living in its vicinity. Likewise, the City Beautiful planning scheme utilized by Winnipeg was thought to fundamentally improve people's personal nature (Turner, 2014- Quoting Frank Albo). Both of these perceptions are fundamentally deterministic philosophical outlooks and were prescribed by the top architects of the age, namely, the Royal Institute of British Architecture (RIBA) and the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC).

^{xliii}"In the 1990's, the cultural turn has greatly expanded this focus on meaning in include seemingly all urban space, which became a script to be read or signs to be decoded (Donald, 1992). Analysis of material forms themselves practically disappeared" and contradict this process of making all analysis a form discourse and representation based solely in language and representation rather than also being found in material embodiments of culturally contextualised forms of meaning (Otter, 2010, p43).

^{xliv}Architecture built before the nineteen sixties saw anything vernacular as 'primitive' (Rudofsky, 1964/ 1987; Arbodela, 2006) and disqualified it from being progressively historicist or from even being considered art. This view mirrored the traditional occidental view that 'personhood' was derived from the ability to write a scientific history. For example, Indigenous author Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes that "the fully human subject as someone capable of 'creating (his) own history'" (Smith, 2011). In architectural terms the word vernacular invoked a dichotomy similar to Fabian's (1983) idea of the "denial of coevalness" (Bennett, 2005, p1). This concept demonstrates the aesthetic context of Indigenous motifs in Western design. Embodied within this view was the traditional duality between the primitive or vernacular in history-based western progress narratives and those found in modernistic contemporary western attitudes about aesthetics. that portrays it as culturally inferior and requires it be assimilated into the 'developed' world (Hegel, 1910 /1821- 1830; Wilkins, 2007) by going to a non-western knowledge keeper and asking her questions related to my research. (Myers, 2006)

^{xlv}The 'scientific technique' was derived from techniques found in morbid anatomy. The concept of the morbid is the systemic comparison of form and structure practiced throughout history in the medical sciences (Hunterian, 2013; Thompson, 1828). For further information see "Comparative Anatomy" (Parsons, 1910).

^{xlvi}In *Talking on the Page* (1996) Dauenhauer proposes that resolution for opposition between written and oral can be found by making it 'agreeable all of its constituencies' (p5) before publishing it. This means bringing the text to the community admitting that "The editing process itself... argues the existence of two poetics at odds..." (Quoting A.B. Lorde). Writing oral text is complex because "At all levels, oral and written literature are contextualized differently" (p6).

^{xlvii}Throughout 2nd Term (2014) Dafoe Library quoted Neil Gaimon to illustrate that the library saying that it embodied the difference between 'civilization' and 'barbarism'.

^{xlviii}In Henderson, Bentley & Findley's work, they define the western literary canon as having constituted itself in comparison to Indigenous peoples generally, as a group generally discounted as 'anarchic'. In Koivisto (2013) this view is both supported and elaborated upon in a way I find persuasive.

^{xlix}This sentiment can also be found in the book *Homogenisation of Representations* (2009) in the chapter "Generative Copies: Modernist Architecture and Urbanism in Brazil". James Holston (2009) writes "(m)y argument is that when modernist architecture is produced as a totally designed urban environment using modernist conventions of design and planning, the result tends to flatten both building and space into repetitious sameness, draining their vitality and interest" (p101- parenthesis added). This characteristic flatness and sameness is a product of modernist and internationalist aesthetics. Angus goes forward from here to write that the produces a uniformity that minimizes the level of interaction and interpretation of environment occurring among humans and the environment (p108).(See also Jameson on postmodernism on 'the loss of affect' or 'flattening of experience' (Kulchyski, 2015- editors note)).

^lC. Norberg - Shulz (1973 /1993) equates the creation of international standards with the institution of modernism beginning from 1928 through the establishment of Congress International d'Architecture Modern (CIAM) (1973 /1993, p186). Writers like Fredric Jameson also equate this process of developing modernist world standards with modernist americanization of exhibitionary architecture (primarily in shopping malls) (Jameson, 2003). Journals like the RAIC were instrumental to the gradual establishment of regulation and standardization of the new form of global capitalist imperialism, and it is precisely these types of arguments that were likely being debated among politicians and economists at the time that the impetus for the Civic Auditorium was being introduced to the metropolitan architectural community. According to Anthony King (2013) this "(g)lobalisation as a process of capitalist development has advanced quickest in the domain of symbols" (McNeill 2009: 96) most of them becoming known through widespread circulation of 'promotional' architectural magazines and journals" (2013, p28- parenthesis added).

According to King (2012), it was through the standardization of global architecture and its economic processes that homogenous modernism had become the language of metropolitan cities (2013- also see "Introduction" by Sadria). In earlier times, however, it was through the highly centralized efforts of prestigious royal societies like the RAIC that this imperial language became standardized and sought to compete with other nations through publishing about their achievements. Furthermore, one of the main topics of the RAIC journal is the progression of the standardization of modern technique. These publications were key to developing and enforcing the new metropolitan aesthetic that would eventually become modernism.

While these topics are not identical to Taz Bouchier's narrative, they represent key understandings for architectural critics who want to know how the aesthetic was professionalized and homogenized over time. For Bouchier the gradual reduction of aesthetic elements to a form now recognized as modernism is undesirable because it hinders the ability to tell stories connected to their physical features, and it does not allow buildings to appear to be related to the function that they perform. To her, a building should 'wear the uniform' associated with it's original function in order to help facilitate the cultural process of remembering.

^{li} For example see J. Ferguson, Sir B. Fletcher & B. Fletcher, W. Lethaby, J. Ruskin, E. Violet -le -Duc, & M. Weber.

^{lii}The conceptual idea that the colonial *topos* that was being the *made* is not the 'real' field of knowledge resonates with what Scott (1998) describes as 'social engineering' and what Bennett (1995) describes as the fundamental functioning of secularized moral institutions (for example Museums, International exhibitions, Galleries, and Inns) intended to 'civilize', educate, and govern the public body in matters of custom, social prohibition, and social norm (1995, p20-24). According to this body of knowledge, the archive is more than instrumental to the creation of racial social hierarchies and government, it's anatomy is concurrent with the made moral and ethical structures of knowledge utilized to regulate the culture of colonialism. For example, "... modernity can be understood as a colonialist project in the special sense that both the societies internal to Western nations, and those they possessed, administered and reformed elsewhere, were understood as objects to be surveyed, regulated, and sanitized" (Thomas, 1994, p4) in the physical and moral meaning of these terms. (Sekula, 1989)

^{liii}For Hegel, man was made by God and supposed "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth". For him it was the place where man lived and the time of creation (for example he writes that God "hath determined" and "*the times have appointed* and the bounds of their habitation, if haply they might feel after and find him". This concept is developed in this treatise establishes the station of different human standings in relation to each other. For example, he sees all people being created equally (of one blood, and one spiritual core), but not as equally endowed physically, having equal rights, or as having equal levels of ability. For Hegel, their written history establishes where in the hierarchy their race resides. (1910 /1821- 1830, pviii)

^{liv}This view syncs with how modern academics utilize a revised history, called the Aryan Model, to trace human development back to a white (Aryan) cultural origin based exclusively in the roots espoused by Greco -Roman literature (for example in Leni Reifentahl's *Olympiad* (1938). Doing this a visual origin story is constructed. This origin is described by David Bindman (2002- in reference to Reifentahl) as reflected in the British Aryan history knowledge context also). It does this rather than situate it in emerging cultural practices or culturally mixed archaeological surveys (which is the study of things) where -in objects are typically lacking etymological purity. Bernal makes this argument and argues that for Victorian thinkers even the Egyptians were Aryans. Another example is Ruskin's archaeological ideal type in *The Stones of Venice* (the Venetian "Ducal Palace") that he writes as an example of an Anglo-centric search for a racially pure archaeological form. Likewise, Mark Crinson in *Empire Building* (2011) describes the mixed race architecture found in archaeological history as a process of mixed -race "mongrel refinement". Bannister Fletcher & Fletcher's work is also underwritten with this racial approach to the archaeological narrative. The academic Aryan Model perspective did not disappear in the modern age, instead, like in M. Bernal's *Black Athena* (1987) wherein he writes that it was invented by modern academics as a revision of the ancient model constructed in the Victorian Age. The mythic racial origin story was actively maintained in contemporary times and is the most wrote-about view of Greco-Roman literature in the twentieth century. This revision of history was particularly present in the 1930's when revisionist and early modernist aesthetics with very clearly race-minded orientations were being transformed into more contemporary frames of mind regarding the intersection between race and urbanism (Bernal, 1987; Crinson, 1996).

^{lv}For a clear example of the origins of the new race theory being proposed by G.E. Smith and the diffusionists, one might look to the works of S. Morton (1839) *Quatrefrages*, F. Galton and W. Warren and the less institutionalised but pre-eminent works of Gobineau (1910) wherein the view that civilized races were better when 'pure' and more taxonomically similar to those original states found at Eden, during the anti-diluvian period (at Arrarat) or an Aryan Golden Age changed into a view that their mixing bettered their genetics and that the origin was in fact a static location where the civilized processes that preserved racial genetic stock and protected it against the degrading effects of the natural elements was invented. This view came under fire in 1931 with Sir Arthur Keith and Grafton Elliot Smith's book (1931) which questions research they conducted in 1910 and posits new equations that intersect definitions of race and nationhood and question the pure demarcations that had been solidified by Huxley.

^{lvi}The irony of this situation is that most of the food, wealth, and labour being distributed by the European market had been sourced from Indigenous peoples and culture (Loewen, 1995).

^{lvii}For example in Mundt, 1952 that shift is depicted already started happening before World War One; see also UNESCO, 1951 where official international denouncement of existing institutionalised race sciences by world's leading scientists occurred, however this 'scientific' denouncement did not address the roots of cultural concepts of race.

^{lviii}For Norbert Elias (1939/ 1978) this sense of achievement is what set the German Tradition apart from the French and English Traditions. In his work, he describes the aristocratic and more courtly behaviours of the English and French manner as distinctly less achievement oriented than the German tradition. For Elias, English tradition was not an achievement-based formulation of human hierarchy, it was a class driven one. He discusses this at length in *The Process of Civilization* (1939).

^{lix}Examples of the modernist orientation with regard to racial views are numerous and they survive in the contemporary age. Examples of this view exist, like in 1961, when an important archaeologist named Graeme Clark writes that "To qualify as human, a hominid has, so to say, to justify himself by his works; the criteria (of culture) are no longer biological so much as cultural" (Clark, 1961, p26). Driving this perspective is a modernistic philosophical, psychological, and physiological idea that claims that the shape of the mind reflects the shape of the world (Harris, 2001, p212). This modern doctrine is a revision of the Renaissance Enlightenment doctrine, where-in the a priori belief in both Christianity and science is premised upon the empirical sciences having developed from Enlightenment ideals. This ideological view is firmly seated in objectified perceptions of the real world that became distanced from the idea that historical development constituted material intelligence. It seems like the relationship between materiality and intelligence came to be inverted. The mind became the source of material expressions of humanity, and intelligence came to be seen reflected in the mind's ability to record or alter nature in history-writing rather than the vice-versa. Like in E. Durkheim's work, the Enlightenment science tradition could no longer locate ascendent human virtue in things themselves, but in how those material achievements performed as transcripts of that intelligence. (Durkheim, 1914).

^{lx}For example, Franz Fanon wrote in *The Fact of Blackness* "I came into this world imbued with the will to find a meaning in things, my spirit filled with the desire to attain to the source of the world, and then I found that I was an object in the midst of objects" (Lokko, 2000, p14). This objectively-based race spirit is often construed in opposition to existential thought that sought to oppose it. For example, Christian Norberg-Shulz's existentialist position posited that "Enlightened man did not want any a priori axiom or dogma. Thus Voltaire wrote "We must never say: Let us begin by inventing principles according to which we attempt to explain everything. We should rather say: Let us make an exact analysis of things"" (1973/ 1993, p184-185). He continues, "(i)t was thought reason should be applied to the phenomena themselves, rather than to the deduction of facts from a priori axioms, making of reason the tool of a new empiricism or esprit systématique. Even earlier in time, Locke had said, "Whence has it (the mind) all the materials of reason and knowledge?" On this basis natural science was led away from the arbitrary and fanciful assumptions of the past to a new method of observation and analysis, with its great protagonist, Newton" (ibid). It was on this Lockean premise that Libby Porter put forward her analysis of the way settler colonial racism was enacted against Indigenous peoples through urban planning in her book *Unlearning the Colonial Cultures of Planning* (2010).

^{lxi}To clarify what this view consists of I will cite Margolis' introduction to Marvin Harris' *Rise of Anthropological Theory* (2001/1968). "In the most elemental terms, Harris suggests that scientific ideas about cultural materialism 'is based on the simple premise that human life is a response to the practical problems of earthly existence' (1979: ix). This statement highlights the central tenet of cultural materialism: infrastructural determinism. Infrastructural determinism assumes that explanations for cultural similarities and differences ultimately lie in the material conditions of human life. The infrastructure (or material base) of a society is its system of production and reproduction..." (Margolis, 2001/1968, px- parenthesis added). This form of determinism was fundamentally equated to ideas about race. For example, J. R. Kantor explains in *A Survey of Psychology* (1933) that "(r)ace seems to be looked upon as a sort of fertilized ovum which will inevitably develop a certain type of civilization... social institutions of all sorts must be counted as determiners of civilization" (p497). He writes, "two warring factions characterize scientific work. On the one hand is an inevitable curiosity... on the other is the constant attempt to explain simply in one fell swoop" (p495). Kantor's work seems almost messianic in its critical reflection upon the deplorable state of the scientific ideologies of his times. His suggestions for greater tolerance towards non-western milieus seem incredible when considered in context of the era he was writing. Unfortunately he is also a subscriber to "a (universal) theory of the 'organic whole'" (p502) like so many others of his time.

^{lxii}Evidence of the established academic equations paralleling architectural ascendancy and race can be found in the following literary sources (Crinson, 1996; Gleason; Sadria; Mitchell; Edney; Harris; Patterson; Miraftab; Porter; Wright; Hosagra; Lokko; Rabbat). The clearest and most convincing indicators of the presence of this world view in the aesthetic art of architecture is found in historical source texts written by W.R. Lethaby (whose arguments were derived from study of the British Museum), Sir Bannister Fletcher and Bannister Fletcher (who, alongside Sturgis (1906), Ferguson (1855), the antiquarian Thomas Hope (1836) produced the most widely accepted British academic and educational texts of both their times and in the modern age). The most literal depiction of this is in the widely known educational graph distributed in the front cover of Sir Bannister Fletcher and Fletcher's internationally standardised reference book *A History of Architecture* (1897). There-in it typifies racial and national development utilizing a graph showing a Darwinist development of architectural forms (Rabbat, 2012; Lokko; Fletcher and Fletcher). Also important to understanding the field as a whole is Max Weber (who developed the idea of 'ideal type' (also called the idealized type). His ideas were used and paralleled by both architects and race-theorists. Weber's prominence had a wide-spread effect upon the bureaucratization of sociological urban planning (Jary and Jary, 1991, p225; Sadria, 2012; Mukerji, 1987, p132), Herbert Spencer (1915) (the son of an architect who built the Royal Exhibition (1851) and the inventor of the British statistical method used in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1911) believed in early eugenic principles and aesthetic -based scientific methods) and John Ruskin. Among top architectural historians of the post WWII era the topic is frequently eluded too but commonly evaded in favour of more optimistic readings of the classics. An analysis that could look at the presence of the often vague but traceable evidence of race-bias in architecture could be studied in the works of Kenneth Clark (who was the curator of the British Museum and host of the popular BBC Television Show *Civilization* (1969)), John Summersen (a very credible and popular architectural historian whose most important works were written in the '60s and 70's), and George Hersey (who, like Summersen, is widely published and distributed by MIT Press and identifies with the 'idealized typology'. He generally prescribes the classical Vitruvian school today). The trouble with these last authors is the fact that they appear to promote dialogues long-associated with revisionist racism (Bernal, 1987). They evade making any clear acknowledgement of its influence within their research. Their work, in this way, may actually be written as an act of erasure because they ignore the historical use of their subject material and do not discuss the way their subject matter has been instrumental to justificatory dialogues leading to genocides waged against racialized peoples (Wingfield, 2011, p133; Brauer & Callen, 2008; Bindman, 2002- regarding use of the 'Aryan' classics).

^{lxiii}The historical definition of an architect as 'a master builder' is both implicitly and explicitly socially hierarchical because it has historically been a main actor seeking to marginalise any dissenting group existing outside or beyond the capitalist milieu's concept of social norms (Wilkins, 2007; Hayes, et. al., 1994; Muschamp, (1974 /2004). The traditional definition of the word is clearly explained in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Statham, 1910, p444- "Architecture") to the effect that it is a profession geared towards exclusively expressing the views of the elite. It is also enunciated in *The Canadian Architect and Builder* (1888) (by the editor and publisher) in agreement with the Encyclopedia and numerous other turn of the century sources as an absolute and totalising idea. "Architecture is the material expression in stone and iron and brick, of an idea, dominating, consistent, coherent" (ibid). In all of these texts it is clear that architecture is defined as the expression of fully articulated academic and elitist ideas that take the form of buildings.

^{lxiv}I use the word unhinged to invoke the discussion of historical 'détriquer' in Jacques Derrida's *Specters of Marx* (1993).

^{lxv} See Herbert Muschamp (1974) for an articulation of what traditional and modernist architectural practices consisted of and why it needs to be critiqued. Fredric Jameson's "Future City" (2003) also explains why this critique of architecture is important.

^{lxvi}In *Making Native Space* (2002) the author argues that it was within this context that government policy sought to encourage Indigenous peoples to assimilate into the mainstream labour force. The history of this assimilation tactic is also discussed in Peter Kulchyski's *Human Rights are not Aboriginal Rights* (2013).

lxvii The list says “the prime minister and cabinet members of the Dominion government and ladies, premier and cabinet ministers of the province of Manitoba (...), mayor and members of city council (...), members of the auditorium commission (...), members of the auditorium commission (...), members of Winnipeg public school board (...), members of the public Parks board (...), members of the police commission (...), (ibid) social welfare commission(...), Civic Charities (...) board of architects, officers of NWCTA (...), President of Secretary Winnipeg Board of Trade (...), President and Secretary Young Men's Section of the Board of Trade (...), Mr W.H. Carter and Mr. F.E. Halls, contractors” (p2- all parenthesis say “and ladies”) and the list goes on.

lxviii Gwendolyn Wright (1991) records there were two types of architecture- capital ‘A’ architecture indicating masterful architecture, and lower case ‘a’ architecture being buildings articulating a lower and more subjugated or domestic culture. Racialised architecture (in this case Arab) was considered lower case ‘a’ architecture for an exceptionally fluid set of reasons. Vernacular architecture didn’t qualify. This idea of architecture is similar to the idea that mastery of natural world indicated higher culture and race status in anthropic theory. The definition of architecture as an expression of social hierarchy can be seen in the definition provided in *Encyclopedia Britannica (1910)* and *Builder Journal (Mortimer, 1888)* as well as the *Review of Reviews (1894)* “Progress of the World”.

lxix Academics in the contemporary age are not allowed to depend solely on newspapers as references, but they are good guides and primary archival documents. The reasons for the dubious reliability of newspapers, in particular contemporary newspapers, can be demonstrated by looking briefly at Randy Turner’s recent *Winnipeg Free Press* article, “City Beautiful: How Architecture shaped Winnipeg’s DNA”. This article, published by *Winnipeg Free Press* as a book, like in many other journalistic accounts, attempts to simplify history and render it palatable to a more general public audience. While his story has a savoury writing style, the desire to write a consumable account of history results in a twisted and decontextualised narrative rendered spectacular and intended to entertain a mainstream audience. This approach is not well-rounded, critical or academic even if it is good journalistic writing. Journalism is an important touch stone but is not reliable, it is more like a window that can generate new ideas. The popular rhetoric of modern newspapers makes their accuracy questionable. Journalists act as valuable guides for researchers who are looking for information on where to go for more background evidence. In 1932, Newspaper could have been viewed with a more academic eye and as an essential archive of the affairs of the city, and it is a fascinating source despite potential inaccuracy. However the sensationalist style reduces its dependability as an academic text, but what is worse is that it reflects the consumer prejudices of a local newspaper, leading the publisher to wantonly mislead its audience for entertainment purposes.

lxx The Formal portraiture of government and NWCTA heads is scattered throughout the entire publication.

lxxi Manitoba Premier John Bracken also attended the opening of the Auditorium and the Industrial Exhibition (scheduled for the same day as the Auditorium opening) (Tribune, p11).

lxxii Lokko (2000, p50) writes that the use of locally sourced materials and skills to build a permanent structure in colonial regions was particularly profound politically. It signifies the refurbishment old colonies and their rudimentary economies, symbolizing the establishment of non-indigenous form of culture recognizably European in construct. It also represents the presence of those skills (economic and scientific forms of knowledge, the ability to fabricate economically viable products, and the landing of a value system based on fungible forms of property) that lead investors to continue to make strong financial commitments to the industries of those regions.

lxxiii The pageantry of the Civic Auditorium foreshadowed the slowly developing independence of the Dominion through the opening ceremony being prologued with the singing of ‘O Canada’, a song that would not become the Nation’s official national anthem until years later.

lxxiv Chris Wingfield argues that this fact is demonstrated in particular by the British Museum’s classical Greek pediment, which he calls a key to understanding the contents of the museum (2011- quoting Caygill, 1998: 8). Our legislative building bares an extremely similar inscription (see Fig. 2- a comparison of the British Museum pediment and Legislature pediment) that shows that like the Trustees of the British Museum, our civic centre is inscribed as the “recipients of a classical education, and frequently also of noble birth, (they) seem to have understood themselves as the inheritors of an ancient tradition of civilization... an ideology of status and hierarchy that it enabled the elites of colonized countries to be treated as social equals by the elites of imperial British society... expressed (primarily) through ‘ornamentalism’- hierarchy made visible, immanent and actual’ (Cannadine, 2001:122) through architecture” (p125).

^{lxxv}The term museum has several etymological origins, one based in ancient history (the term first referred to the Persian Mausoleum of Halicarnassus) depicting a repository for dead bodies, another as a building that functions like a library, in reference to the academic library of Alexandria, and then later as a building “to display objects” (in reference to the British Museum) (Harper, 2014- Museum). The academic statutory of the Legislative cupola or dome surrounding the base of the apex demonstrates this intended message is present because it mimics the shape of these historicist academic buildings. Also relevant to understanding this word is the way Theodore Adorno describes “*The German word, ‘museal’ [museum like] (... having) unpleasant overtones. It describes objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying. They owe their preservation more to historical respect than to the needs of the present... They testify to the neutralization of culture...*” often arising from the modernization of culture and the need to entomb the past (Adorno, 1981, p175- parenthesis added).

^{lxxvi}All around the world, regional governments were building their government centres on grounds formerly inhabited by their urban military barracks. Some thinkers, like Lokko (2000), Keshavjee (2005) and Wright (1991) meditate that this was indicative of a transition from a military -based colonial presence to a democratic one.

^{lxxvii}Lokko, (2000) talks about how British colonial planning intended to express the permanence of the occupying settler culture in an African context) expressed that same successional ideality.

^{lxxviii} Both O’Doherty (1976) and Theodor Adorno (1967) philosophize on the symbolic meaning of museal/ mausoleum -like views of eternity in Eurocentric aesthetics. Also see ENDNOTE.

^{lxxix}Legislature is not a quintessential representation of the Picturesque style, it is typologically of the Neo-classical style. I use this descriptive term picturesque in reference to Legislature’s similarity to the clearly picturesque features of Leeds Town Hall. It contains picturesque traits that do not fit squarely inside the typology we have constructed looking backwards. This does not disqualify it from having been built as an expression of that style, because the definition comes after the aesthetic movement itself has become institutionally typified. Being built as an Edwardian revision of Neo-Classical typology, the building represented the fundamentally British-centric architectural outlook of the time. This outlook was promoted by Edwardian picturesque Neo-classicism, embodying an intent to promote Britishness in the Colonies. Often this style was intended to facilitate the exclusion of French national sentiment, and I believe that these political and philosophical aesthetic orientations were a primary goal of the RIBA architectural committee that designed it (Ricketts, Maitland & Hucker, 2004, p123).

^{lxxx}The designation as a ‘governmental approach’ was a technical term utilized by planners to describe the main street (or Mall) leading up to a Parliament (or Legislature) building or a government administrative centre (Wright, 1991; Hosagrar, 2005; Norberg- Shulz, 1973/1994).

^{lxxxi}“The Beaux-art Style aimed at replacing industrial detritus with parks and scenic drives (...) called City Beautiful movement (...)”. Legislative grounds were “The essence of the Beaux-Art approach to axial planning and hierarchy of spaces and functions,...” (Rickards & Maitland & Hucker, 2004, p118-119- parenthesis added)

^{lxxxii}“The concept of the Garden City reached maturity with Ebenezer Howard, who published his ideas in 1898 under the title “A Peaceful Path to Real Reform”... giving the open city identity and structure, introducing ideas of zoning, differentiated street system and urban centre. The latter he conceived as a central park containing town hall, theatre, concert hall, library, museum and hospital. About the same time Tony Garnier concretized similar ideas in his architecturally rich and articulate project for a *Cite Industrielle (1901)*” (Norberg- Shulz, 1973/ 1994, p170). Anthony King also describes this movement writing “(t)he innovative idea of the ‘garden city’ housing estate, used in early 20th century Britain to provide democratic social housing for the working class, was transferred to British colonies overseas where it was used to maintain strict racial segregation between white and non-white subjects (Home, 1997)” (2012, p20). Some sources, like in Randy Turner’s (2014) “City Beautiful”, locate this idea having originated from the Chicago Columbian Exposition. Other academic sources recognize the role this monumental project played in the development of the aesthetic idea; however there are more variable accounts showing that the idea had already been practiced both within North America and internationally. It is difficult to say that there is just one origin, and I feel that it is an oversimplification of the literature to say that. However it probably was the most important influence on the development of Winnipeg’s approach to the City Beautiful.

lxxxiii Originating in Paris at the École des Beaux-Art (also Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris), the methods it developed were formally adopted by the North American universities that came to dominate the top societies responsible for designing prestigious public and corporate buildings in North American cities. The most noteworthy schools predicated upon the Beaux-Art method are MIT, Columbia, and École des Beaux-Arts de Montreal. All are based upon “The unifying method- belatedly codified in Julien Gaudet’s great four volume *Elements et Theorie de l’Architecture (1903-1905)*... according to the rules of proportion, symmetry, axial organization, and... typology (convenience)...” (Lampugnani, 1986, p86- Defines Beaux-Art). (Kaufmann, 2009, p197-202; Wright, 1991, p63+ 64+ 100+ 200; RAIC, 1932+ 1933). The term Beaux -Art was generally a translation of the academic fine arts genre (the Winnipeg Art Gallery on Memorial Blvd. translates into Musée des Beaux-Art de Winnipeg). When untranslated the term generally relates to the institution of design first developed by the French Beaux-Art school naturalised in the prestigious journals of the Royal Architects of Britain (RIBA) and Royal Canadian Architects (RAIC, 1932).

lxxxiv In Ottawa, ‘The Mall’ refers to Spark Street, which travels along beside the Senate’s building and various banks and businesses and terminates at the National War Memorial, where a large open drive (and vista) allows you to approach Parliament and the Chateau Laurier, both being kitty corner to the HBC department store and the canal.

lxxxv The Colonial Studies field, and the approach I am utilizing in reference to Civic Planning was first investigated by Arthur King in his Ph.D. Dissertation upon New Delhi (1970). He mentored Keshavjee (2006), whose work clearly depicts an interaction between race-based planning schemes and the colonial built environment in New Delhi. This field, sometimes called Colonial Planning, has since blossomed around the world, a good introduction to it being *Homogenisation of Representations* (2012) edited by Modjitaba Sadria.

lxxxvi Randy Turner (2014) writes it was based on the French Palace of Versailles. I could not find a primary reference for this view.

lxxxvii “As author and historian Alan Artibise observed: “They were looking at the eastern state and thinking we could be as important as New York or Chicago”... “It was going to have 4.5 million people living here. And, by God, we’re going to do what Paris, London and New York couldn’t do, which was plan it from the start” (last quote from Frank Albo) (Turner, 2014- Quoting Frank Albo).

lxxxviii “The Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 positioned black face performances in the most crowded venues. The Exposition itself was built around the idea of the White City on the lake and was themed as a celebration of industrial progress. One of the Chief organizers, G. Browne Good, was an inheritance and an adherent to the idea that racial or family biology was destiny. He had set out to make the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition a definition of the modern by way of comparison to ‘primitive’ civilizations...” (Gustafson, 2009, p85)

lxxxix “Nothing- neither people nor goods, nor chattels - moved into or out of prairie Canada save through Winnipeg and the tools levied by Winnipeg business, industry, commerce and labour sparked the Winnipeg boom... “They felt they could deliver anything. They didn’t even look at Toronto”, added Giles Bugailiskis, a former City of Winnipeg heritage planner. “They were looking at the eastern state and thinking we could be as important as New York or Chicago” (Turner, 2014). “It was going to have 4.5 million people living here. And, by God, we’re going to do what Paris, London and New York couldn’t do, which was plan it from the start” (last quote from Frank Albo) (Turner, 2014- Quoting Frank Albo).

xc The impact is discussed in *Haunted by Empire* (2006) (edited by Ann -Laura Stoler), Ned Kaufmann’s *Race, Place, Story* (2009). In R. Atkin’s *Art Spoke* (1993, p107-p125) the influence of technological and progress ideals had upon the development of colonial architecture around the world (among numerous others) and this is confirmed in Friebe (1985).

xcI When this transition occurred, not everyone within the Royal Architecture Society agreed with it. For example, many feared that the new style would be a confusing and misleading street presence, claiming it promoted the creation of over simplified and homogenous exteriors that did not adequately advertise the purpose that a building was to be used for. This argument betrayed the fear that civic centres would come to lack clearly defined uniform structures that were true to the ideal typology set out by classical architecture. A famous critic who published to this effect was A. T. Edwards (RAIC, 1933) who wrote *The Things which are Seen: A Philosophy of Beauty (1947/1919)*.

xcii Benjamin (1939/ 1982) writes of the high evaluation public buildings held as the civilized “abodes of art.”... “If Wiertz had had at his disposal . . . the public monuments of modern civilization-railway stations, legislative chambers, university lecture halls , marketplaces, town halls- . . . who can say what bright and dramatic new worlds he would have traced upon his canvas!” A. J. Wiertz, *Oeuvres littl,raires (Paris, 1870)*, pp. 525-526” (p157).

^{xciii}It was not unheard of to have a building executed in the west by a Canadian corporation, however in this case the Canadian-ness of the project was made an integral aspect of how the building communicated its meaning to the civic population.

^{xciv}In the traditions of Eurocentric history-makers like Max Weber, as well as domestic historians like George Bryce and William Morton, and early ethnographic and in the work of anthropological historians like Marvin Harris (who recount the history of academic studies in human populations) academic studies were almost exclusively conducted from the seat of bureaucratic ‘truth-telling’ within the networks of western-styled metropolitan cities. This continued until the times after Boas in 1930’s when break-water ideas of cultural relativism began to increasingly require academics have direct experience (aka ethnology) of the subject of ones study. This meant that traditionally Eurocentric scholars had to enter the field and engage with peoples inhabiting the fringes of territories where standardized ‘truths’ had not yet become established. (Brown, 2014)

^{xcv}Perhaps they intended to avoid the supposed socially segregated anti-pluralism found in an aboriginally-based fur-trade economy (Bryce, 1901).

^{xcvi}The main headline and theme of the official Winnipeg Tribune (1932) announcement by McGuinley and Watt on p2 “Solidity of Winnipeg Typified in New Building” points out how the auditorium was built to solidify and naturalize the presence of Western civil culture in Manitoba. Cox’s article (p3) is about the evolutionary establishment of business and commerce in Canada, also leading to a perception of regional stability through landing European economic developments. It was because of Lokko’s *White Paper’s Black Marks* (2000) in her section “1:125000, Urban Angles” that I came to grip with the importance of this idea in my own work. In this work the author writes that a change of source of building materials and labour from imported to local represents the general shift of the local economy. It means that the type of learning going on in an area has changed from Indigenous forms of economy to those industrial forms of knowledge required to produce goods for buildings (for example tyndall stone in Manitoba). For example, “these buildings thus were both physically and symbolically created by different materials and methods to be more permanent than most indigenous architecture in Africa”... “followed by its antecedent the ‘International style’ (they) totally eclipsed all but a few forms of African ‘indigenous’ architecture and became considered by both builders and users to be the only valid and progressive form of architecture”. In an African context, she goes on to speculate that when Indigenous peoples overthrow colonial governments, their democratic centres are often left vacant, meaning they have little relevance to the lives of lower caste Indigenous peoples when they live under a colonial military state. “Similarly, many of the former seats of colonial government, which were rapidly transformed into the parliaments of newly independent states, have stood empty or been transformed into ministry offices as military coups have transformed power (from democracy) to the barracks.” (p50-51)

^{xcvii}“The mounting of scientific (or referentially scientific) excursions to remote places intersected with and was supported by nationalist programs of expansion- hence their frequent sponsorship by government agencies” (Brown, 2013, p3).

^{xcviii}The Industrial Exhibition and Grand Opening was celebrated in kind by the construction and advertisement of a complimentary HBC exhibition in the nearby store. In a quarter page ad featured in both the Winnipeg Tribune and the Winnipeg Free Press (October, 15th 1932), the HBC writes, “The History of the Hudson’s Bay Company is synonymous with the growth of Winnipeg... *The Civic Auditorium in its completion adds another page to the already illuminated history of Winnipeg.* Fronting our property as it does, it too, rears a proud face beside that of Western Canada’s finest department store, The Hudson’s Bay Company. In the acquisition of this sumptuous building our Company joins with all of Winnipeg in its opening celebration. Here, prominently displayed, will be attractive exhibits from various departments through the store. To our Winnipeg friends we extend an invitation to view these presentations, and join with us in celebrating the official opening of Winnipeg’s new Public Auditorium. *We offer our sincere good wishes that this new mark of progress may see many years of unparalleled success.*” (1932, p7). The advertisement demonstrates the linear progress of Winnipeg utilizing graphic depictions of the growth of the city, beginning with the Fur Trade Fort and depicting each consecutive architectural achievement after it, featuring in the foreground the HBC Department store at Portage and Memorial looming behind the new Civic Auditorium. The page is full of literal pageantry. It utilises the aesthetics of architectural rhetoric to make buildings appear synonymous with a linear and civilizational progress narrative and it literally depicts the pageantry of an illuminated history.

^{xcix}“Expeditions affiliated with museums, such as the (1929) *Franklin Motor Expedition*, were heavily influenced by wider societal assumptions about progress and the inevitable demise of indigenous peoples. Collecting, as a process of ordering and classification, was thus not only a mean of salvaging the material traces of disappearing cultures, it was also used to confirm existing theories about social evolution” (2014, p3- parenthesis added).

^cThe distinct possibility that the Civic Auditorium was envisioned as a social engineering project is surmised because it demonstrates many of the symptoms common to similar projects being undertaken by British and American governments elsewhere in the world, and is therefore inconclusive without site-based evidence. It appears to be possible because of the symbolic elements found in the architecture and because of the time period, which Scott describes as the heyday of social engineering and technical determinism. It is possible that the facility might have been built to strengthen the presence of the "direct hand of state" within this civic planning scheme, possibly with the intention of socially engineering Canadian society in a manner useful to state apparatus'. This view would dovetail with some of Tony Bennett's ideas in his *Birth of the Museum* (1995) however it might also stand in stark contradiction to how he applies his theory of the museum as an implicit rather than explicit apparatus of governmentality? (Bennett, 1995; Knell, 2011). Intentions should not be the main issue; material results or impacts is far more crucial. (Scott, 1998)

^{ci}In 1900 "(t)he most remarkable change to take place was an increase in the number of industrial establishments... The growing demands of the local market as well as of the agricultural hinterland supported this expansion and *diversification*. Construction of materials made from lumber and iron, wagons, tents and agricultural implements were produced in the city. Farm and rail workers wore overalls produced by Winnipeg's needle trade. Additional flour mills were established and small meat packing plants replaced former butcher shop" (p30- italics added). In accord with this quote, I would like to remind you of Bryce's earlier (in my view ironic) statement to the effect that industrialization is synonymous with pluralism. In this quote, industrialization is depicted as *diversification* rather than the homogenization of culture, which is what many consider to be the cultural product of industrialization today (Sadria, 2012).

^{cii}These Anglo-Saxon symbols are questionable because the majority of the elite British nationals who served in the war operated as officers and administrators, while the majority of soldiers were from lower class (non-Anglo-Saxon) populations. The exclusion of the nationally pertinent symbol of French national groups (the lily or Fleur-de-Lys) drives home the injustice of this political framing in my mind and leads me to believe that this door may have been intended as an entrance for these elites, while the general population could enter from St. Mary's.

^{ciii}In 1911 Winnipeg's City Council was still seeking to compete with Chicago. It had proposed The Selkirk Centennial industrial exhibition as a project that would be larger and more attractive than the Columbia World's Fair. It lost this bid and failed to compete with Chicago. The Federal government refused to fund that project, and in the following years Winnipeg was vastly outgrown by the growth of the American city. The primary motive behind those large exhibitions was to facilitate the growth of settler culture, which would unseat Indigenous peoples from the land and curate the expansion of industrial enterprise. In order for agriculture and industry to relocate and grow in Canada, it needed to make reliable interpersonal connections with suppliers and distributors, and these types of connections were primarily made at these industrial conventions.

^{civ}The is a serious deficit in the amount of information available on this topic. I felt that my research is hindered by this absence of published book-based material related to the auditorium. The Manitoba Archive and Hudson's Bay Company Archive primarily provided map-based and photographic records that have had their word-based accounts removed (the Fire Marshall Maps). This made it difficult to ascertain their meaning. It is also difficult to ascertain the original context of how their records were interpreted at the time of their being officially presented without having access to the written texts. Aside from the electronic newspapers I was able to consult, I got ahold of one written pamphlet from The Manitoba Museum (1944), one undated pamphlet from an unknown publisher entitled "The Winnipeg Auditorium" (N/A) probably written by the Manitoba Tourism and Immigration Board for the purpose of attracting immigrants, tourists and investors. However I was not given access to the originals (even though I had recorded their archival file numbers when they were on display at Doors-Open Winnipeg in 2014) and original maps and paintings (which seemed meaningless since I had no knowledge of how to interpret their context, where they might have hung, and any other context other than what title they bore and the subject). This lack of access was very frustrating to me. Up until then my research had engaged in critique of the meaning of maps and photographs, so I was aware of the difficulties I would have using them and felt they required more context for them to be analysed in a manner that would go beyond their factual content. My personal expertise on the matter was not sufficiently developed for me to know how to interpret their content and I was unprepared to commit to a cartographic project. Thankfully, I discovered Abigale Auld's HxBxC project (2014) online and she did some of this work for me. Other difficulties I encountered were with the MAHBCA being currently closed for renovation and the Museum of Manitoba (Formerly the Museum of Man and Nature (1932) and the Manitoba Museum (1944)) could only send me published articles from their opening in 1970 and a linear article about its historical timeline including its new mission statement (1988). I admit that more information could have been found if I had dug into the Natural History Societies Journal archives at the Manitoba Archive, and in the future I plan to do this.

^{cv}For example, the definitive works of architects like Charles Garnier in "l'Habitation Humaine" (Paris Exhibition, 1889) or Sir Bannister Fletcher and Bannister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture*) and in classification systems of the BM and affiliated eugenicists (Francis Galton, Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Grafton Elliot Smith, Thomas Huxley, William Flower, Sir Arthur Keith, Henry Balfour, etc.) (Maton, Forthcoming). It is also particularly visible in the development of the exhibitionary premises of early contemporary and modernist institutional architectures. The works of these pioneers were never abandoned.

^{cvii}It is questionable whether contemporary architects have seriously engaged with this concept at all considering how little literature there is on the topic from that field today.

^{cvi}Take into consideration Leonardo De Vinci's "Vitruvian Man" (1490). This famous picture of a man set inside a square and circle is a mathematical formula based upon the formulations of the Architect Vitruvius. It, like the famous work of Vitruvius in it, features the figure of man (ideologically, cosmologically, and physically) converted into a mathematical ratio that allegorically proposes the idealized notion that architecture should be organically proportional to the human body, and a reflection of it. This view is also found in the modern architecture of Sullivan and Le Corbusier (who invented modern buildings) (Lampagnani, 1986; Norberg-Shulz, 1974, p987). This is also represented by the equally iconographic (and in this case Enlightenment) figure of Blake's *Newton* (Tate, 1795/1805) and the British Museum's anthropometric looking *Newton* sculpture by Eduardo Paolozzi (1995). There is no doubt that the equation between ideas of humanity and architecture have been commonplace throughout the ages, and this equation is seen today as an important part of the British tradition. (Dodds & Tavernor et. al., 2002)

^{cvi}For an example of the vernacular the building features what Art Deco publications call the primitive and prominently features it on all of the buildings the entablatures above the capitals. Its columns are shaped to look like vernacular American corn plants with cobs and Indigenous spearheads.

^{cix}Linda Smith (2011) writes, "One of the supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we could not use our minds or intellects. We could not invent things, we could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, we could not invent things, we could not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the 'arts' of civilization" ... "Imperialism provided the means through which concepts of what counts as human could be applied systematically as forms of classification, for example through hierarchies of race and typologies of different societies" (p26).

^{cx}According to Tony Bennett (1995) civic morality was a prime motive for the establishment of potentially civilizing spaces like museums, art galleries, and other public exhibition institutions.

^{cx}The Civic Auditorium also bears other symbols of agro-industrial fertility and growth. Next to each entrance, crowned with the agro-industrial Columbia and the Indian persona, are ammonites. The ammonite is a long-standing symbol of growth (a symbol that began to be worshiped in ancient Greece and the Bible with the god "Ammon", who was long associated with fertility. The word is closely related to the Hebrew for money "mammon" and was also indicated by Ionic columns with their Ammonic spirals or horned capitals. Utilizing the Ammonite at ground level they transform them into a symbol for Natural History, and thus simplify the traditional biblical narrative associated with that shape into a secular and evolutionary narrative at ground level (Cook, 1909). According to Impey & Macgreggor (1985) The museum was originally divided into two types *wunderkammer* and *Kunstammer*. "a Nautilus shell was a most desirable objects for a *Wunderkammer* (natural history museum); were it to be engraved by Bellekin, it could be equally appropriately be kept in either; were it to me mounted in silver-gilt by Jamnitzer, it would probably belong in the *Kunstammer*..." in the seventeenth century (1985, p3).

^{cxii}What Norberg-Shulz (1974) calls the "organic movement" was only just beginning to gain speed in the thirties. He exemplifies this point through listing Aalto's Finish Pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1939, the growing dossiers of Lloyd Wright, and Taliesin West (1938) and the creation of the Guggenheim in New York (1948) as examples of the growth of the ideological subscription to architecture as a personified (and totalised) human organism. Critiquing this he writes, "(t)o conceive the building as an organ, however, implied a certain danger of a return to a closed, self-sufficient form"... in 1957 ... a synthesis of the 'technological' and 'organic' trends" tended to lead to a variety of differing approaches (p204). A modernised version of the theory (which ignores its traditionally racist outlook) is found in George Hersey's *The Monumental Impulse* (1993) which draws upon the work of Bannister Fletcher & Fletcher, John Ruskin, and many other devoutly Eurocentric architects of the Victorian age. He writes the book in the hope of disproving the modern assumption that historicist architecture was strictly 'humanist' rather than being also derived from and influenced by nature. In so-doing, he ignores the secular idea that the humanist hierarchy was considered an implicit and natural ordering of humanity harmonised to the ideals found in colonial evolutionary doctrines.

^{cxiii}For example in the pioneering work of architectural anthropologists like Joseph Rykwert, and in the work of Victor Buchli (2013) and Jane Rendall (2007), the architectural traditions of Indigenous people is shown to have been traced by anthropologists and scholars as a form of domestic architecture)